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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal,

UNDER EPISCOPAL SANCTION.

THIRD SERIES.

VOLUME II.—1881.

“ Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis.”

“ As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome.”

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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[We have adopted the suggestion of a more than one friendly correspondent in giving a Key to the Initials of our Contributors. When the cover is removed from the numbers hitherto published, as must be done for the purpose of binding, there would otherwise be no means of identifying many of our writers whose names or whose services to the Record we should deeply regret not to have fully and gratefully acknowledged.—Ed. I. E. R.]

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JANUARY, 1881.

THE FRUITS OF IRISH FAITH IN MODERN TIMES.

I.—SCOTLAND.

ON a golden summer's day, a few months ago, hundreds of devout pilgrims assembled to witness a joyous scene on the green shores of Lough Ness. It was not mere holiday enjoyment, nor was it the scenery of the surrounding hills that, on the 24th of August, attracted them to Fort Augustus. They had a higher and holier purpose; they had come to offer the tribute of their devotion at St. Benedict's shrine. For the first time since the sad era of the Reformation, a Benedictine Monastery was to be inaugurated amid the strongholds of Calvinism. And the ardour of the pious pilgrims was intensified in that it was not a lowly structure which was to be dedicated to the service of God, to make the children of the Church to weep when they thought of the days of old, but a majestic pile of buildings, worthy of the ages of Faith, and rivalling in completeness and perfection of detail the proudest monasteries that, centuries ago, had adorned and sanctified the rugged hills and rich vallies of Scotland.

When the church festivities had ended on that memorable day, a small knot of pilgrims set out to pay a religious visit to the Holy Well of St. Columba, situated at the foot of a little hill, crowned with trees, about four miles from the new monastery. Amid the solitude of these mountains an air of sanctity seemed to linger around the spot once hallowed by the footsteps of our great missionary Saint; and the waters of his well were as limpid

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and as fresh as when first blessed by him thirteen centuries ago. The visitors who thus came to pay the tribute of their piety to St. Columba were the Most Rev. Dr. Strain, first Archbishop of St. Andrew's, in the renewed Hierarchy of Scotland; the Right Rev. Dr. Reynolds, Bishop of Adelaide, in South Australia; the Right Rev. Abbot Wolf, of the Benedictine Monastery of Kansas, in the United States; and the Very Rev. Sub-Prior Murphy, of Fort Augustus, Titular Abbot of one of the olden great monasteries of England. The pilgrims were thus not only representatives of the Churches of England and Scotland, in which the countrymen of St. Columba have renewed the glory of the ancient Hierarchy, but they represented also the great continents of the distant East and West, to which the exiles of Erin have brought a full measure of the light and the blessings of divine faith. And yet it was not through any preconcerted plan, that these worthy representatives of so many different peoples in the English-speaking world, thus met together to honour the memory of the great Irish missionary of the sixth century. Providence had its own lessons to teach, and in thus grouping together these representatives of so many Irish Hierarchies in far distant lands, it wished to bring home to every Catholic heart throughout the length and breadth of the Scottish Church, that the missionary spirit of Ireland is not extinct, that it still lives, and is as vigorous in its zeal to-day, and as fruitful in its results, as it was when it first led St. Columba to the Caledonian hills.

In the decorations of the Monastery, our great countryman has not been forgotten. In the front of the noble collegiate buildings, facing the wide expanse of the placid lake, there is a life-size statue of St. Columba standing in his little coracle, and, with uplifted hand, imparting his blessing once more to the regions which he evangelized.

Towards the middle of the last century far different scenes were witnessed on the shores of Lough Ness. The battle of Culloden had broken for ever the hopes of the followers of the Stuarts, and now an avenging military camp was formed at Fort Augustus. Instructions were given to the soldiers to spread ruin and devastation around them on every side; and so faithfully did they execute these orders that, within a range of twenty miles, neither house, nor man, nor beast, was to be seen. The same policy of revenge, almost with the same severity, was

carried out in other Highland districts. The Highlanders were subjected to a thousand annoyances and persecutions, and every house which had served for a chapel, or which was known to have harboured a priest, was levelled to the ground. Since the close of the sixteenth century, this was perhaps the darkest period in the history of the Scottish Church, and it has been calculated that the total number of Catholics in Scotland at this time was reduced to about fifteen thousand.

The Penal Laws in Scotland continued in full force, almost without interruption, from the death of Mary Queen of Scots till the year 1778. Notwithstanding their severity, Ireland, and it may be added Ireland alone, never failed to stretch out a helping missionary hand to the suffering Scottish Church, and Irish priests were, at all times, ready to face the terrors of imprisonment and death, that they might console with the Sacraments of the Church the scattered Catholic families in the Highlands, and in the islands lying off the coast. In the beginning of the seventeenth century, the illustrious Peter Lombard, Archbishop of Armagh, had the special charge of the Scottish Missions assigned to him by the Holy See. A little later, they were under the care of Dr. Fleming, Archbishop of Dublin, and, subsequently, of Dr. Magennis, Bishop of Down and Connor, and in the year 1670, Oliver Plunket, the martyred Archbishop of Armagh, received a special commission to visit them.

The Irish Franciscans were among the most zealous labourers in this missionary field. In the year 1619, Fathers Edmund Canna and Patrick Brady set sail for Scotland. The former was soon arrested and thrown into a filthy prison, where he suffered the greatest hardships. In 1623, three other Franciscan Fathers—Cornelius Ward, James O'Neill, and Patrick Hegarty—braved the storm of persecution, and were rewarded by winning back several Calvinists to the fold of Christ. Their letters to Propaganda give many interesting details of the privations they had to endure, and of their hair-breadth escapes on the Highland Mission. Frequently, for months together, some oaten-bread, with milk or water, was their only food. When the oaten-bread was exhausted, roots or herbs had to be substituted. The missionaries travelled on foot from place to place, under various disguises, and it was only under the shadow of the night that they could venture to assemble the faithful, and offer the Holy Sacrifice, and administer

the Bread of Life. Father Ward writes, in 1637, that their labours and privations were incredible, and that there was then only one Scottish priest in all the Highland districts. His name was Reginald M'Donell. He lived in a remote part of the Island of Uist, and, by cultivating with his own hands a patch of ground, and, by fishing and collecting sea-shells, he endeavoured to make out some means of subsistence.

Many conversions rewarded the zeal of the devoted missionaries. Father Hegarty, Prefect of the Franciscan Missions, attests, in 1640, that, during the preceding eight years, he had himself received four thousand converts into the saving fold.¹ This good Father seems to have been particularly noted for his Apostolic labours. When, about this time, some friends of the Scottish Church urged the Holy See to appoint a Bishop for Scotland, Father Hegarty was the person recommended for that arduous post. The Rector of the Scotch College at Madrid thus wrote :—

“ I have desired for many years to see a Bishop in the wild islands of the Hebrides, to instruct and form the priests, to settle disputes among the Catholics, and to administer the Sacraments of Orders and of Confirmation, distinguished in his preaching, in his life, in his manners, in his influence, and possessing the same authority as the Bishops of Ireland. I am aware that the scheme is opposed by many, from motives of private advantage, or from excess of timidity ; but the glory of God, the public good, the custom and the advancement of the Church, call for it. I know of no one better fitted for the office than the Prefect of the Franciscans in the Scotch Mission, in whom all the characteristics of a good pastor are found.”

In the year 1654, St. Vincent de Paul, at the request of the Chieftain of the MacDonalds, sent two Irish priests of his Congregation, Father Francis White, and Father Duggan, to keep alive the spark of the faith on the Scottish hills. Father Duggan, overcome by the fatigues of the mission, was forced to retire from it in 1656. Father White, when worn out by his labours, sought repose, at intervals, among his countrymen in Ireland, or among his religious brethren in France, yet he never forsook the

¹ For documents connected with the Mission of the Irish Franciscans in Scotland, see “*Spicilegium Ossoriense*,” I., 223, 244, & 251 : and “*The Archbishops of Dublin*,” vol. i., chap. 15.

Highland Mission, and he died at his post there in 1679.¹

"It was no sinecure to undertake such a mission as was offered these poor priests. The privations of poverty, and the imminent risk of detection, equally tried their fortitude and their charity. They travelled on foot about their wide district, attired as common peasants; and frequently through bye-paths, over mountains, and along sequestered glens, for the sake of privacy."²

On one occasion, as they pursued a mountain path, after a long day's toil, they saw a house in the distance. Approaching it, they observed two young men standing outside, who were engaged in serious consultation, and seemed to be overwhelmed with affliction. When the missionaries asked what caused their sadness, they replied that their aged father was lying sick within, and, to all appearance, at the point of death. "He will not believe that he is to die at this time," they added, "he will not make any arrangement about his property, which is very considerable, and we fear that many family law-suits shall ensue." One of the missionaries replied: "My companion here knows something of medicine, and will be able to judge of your father's state. If we can give you any help in this difficulty, we will be happy to do so." The young men led the strangers to the bed-side of their father. When they saw the emaciated frame that lay on the bed of sickness, they were surprised that life was not extinct. The aged man was quite conscious however, and when they assured him that he had not an hour to live, he peremptorily said he would not die so soon. They asked him why he spoke with such confidence. "Well, then, I will tell you," he replied, "I am a Catholic, and, for the last seven years, I have prayed fervently to God, that he would not let me die without the Sacraments. I know that, in His mercy, He will hear my prayer; but there is no priest to be found here, and I shall not die till I shall have seen one." "O, my friend," said one of the missionaries with emotion,

¹ In a Scottish document of the last century, published by Charles Butler, in his "Historical Memoirs," iv., 84, it is stated that the Irish Franciscans suffered severely from the inclemency of the climate, "particularly in the southern parts of the island, where the cold makes life a burthen." It styles Rev. Mr. White "a pious and zealous missionary," and adds: "Aided by the charity of Lord MacDonald, he caused the faith to revive in the mountains of Scotland, and restored to it, almost without difficulty, some families, which the misfortune of the times had alienated from the religion."

² *Stothert*, "R. C. Mission in Scotland," page 16.

"God has indeed heard your prayer, and has directed us this way, without our knowing why, in order to grant you the blessing you have so perseveringly asked for. We are priests from Ireland." The old man at once exclaimed, "Out with you, my sons, till I make my Confession," and, raising his hands to heaven, thanked God, that now, indeed, his hour had come. After his Confession, he received the Holy Viaticum; he then made the arrangement of his property, and, having received Extreme Unction, gently expired.

Dr. Winster, Superior of the Scottish Mission, announcing to Propaganda the death of Father White, in a letter of 25th September, 1679, declares that "he might justly be styled the Apostle of the Hebrides and neighbouring districts."

In the commencement of the 18th century, we again meet with several Irish priests labouring with disinterested zeal among the Highlanders. Thus, Father MacLennan and Father James Casey were missionaries at Knoydart. Father Wynn was in South Uist from 1715 to 1730. Father Colgan, Father Conan and Father Kelly resided for the most part in Moidart. Father Patrick O'Haran had the spiritual charge of the Islands of Canna, Rum and Muck. Father MacPhee, after toiling for thirty years among the faithful Highlanders, was thrown into prison in 1758, and soon after was banished the kingdom, never to return, under pain of death. Thus, priest succeeded to priest, and the line of zealous Irish missionaries continued unbroken down to the close of the century.

If we inquire why it was that the labours of the Irish priests were so fruitful in these missions, we will find one special reason to be that the Highlanders still retained the language and the traditions of their Celtic forefathers. "The Scotch have but few ecclesiastics of their own nation" (writes Dr. Burgatt, Archbishop of Cashel, in 1668), "fruitful missions, however, have often been given there from Ireland; for they freely receive instruction from the Irish priests, on account of their having the same language as well as the same origin. In particular, the Scottish Islanders so hate the English, that they even seem to shun those who speak the English language."¹ On the other hand the Lowlanders hated alike the Highlanders and the Irish missionaries, and before the close of the 17th century they had almost

¹ "Memoir of Oliver Plunket, &c.," page 174.

entirely lost the light of the faith. The Superior of the Scotch Missions in 1678 reports to the Holy See, that having made most accurate inquiries he could find no more than two thousand Catholics in all the Lowland districts, whilst in Glasgow and its neighbourhood the total number of Catholics was only fifty.

During the reign of James the Second some rays of sunshine lit up for awhile the gloom of the Highland hills, but they were soon lost again amid the clouds and storms of the following reigns. The Penal Laws aimed at nothing less than rooting out every trace of Catholicity from the kingdom.

It was a capital offence to say Mass, or even to hear it or to conceal it. No Catholic could succeed to an estate, nor, if a convert, could he retain the estate which he had possessed before his conversion. If a Catholic ventured to purchase a house or a field, the deed of sale was null and void, and the late proprietor was authorised to re-occupy the property thus sold, and at the same time to retain its purchase money. It was not even legally permitted to a Catholic to reside in Scotland, unless he signed and accepted as his own the official Confession of Faith.

The first relaxation of these Penal Laws in Scotland dates from 1778. The disasters in America, and the threatening attitude of France, made the British Government desirous to secure the services of the brave Highlanders, and to conciliate the Catholics throughout the whole kingdom.

The few Catholics at this time in Glasgow had no chapel or regular place of worship, but assembled in the house of one of their body named MacDonald, where they recited their prayers, and where a few times in the year a priest from Edinburgh came to say Mass for them. On one of these occasions, Sunday the 18th October, 1778, the priest had scarcely finished the Holy Sacrifice when the mob burst into the house, assailing the handful of poor Catholics with the most savage cries and imprecations, and threatening them with the worst vengeance for attempting to introduce Popery into that Presbyterian city. They smashed the windows, tore the doors off their hinges, and rifled the house of everything that could be carried away.

In Edinburgh there were two chapels. The mob, however, inflamed by the violent harangues of the Presbyterian ministers, made no secret of their determination to allow no toleration to Popery. At noon of Tuesday, February 9th, 1779, armed with hatchets and stones, they burst into the

chapel-house at Chalmers'-Close, and, having reduced it to an utter wreck, introduced straw and barrels of tar, and burned it to the ground. Next day the other chapel shared the same fate. During one of these conflagrations, Dr. Hay, the illustrious Bishop of the Lowland Vicariate, arrived in disguise in Edinburgh, returning from one of his missionary excursions. Seeing the street filled with an infuriated mob, he stopped an old woman and asked her what it all meant, "O sir," she replied "we are burning the Popish chapel; and we only wish we had the Bishop to throw into the fire." A few years later some compensation was made for the outrages thus committed against the unoffending Catholics, still nothing was left undone by the Presbyterians to keep alive the irreligious passions of the Scottish mob.

Some official returns made about this time enable us to form a correct idea of the deplorable state to which the Catholics were now reduced. The total number of Catholics in Scotland was between 17,000 and 20,000, whilst the total population was about 1,300,000. Throughout the seventeenth century several of the chieftains and old nobility of the kingdom had professed the Catholic faith. In 1778 there was only one Catholic noble family in the whole of Scotland, and it was calculated that there were not twenty Catholics whose revenue amounted to £100 a year. Thirty years before, there had been a considerable number of Catholics in Forfarshire, now they had dwindled down to thirty grown persons. And as Catholic influence had thus been reduced to the lowest ebb, their opponents had become more determined in their enmity. Dr. Cleland, in his "Annals of Glasgow," states that there were at this time no less than eighty-five different societies in that city, having 12,000 members, and all associated for the avowed purpose of preventing any relief being given to the Catholics.

In Glasgow only about twenty Catholics used to assemble in a room in High-street, where Dr. Hay came at times from Edinburgh to celebrate Mass, and administer the Sacraments. When that room was wrecked, and its altar destroyed, they met together at Mr. Bagnal's house in Gallowgate-street, but even here the malice of their enemies pursued them. On the 9th of February, 1779, the mob plundered and set fire to that house, and destroyed all the Catholic property on which they could lay their hands. A small room, up a narrow turnpike stair, in a close in the Salt-market, directly opposite the Bridge gate, was next used for divine worship, but only about a score

of "poor people, who went in and came out by stealth," ventured to assemble there. This continued till 1791, when, peace being somewhat restored, the Tennis Court, in Mitchell-street, was rented for a few years, and fitted up as a temporary Catholic church.

But a great change was now to take place in the position and attitude of the Catholic body. A tide of emigration had set in among the Highland population, and some of the leading capitalist manufacturers of Glasgow were anxious to secure their services. As an inducement to the Highland Catholics to come to Glasgow, security in the exercise of their religious worship was promised them. Six hundred Catholic Highlanders accepted the employment that was offered, and, with their families, and having with them their Chaplain, Rev. John MacDonell, settled in Glasgow. In a few years, however, trade decayed, and these Highlanders being thrown out of employment, Father MacDonell induced the Government to enrol them as a distinct corps under the name of the "Glengarry Fencibles." After eight years' service, this fine regiment was disbanded in 1802. Most of the Catholics, with their families, accepted grants of land in Canada, that thus they might be able to enjoy the free exercise of their religion.

But, if the Highland Catholic element was thus almost entirely removed, another still more vigorous Celtic element was now about to be introduced into the Scottish Church. In the year 1800, there were only two Vicariates, and about a dozen poor churches in all Scotland, and the total number of Catholics was not more than thirty thousand. There were no convents, or religious houses, and but few schools. The total number of the clergy was not more than forty. At the present day, we see a flourishing Hierarchy, with two Archbishops, and four Bishops, who guide the faithful in the paths of salvation. In the diocese of Glasgow alone there are about 230,000 Catholics, whilst the other dioceses of Scotland reckon, at least, 150,000. There are, moreover, 200 churches, in which 300 priests minister to the wants of the faithful. Besides all this, there is a large number of primary schools, with industrial schools and orphanages, and other institutions of Religion and Charity.

The reader will ask, whence came this happy change? I reply that it is mainly due to Irish piety and Irish faith. The rapid increase of manufactures and of trade in Glasgow and other towns of Scotland, which set in towards

the close of the last century attracted the exiles of Erin to the Scottish coasts, and wherever they went the Catholic Church was sure to take a firm hold.

The Right Rev. Dr. Hay was at this time Vicar Apostolic of the Lowland District. He was a man eminent for piety, zeal, and learning, and his letters, several of which have happily been preserved, supply authentic data as to the influence exercised by Ireland in gathering together the stones of the sanctuary throughout Scotland. When the influx of the Irish Catholics into the Lowlands commenced, their spiritual prospects were discouraging to the last degree. At the moment that an urgent demand was made for more churches and more missionaries, the continental colleges, which were the main resource for the supply of missionaries, had to be closed, and, at the same time, the generous friends of the Scottish Mission in England were compelled to devote all their resources to relieve the distress of the French exiles. In this extremity Dr. Hay bethought himself of Ireland, and though she was herself overwhelmed with afflictions and miseries, yet she made a generous response to his call. Writing to Archbishop Troy on the 13th July, 1795, he sketched the many difficulties that pressed on the Scottish Church, and their inability to provide for themselves a college at home. He added :—

“The case was represented to our friends in England and Rome in the strongest manner, but all in vain ; all we got was good wishes of success, and acknowledgments of the necessity, and regrets that their own difficulties in the present distressing times put it out of their power to help us . . . All other resources having failed us, perhaps kind Providence has reserved to your Grace's piety and the charity of the Irish Catholics, the merit of supporting and preserving our holy faith in a nation, which in ancient times was so much united with them in origin, religion, and saints.”

In April 1796, Dr. Hay again wrote to the Archbishop of Dublin, soliciting his aid for the Lowland Missions, and enclosing a statement drawn up by the Rev. John Farquharson, who, having miraculously escaped from Douay, where he was superior, had been appointed to the charge of the Glasgow Mission. Dr. Hay attests the accuracy of the statement of this zealous priest, and adds :—

“I have been at Glasgow several times since we had a settlement there, which was begun in the year 1792, and has since increased so much by a number of Irish and Highlanders, who have flocked there for employment, that on a survey lately made,

they amounted to upwards of 500 souls in and about that city ; and, as Mr. Farquharson remarks, will increase more and more if we can get a fixed settlement for keeping a missionary constantly among them. This our own inability makes it impossible to do, without the help of others. and Mr. Farquharson has already applied to some of his friends in England, but without effect."

The statement of Father Farquharson is dated Glasgow, 14th April, 1796, and is addressed to Dr. Hay :

"You will, no doubt, recollect, my Lord (he thus writes), that the lease of our present chapel is on the point of expiring, nor do we mean, nor are we able, to renew it, without a considerable diminution, which will not be granted. £40 sterling a year is too great a sum for a congregation three-fourths of which pay nothing at all. What then is to be done? A lease of another is liable to the same objections, nor will any be given us, but on exorbitant terms. We are dissuaded by Protestant well-wishers from building, which would set all our bigots for a whole summer a-speculating, and might be productive of bad consequences. To purchase a furnished house is nowise dangerous, and, to render it the more secure, several of my Protestant friends request my making use of their names ; but to make such a purchase and to fit it out afterwards, from between four to five hundred pounds will be required, and you are well aware the congregation here cannot give much, upwards of two-thirds of it being composed of indigent Highlanders and Irish

. . . The Irish nation is, of course, our main, and I may say, sole resource. Those of our persuasion there are numerous and rich, and I trust will prove well-disposed towards the very existence of a congregation, which contains upwards of two hundred of their countrymen, and whose number will be daily on the increase in this great and trading town : for our chapel of late is much crowded and does not prove too large, as many Irish families in the neighbourhood, on seeing constant attendance given, and that they can come unmolested, regularly resort thither. What a pity it would be, after thus getting a footing, to see all dispersed, and several hundreds here and hereabout, at most, occasionally served, four or five times a year, as was the case some years back. Was all this properly exposed to Archbishop Troy of Dublin, I make bold to say considerable assistance might be obtained ; and this, within a few years, would prove one of the most numerous congregations of your Lordship's district."

That the Catholics of Dublin gave a generous response to the appeal in favour of the Glasgow Mission, is sufficiently manifest from Dr. Hay's letter on 15th August, 1796, in which he writes :—

"I this day received your Grace's most agreeable favour. I cannot express the sentiments of gratitude and affection which your

sincere friendship excites in my heart on the present occasion. All I shall say is, that I trust in God, who knows the necessity which our poor people in Glasgow have of a place for the exercise of religion, and our inability to provide one among ourselves, will be himself your eternal reward, and amply recompense those who co-operate with your Grace in assisting us."¹

In the memorable year 1798, while so many anxious thoughts for the welfare of his flock pressed themselves upon the mind of Archbishop Troy, we find Dr. Hay again addressing him, commending to his kind patronage the petition of the Rev. James Robertson, a learned Benedictine, who was at this time living as chaplain with a Catholic family near Dumfries. Father Robertson, as far back as 1792, had written to Archbishop Troy from Edinburgh, soliciting permission to reprint the Holy Bible as published in Dublin by the Archbishop, and engaging on his own part that "the profits arising from the sale in Ireland, should be applied to the numerous poor come from Ireland to our country, whose children are almost all lost." The subject of Father Robertson's petition in 1798 was entirely different. Its main object was to secure the succour of an Irish priest for the scattered Catholic congregations south of Glasgow and Edinburgh, for whose spiritual wants no provision had been as yet made. Dr. Hay's letter, dated from Edinburgh 13th April, 1789, gives some interesting particulars of the Lowland Mission at this most trying period. He thus writes:—

"In these dismal times in which we live, a considerable number of people have come over from Ireland to the counties of Ayr and Galloway, on the south and west parts of Scotland. The Rev. Mr. James Robertson, O.S.B., who is the nearest to them, informs me that they are in great distress for want of a clergyman or two among them, and he sent me a memorial in their name, begging me to send a missionary to their assistance; as this is impossible for me at present, not having a sufficient number to serve my own people, they wished me to see if I could get any among the French emigrants who had learned the English, or to apply to your Grace to see if some proper hand could be got from Ireland. On seriously considering all circumstances, I am not of opinion that any of the former would answer their purpose, and do not see any way of getting them taken care of, but by getting help from their own country. Indeed, whoever can be got, would need to be a person

¹ Among Dr. Troy's MSS. I find an imperfect list of subscriptions with the heading: "The Roman Catholics of Glasgow, unable to erect a house of religious worship for their congregation, humbly solicit the pious aid of their fellow-subjects in the City of Dublin." Then follow sixteen names with subscriptions amounting to one hundred guineas.

of zeal and piety, and such an one will not, I fear, be easily spared from where he is ; especially as it is not in my power to maintain him, having now lost all we had from Rome, as well as what we had in France, and, on this account, were obliged last summer to reduce the small pittance our funds allowed to our missionaries from £12 to £10 yearly for their maintenance, and I wish we may be able to continue even that, which I fear we will not be able to do long. In these distressing circumstances, I flatter myself that your Grace will take the case of these poor people into your serious consideration, and, if it be possible to procure the necessary help for them, it would be a very great charity indeed. The poor people themselves, sensible of my inability to support a clergyman among them, are willing to contribute what they can for that purpose. The most of them can work for their bread, and, I understand, a Protestant gentleman, where they are, proposes to employ them in the manufactory business."

To this letter, Rev. Mr. Robertson, writing from Munshes, near Dumfries, in his appeal, adds :—

" Nothing can exceed the want and desire of these poor people for instruction, especially for an Irish priest and school. They offer each four shillings yearly to the amount of £12 : but can that be depended on? There are two hundred souls in ten parishes of the Stewartry of Kircudbright ; but there are many thousands in all. There is no priest south of Edinburgh and Glasgow to the English borders but myself, and two more hard by, and very near to Dumfries. We are family chaplains, and so can be of little or no use to them. May I presume to suggest to your Grace to send, at least for a visit of some weeks, a priest of prudence and experience. If agreeable, I should receive him at Port-Patrick, and conduct him through these unknown regions, introducing him to some of the best gentlemen, and assisting him to find out the objects of his mission. By this means, your Grace and colleagues would procure more full and certain information, and, were nothing further to be done immediately, many of these desolate souls would be consoled."¹

Ten years later, another earnest appeal was made to Irish Catholics, by the Rev. Andrew Scott. This zealous priest subsequently became the first Bishop of the Western District, and, for his zealous untiring labours, has been justly styled the Modern Apostle of Glasgow. Dr. Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of the Lowlands, commended Father Scott to Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin, in the following words :—

" The Rev. Andrew Scott goes to Ireland to solicit the charity of the Irish in their own country, in favour of their countrymen dispersed over all the west coast of this district. . . . My

¹ Dr. Troy's MSS. in the Diocesan Archives, Dublin.

utmost exertions cannot procure them chapels. I am most sincerely attached to them, and have sacrificed many private considerations to their good. My money and credit are pledged for one chapel (in Paisley), but we must have five or six more, if we mean to see our Irish Catholics keep up their character of attachment to the religion of their fathers and of their country."

Among the papers of Right Rev. Dr. Lanigan, who was Bishop of Ossory in the beginning of the present century, I have met with a copy of the printed circular addressed on this occasion by Father Scott to the Catholics of Ireland, dated the 22nd March, 1809. It thus begins:—

"The Rev. Andrew Scott from Glasgow, having come to Ireland to solicit the charity of this liberal nation in favour of their distressed fellow-countrymen dispersed over the west coast of Scotland, takes this opportunity of stating their case to a generous public. There are at this moment in the contiguous counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr, upwards of forty thousand Irish Catholics. They are almost all destitute of the comforts and blessings of their holy religion. The numberless calumnies thrown out by ignorant or evil-designing men against their religion and their country, totally preclude us from procuring for them temporary places of worship in the different towns where they are employed. Without chapels where they may receive instructions, no exertions of any number of priests would be able to preserve them from the many dangers and temptations of every kind to which they are constantly exposed, arising from the strong religious, but still stronger national prejudices which there exist against them. The scantiness of our means renders it absolutely impossible for us to provide them with the necessary places of worship; and such is their own poverty, being frequently obliged to wander from place to place, in search of employment, that they are for the most part unable to contribute the smallest mite for that necessary purpose. We are also sorry to add that experience has proved that the prejudices run there so high against them, that no subscriptions have been received, or can be expected, from our brethren of other persuasions in that part of Scotland. The predilection shown by the Right Rev. Dr. Cameron, Vicar-Apostolic of the district, to the distressed Irish Catholics, in providing them with pastors, withdrawn from old established missions, in other parts of the country, has contributed not a little to prevent our Scots Catholics from coming cheerfully forward on the present occasion, with the small subscriptions which their general poverty could in any case enable them to bestow."

Father Scott then inserts the commendatory note of the Bishop above cited, and adds:—

"The chapel for which Bishop Cameron's money and credit are pledged is erecting at present in the populous town of Paisley,

where, and in the immediate neighbourhood, are collected several thousand Irish Catholics. But we have been obliged to discontinue the building for want of means. The places where, according to his letter, more chapels are absolutely necessary, are Glasgow, Greenock, Dumbarton, Ayr, Kilmarnock, Irvine, and in almost every other town in the counties of Lanark, Renfrew, and Ayr."

When Father Scott took charge of the Mission in Glasgow in 1805, the only place then used for Catholic worship was more a garret than an oratory, in a dingy lane leading off the Gallowgate, and his list of Easter communicants was only 450. In a few years that list had increased to about 3,000. With the aid of the subscriptions received in Ireland, a new church was erected in Great Clyde street, and the thousands of Irish Catholics, who came streaming from its portals, told more eloquently than words how great a change had come over that Presbyterian city. Scotch bigotry continued indeed to show itself for a time. The windows of the new church were repeatedly smashed with stones whilst Father Scott was engaged in celebrating the Divine Mysteries, and when the Sisters of Mercy began to appear in the streets of Glasgow, they were subjected to a thousand insults. Charity, patience, and perseverance, however, after some years, overcame all this prejudice.

During the episcopate of Dr. Murdoch, who succeeded Dr. Scott in the Western District, a great deal was done to meet the ever increasing wants of the Irish congregations. No fewer than forty new churches were erected throughout the Western Vicariate, and the number of priests was increased ten-fold. We will be enabled to form an idea of the difficulties amid which all this progress was made, by the following extract from a letter addressed by Dr. Murdoch to Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, Archbishop of Dublin, from Glasgow, the 24th January, 1854:—

"There is here a very large amount of Catholics, but they are all of the poor and labouring classes, and are subjected to the same evil influences which your Grace is so anxious to counteract in Ireland. Every effort is made, and no expense spared, to proselytize the poor people, who, from strikes, want of employment, and the violent prejudice against their country and their creed, frequently and in great numbers labour under great hardships and destitution. Our little ones, in an especial manner, are fearfully exposed to unceasing attacks from wolves of both genders. Food and clothing are constantly held out as baits to allure them to Presbyterian schools, in which every exertion is made to fill their young minds with a horror of their religion. All the endeavours

of the priests and many zealous lay-persons cannot save a considerable number of children from falling a prey to the enemy. Many of our factories have schools attached to them, and attendance at these schools is often made a condition of obtaining employment. We find it a work of the greatest difficulty, I may safely say of impossibility, to provide schools and free education, so as to leave parents without excuse in sending their children to inimical schools. In the matter of food and clothing we are utterly incapable of competing with our adversaries. Such, my Lord Archbishop, is but a faint, a very faint sketch of our melancholy condition in Glasgow and neighbouring towns and villages."

Since Dr. Murdoch's time, Ireland has given an illustrious Prelate to the Western District of Scotland in the person of the Right Rev. James Lynch, who was appointed Coadjutor Bishop in 1866. At the time of his appointment, Dr. Lynch held the important office of President of the Irish College in Paris. As a compliment as well to Scotland as to Ireland, on the day of his consecration the richest tapestries and chandeliers, and everything that could add to the splendour of the occasion, were forwarded to the Irish College from the Imperial Chapel in the Tuilleries. Of this distinguished Bishop, still living, I will only say that during the three years that he laboured in Scotland, till he was translated by the Holy See to another Episcopate in his native land, he left nothing undone, in season and out of season, throughout the vast extent of the Western District, to evangelize the poor.

And so too, under the wise rule of the present Archbishop of Glasgow, the number of Irish Catholics has gone on increasing every year, and, with their increasing numbers, schools and religious institutions and churches have been multiplied, and those dangers set forth in Dr. Murdoch's letter, which seemed so threatening a quarter of a century ago, have almost entirely disappeared.

(To be continued.)

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.—I.

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.

OF course the Elizabethan period ; but why ? How is it, we say to ourselves, that this especial time presents itself first when our thoughts turn to the long life of English Literature ? With Horace, we may say—

“ Vixere fortes ante Agamemnona
Multi.”

there were intellectual giants before Shakespeare, and surely there has been a Milton since ; there have been groups too, round which whole schools of literature have clustered, writers with whose works we are certainly more familiar than with those of all but the greatest minds of the period to which we are inevitably drawn. Is it that “ distance lends enchantment to the view,” and, seeing them through the haze of time, they loom out in more than their natural grandeur ? Perhaps “ omne ignotum pro mirabili ” still holds good, and so we are content to take at second hand the exaggerated praise of those who profess to have explored the far distant land, which we are too busy or too idle to visit and judge for ourselves. There may be something, but not much, in these surmises, certainly not enough to answer our query. Look at it how we may, we cannot but see that there is a vigorous life in the period to which we refer : a strength of intellect and a power of thought which have not only sufficed to live on through the rough, varied times which have intervened between us and them, but have brought them, giants still, into the midst of a very different generation, and enabled them to claim and hold their own, and that the very first place in the ranks of English Literature.

Granting this, which few, if any, would venture to deny, it becomes an interesting question to consider why is it so ; what were the external circumstances which, as it were, developed the internal powers, and made of the men of the time of Elizabeth the mighty intellectual heroes we all acknowledge them to be. Poets are born and not made, and yet times make men. There is no real contradiction in these two sayings. The circumstances and opportunities which time puts in the way have no small share in the result of the human career. What he might have done is rarely balanced by the outcome of a life. The delicate plant and the mighty oak were once seeds which a child could

destroy, and how many specimens of both perish in the growth, how few comparatively survive to realize all of which they are capable. So, if we consider briefly the Elizabethan period we shall, perhaps, be able to see what it had itself to do in the development at least, if not in the formation of the great intellects of that day. The revival in learning set in at least a century before the time with which we have more immediately to do. It had to work its way from Italy through France and Spain before it told with full effect upon England; but when it came it found minds fit and ready to receive it. A work of a very different character had been achieving its end amid civil strife and bitter persecution. The religious revival, as some considered it, but what we know to have been the uprooting of the Faith from the land and the spread of spiritual desolation in its place, had, for a while, distracted the minds of most people from intellectual pursuits and the studies which come of peace and order.

Men's minds and hearts were moved to their lowest depths by questions which touched the Faith and their hopes of heaven. We all know how great excitement stirs up the mind and often develops latent powers which will show themselves, if not immediately, yet when reflection has had time to work. Earnest thought will strengthen the mind, and brace it for greater efforts than otherwise it could make; and how terribly men were in earnest in those days the persecutions on all sides bear witness. What was the natural outcome of all this? Writers became, in its truest and highest sense, men: earnest, thoughtful and truthful. Literature was no mere trade for the needy nor a recreation for those in better circumstances. It was recognised as a kind of vocation, and men took it up almost religiously. What kind of writing should we expect from such men and under such circumstances? We may be sure that it will be strong, vigorous and hearty, often coarse in expression, rude in its emphasis, and but little subject to rule and discipline. And when we find it such, we should bear in mind what has produced it, and so, not judge it harshly, but do justice to what is in truth a young literature.

We talk justly of rude health, and why? because it often makes its possessors boisterous and noisy; at times it fatigues and worries us—it is like the play of boys and upsets orderly arrangements. It annoys, and yet we would not wish it to be exchanged for silent mopingness; and for this reason that we rejoice in the health which shows itself in these inconvenient ways.

Studies on English Literature.

So is it with many of the writers of the period of which we write. They are conscious of powers which they hardly know how to use; they are often extravagant in expression, violent in action, and very indecorous, and much more so to modern ears than to those of their contemporaries, who listened very quietly to words and phrases which to us are positively intolerable.

There is no denying this: to conceal it would be unfair to new readers, while to defend it would be untrue to ourselves. Such a caution is in many cases necessary, for the walking in these ways becomes dangerous: indeed, as we all know, there are writers of this period, as indeed of every other, not excluding our own, whose works are quite unreadable for these reasons.

But this foul blot upon literature was then, as now, absent from the writings of the greatest: thus if we remove what was then considered unbecoming from the writings of Shakespeare, we shall be perhaps surprised to find how little is left to blot out. Literary garbage is the food upon which only vulgar minds batten; that which panders to the vilest appetites is generally provided by minds but higher up in the same low order; an intellect is not really great when it can find its nourishment in such thoughts, no more than the heart is really manly that can find its pleasure in what such a debased intellect produces.

In the midst of the political and religious turmoil of the period we must not look for literature. It was the seed time, the harvest had yet to come. The ground was being ploughed up, the iron was entering into the soul, for the mind was to receive the intellectual gift broadcast. Men thought of other matters, and had neither time nor inclination for what is the outcome of thoughtful peace.

England had to pass through the fierce strife and terrible convulsions which marked the reigns of Henry, Edward, and Mary, before peaceful times dawned upon it in the latter days of Elizabeth. Henry's tyranny in one direction, the rule of the extreme Protestant party during the brief reign of Edward VI. in another, the upsetting of this and the replacing of the Catholic rule under Mary, and the subversion of this once more on the accession of Elizabeth, each in its turn, tossed the country from side to side; over and over again does the religious controversy rage, prevail and fail, until men are glad of peace at any price, and hail a monarch who is strong enough to hold her own, be the price they pay what it may.

Of course in this tumult, literary work is nowhere: men wrote then only of necessity; each, as it were, with a halter around his neck, or an axe glittering over his head, according as he was of high or low degree, this was pretty nearly all the difference.

But the minds which passed through such times, or that sprung up towards their close, with the living traditions ringing in their ears and the marks of the battle fresh on every side—such minds were all the stronger for the ordeal through which they had passed; and so when peace and a settled government came—as they did in time under the long and firm rule of Elizabeth—then the harvest was reaped, and the closely pruned vines yielded abundant and richly flavored clusters.

But this harvest was not of rapid growth. Indeed it is one of the significant signs of what terrible convulsions the country had passed through, that the outcome was so long delayed. It was a kind of intellectual famine that had passed through the land, which required many a good and favorable season before it could smile with abundance and prosperity. Elizabeth came to the throne in 1558, yet in 1586 Sir Philip Sydney complained of the want of poets in England. It was not until 1590 that Spenser published his first three books of the "Faerie Queene." Shakespeare's first play, "The Two Gentlemen of Verona," appeared in 1586; Bacon's *Essays*, not till 1597; and Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* in the same year.

What names are these! Truly, if the harvest was late it was abundant; such, indeed, as no country before or since ever showed at one reaping. Each a representative man, and each perhaps the foremost in his especial line.

We have already mentioned the revival of learning which sprung up abroad, and especially in Florence, a century or more before the period of which we write. Let us say a word or two about its influence. Men like Chaucer, Dante and Petrarch arose and did great things in their generations, but these did not appear as an ordinary growth but individual and exceptional. They seemed to have no place in any regular succession, they were not the natural outcome of the prevailing literary life. Thus their influence upon their times was not so great as it would have been had the times been better prepared to receive them. So after them there seems to be a falling back—or at least a pause. But the intellectual as well as the physical world is never idle: at that period it may be said to be laying a

new and better foundation whereon to build ; it is going to school, and Antiquity is the schoolmaster. When the conquest of Constantinople by the Turks drove the Greeks with their art and literature into the West, the study of the ancient language revived. Florence received the gift as though a sacred deposit, cherished it at home and sent it to found Universities throughout Europe. So the literary world, such as it is, goes to school, and, of course, while learning, can produce little other than school exercises.

The marvellous literature of Greece is unfolded to wondering eyes, and claims, as it must ever do, the loving admiration of the greatest and best ; and with it comes its sister, Art, which can never be long separated from it. This period, which is justly called the Medicean time, seeing what the princes, lay and clerical, of that line did for it—this period is well worth a careful study, so full of interest is it, at once so pleasing and so painful, full of enthusiasm and with much going astray ; full of great and of little things ; of high aspirations and of sad shortcomings. Paganism seems reviving in aspect at times distressing but as often ludicrous. There is comedy and tragedy, frequently degenerating into melodrama and farce.

So the whole movement may be regarded with very different feelings, as we look at it from different points of view : there is so much to admire and so very much to condemn.

It is very difficult, if not altogether impossible, for us in the present day to realize the feelings with which the scholars of that time received the great gift of Grecian Literature. We are so accustomed to deal familiarly with those classic gems, dimmed it may be by our careless handling, that we know not, and indeed care not to know their preciousness. School discipline and the weariness which comes of daily tasks create a distaste for what has been the unwitting instrument of our sufferings ; and so, when we have worked our way to a comprehension of what has been our instrument of torture, we have little inclination for the examination of the ingenuity of its structure or the beauty of what has been so hard upon ourselves. But these mediæval scholars, to whose ripe minds the treasures were first revealed ; these men to whom the needful study was a labor of love, and who had hearts to cherish and intellects to comprehend the classic revelation, what must they have felt when Æschylus or Sophocles first revealed the drama

to them, or when Homer first sang to them the tale of Troy?

For a time it was enough for them to live in that bright intellectual light, to bask in the rays of that eastern sun; little wonder if at times it dazed them; and men, with show of reason, thought them mad. In very truth they were mad with delight and drank deep of the intoxicating draught. But, as time went on, the new-old learning did its work. The ancient teachers produced not only apt scholars, but men who could themselves go forth and carry into new writings the spirit which had dominated in the old. At first it was but a faint, childlike copy of the great originals, but in time powerful minds arose which thought for themselves and used their native tongue, strong in the influence of the mighty dead, and, while owing much to them, worked out what they had given in their own way and to a nobler, because a Christian, end. But we must not let this inviting theme draw us away from our immediate object; though the revival of learning had a great share in the glory of this period, its influence being shown in the great central figure of the group which rises up before the mind's eye when the Elizabethan period is contemplated.

The Queen herself was no mean scholar, as is well known: indeed it could hardly have been otherwise, seeing what a preceptor she had in Roger Ascham. The greatest Greek scholar of his day had the skill of inspiring his pupils with no small portion of his enthusiasm. We all have read how, when hastening through Leicestershire on his way to the German Court, on an embassy to Charles V., he called upon another royal but less fortunate pupil than Elizabeth, and found Lady Jane Grey, then only fifteen, reading the *Phædo* of Plato in the original Greek, while the members of her family were out hunting. So it was with the Queen herself: he instructed her in the learned languages we are told, while she was yet the Princess, and when she ascended the throne, he was continued in office as Latin secretary and made tutor in Greek to Her Majesty, and during the rest of his life was a constant resident in court. We may be sure he allowed his tutorship to be no sinecure, and so we find it recorded that he spent some hours every day in reading Greek and Latin authors with the Queen. He had his views upon the method of teaching languages, and quotes triumphantly the example of Elizabeth, educated on his own system, and whose especial proficiency in Latin was universally acknowledged. We

wonder whether Elizabeth read the *Phædo* as Lady Jane Grey did; and, as we handle a volume now our own, we think it not unlikely that such was the case, for she certainly possessed this copy. Here it is; a goodly folio, richly bound and emblazoned, the whole works of Plato in the original Greek, with crabbed contractions which would repel many a modern student. It is a new year's gift from Sir John Mason to Queen Elizabeth; and the Ex-Chancellor of Oxford has written on the first page an autograph dedication, which is not without an historic interest for more reasons than one. As in all probability the dedication has never before been printed, we give it (with its peculiar punctuation) as a literary curiosity and as a specimen of the style in which a grave courtier—for he was also Treasurer of the Queen's Chamber—addressed his Queen:—

"*DIVÆ ELIZABETÆ &c.* :

"*Ineuntem hunc annum. et multos deinceps annos felicissime ducere'. Connubio nimis iam diu desiderato, votis bonorum satisfacere'. Remp:^{am} in omni felicitate' conservare'. et a cunctis imminetibus periculis, prudenti dextra defendere'. Justiciam communem universis, suum ius singulis. Sartum tectum tueri. Pena, malorum audatiam a vitiis avertere'. Premio, bonorum mentes ad virtutem accendere'. Et omnia cum timore dei et ad eius gloriam.*

"*Votis multis*

"*JOANNES MASONIUS.*"

It is difficult to think or write of the Queen without strong political and religious feeling: her long reign made itself too deeply felt not to have left a sting behind it. But we have here to deal only with a literary question and to consider the influence of Elizabeth in the intellectual movement of her day.

That it was great no one can question: and this for other reasons than her own personal scholarship and love of literature. She was the Queen, the reigning monarch, in an age when kings and queens were something very different from what they are now, and, moreover, she was a Tudor, and as such carried her royal power and influence to the uttermost.

It may give some idea of the awe and reverence which (at least in those days) did hedge a king, and the way in which court ceremonial sustained it, if we quote what may be called a royal rubric from the journal of a German

traveller, Heutzner, who describes what he himself witnessed in the preparation for the dinner of the Queen :—

“ A gentleman entered the room bearing a rod, and along with him another bearing a table-cloth, which, after they had both kneeled three times with the utmost veneration, he spread upon the table, and, after kneeling again, they both retired; then came two others, one with the rod again, the other with a salt-cellar, a plate and bread; when they had kneeled as the others had done, and placed what they brought upon the table, they too retired with the same ceremonies performed by the first; at last came an unmarried lady (we were told she was a Countess), and along with her a married one, bearing a tasting knife; the former was dressed in white silk, who, when she appeared, prostrated herself three times in the most graceful manner, approached the table, and rubbed the table with bread and salt, with as much awe as if the Queen had been present. When they had waited there a little while, the yeomen of the guard entered, bareheaded, clothed in scarlet, with golden roses upon their backs, bringing, in each turn, a course of dishes, served in plate, most of it gilt. These dishes were received by a gentleman in the same order they were brought, and placed upon the table, while the lady taster gave to each guard a mouthful to eat of the particular dish he had brought, for fear of any poison. During the time that this guard (which consist of the tallest and stoutest men that can be found in all England, being carefully selected for this service) were bringing dinner, twelve trumpets and two kettledrums made the hall ring for half-an-hour together. At the end of all this ceremonial a number of unmarried ladies appeared, who, with particular solemnity, lifted the meat from the table, and conveyed it to the Queen's inner and more private chamber, where, after she had chosen for herself, the meat goes to the ladies of the court. The Queen dines and sups alone, with very few attendants; and it is very seldom that anybody, foreigner or native, is admitted at that time, and then only at the intercession of somebody in power.”

From this, which was done in the Queen's absence, we may judge of the form and state which attended her actual presence. If we would understand the effect of all this upon the people high and low alike, we must not look at it with modern eyes, nor criticize it with nineteenth-century ideas. If we succeed in doing this—which is no easy thing—we shall have some perception of the effect of her favor and influence in the advance of literature in her day.

Sir Walter Scott, in “*Kenilworth*,” has sketched a well-known scene, in which Sir Walter Raleigh first wins the royal notice and favor; and points out, with his usual skill, the contest then raging between the brutal sports of the

day and the refined literature which was trying to supersede it in the favor of the educated classes; and shows how all hang upon the slightest words and actions of the Queen, knowing how much depends upon them for the final issue.

We may be sure the poets and dramatists knew it too. They felt that they had her woman's nature on their side, and more than this, because established on higher grounds, her learned and accomplished mind. She could understand and sympathize with them, which many of the great and influential about her could not do, so they paid her court, not in the rude flattery which less refined minds offered, but with a felicity and sometimes with a delicacy which she thoroughly appreciated.

The greatest poet of the age, Spenser, dedicated his "*Faerie Queene*" to her—which, indeed, is itself in name and subject a compliment to Elizabeth—and calls her "the most high, mighty, and magnificent Empress, renowned for piety, virtue, and all gracious government," and says "her most humble servant, Edmund Spenser, doth in all humility dedicate, present and consecrate these his labors to live with the eternity of her fame."

To us such language, of course, sounds extravagant, if not worse; but it was not so in those days when compliments were rich if not rare, and the spirit of chivalry yet survived; when men felt grateful for what the Queen had done for literature, and gave free expression to their feelings, without any dread of that miserable bantering spirit of ridicule which checks and chills so much that is good and noble in our days.

Shakespeare himself has paid his tribute of gratitude to his royal patron, in lines whose beauty commends them to our hearts quite apart from consideration of the royal lady for whom they were intended; and how must she have valued their grace and delicacy, touching her in her tenderest feelings.

"That very time I saw, but thou could'st not
Flying between the cold moon and the earth
Cupid all armed; a certain aim he took
At a fair vestal, throned in the west.
And loos'd his love-shaft smartly from his bow
As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts;
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votress passed on
In maiden meditation, fancy free."

The poets gained the day, for the royal favor was with them, and lines like these had no small share in the victory.

We all know how skilfully Sir Walter Scott has turned them to this account in that scene to which we have alluded ; and he wrote history in its truest sense, giving us its spirit, which often conveys a truer impression to the mind than the mere facts themselves can do.

“When the speaker had ceased [the recitation], she murmured over the last lines as if scarce conscious that she was overheard ; and as she uttered the last one she dropt into the Thames the supplication of Orson Pinnit, keeper of the royal bears, to find more favourable acceptance at Sheerness, or wherever the tide might waft it.”

But not alone with the Queen did the encouragement and patronage of literature rest. We may be sure the courtiers in their different degrees followed the royal leading. It became a fashion to dabble in literature, and even those who could least appreciate it pretended to do so, and thus gave it a helping hand ; and do not let the reader grow indignant at the language we are using, and flash up at the idea of such people, or, indeed, of any people, lending a helping hand and encouraging Shakespeare ! But so, indeed, it was, and perhaps must ever be. The greatest dramatist the world ever knew was an actor, and part proprietor of a theatre, who supplied his plays as a matter of course, and wrote most probably to order, and as the time required them.

Had the world not flocked to the Globe Theatre, it would have closed, and where would the plays have been ? those which he wrote while in active management, and those which he sent up from New Place at Stratford, when he had become a country gentleman out of the profits of those earlier works. Men, even the greatest, do not live apart, whatever poets may say to the contrary ; at any rate those who write for the pleasure of their fellow-men live much on sympathy. One success encourages to another effort, and those who hailed the first feel a fresh interest in the second, and their applause urges to a third production. So the author and his public depend upon one another, and, if large-hearted, rejoice in that bond of union.

So it was that the revival of learning did its work alike in those who wrote and in those who read and saw. Poets and dramatists had higher models set before them in the Greek literature, which came to them directly or indirectly in the intellectual advance ; and, what they produced, as

the outcome of this growth, created a taste in those around them for better things than had before contented them; and through that higher spirit of criticism, which readers and auditors thus unconsciously acquired, the authors were spurred to greater exertions, and so nobler works were the fresh result, alike the fruit and the reward of the nation's intellectual growth. Shakespeare himself well illustrates this. If we compare his earlier works, his adaptations of other plays, which served the immediate purpose of his first theatrical ventures, with those which came of his later days, we may observe how even he, greatest of dramatists as he was, grew greater and nobler under the popular applause; how his large heart responded to the acclamations of his much loved countrymen; and how his mighty genius rose to its highest in answer to their increased appreciative power.

And what a literature it was which educated the English people, and rewarded them for their encouragement and sympathy! Shakespeare, rare Ben Jonson, Beaumont and Fletcher, Marlowe and Philip Massinger, as its dramatists; Shakespeare again, Spenser, Chapman, Daniel, Drayton and Donne, as its poets; Bacon, a host in himself, and well-nigh a whole literature, so varied are his thoughtful works; Burton, whose "Anatomy of Melancholy" Hallam calls "a great sweeping of miscellaneous literature;" and then the theologians, with the "judicious" Hooker at their head, in right, if not of orthodoxy, at least of profound learning, and with Cardinal Allen and the ever-fresh Parsons among their number. Then, again, the annalists, with Bacon and Camden and quaint Stowe and Holinshed—that Holinshed whom Shakespeare conned so zealously and loved to quote, as he did still more fully from Cavendish's *Wolsey*.

Look where we will, in every department of literature we find the intellectual giants of this period leading the march which since has never ceased; and so, when we trace our way backward through each path, we find ourselves at what we may call the great starting point of all, the Elizabethan Period.

GERALD BARRY, THE ARCHDEACON OF BRECK- NOCK, AND HIS LATE EDITORS.

WE flatter ourselves we owe our readers no apology for inviting them to join us in the study of Gerald Barry, the Archdeacon of Brecknock, widely rather than popularly known by the Latin designation *Giraldus Cambrensis*. He is beyond all question, the most famous, or, if the reader prefers, the most notorious of all our historians: he early chose Ireland as the great subject of literary labour for himself, his works upon it became the great authorities for foreigners for ages, and aroused in Ireland an almost unrivalled earnestness of refutation. And yet, to tell the truth, it seems to us it would be a pity for our country, if Archdeacon Gerald's credit were completely overthrown. It is true he has set down most monstrous charges against our ancestors, but it is also certain that some of the noblest proofs of the virtue of the Irish Mediæval Church would disappear, if Archdeacon Gerald's testimony were to be lightly cast aside. No doubt it may well be said that an enemy is always a good witness in our favour and not against us. But this is only true as to one of the characteristics of a good witness, namely that he be not misleading of his own accord. Gerald Barry, as one who had no love for Ireland, is assuredly not misleading of his own accord, when he bears testimony in favour of its clergy. But if he was really a man of no sense and judgment, he might be, though not willingly misleading, actually misled. If he really was so ignorant and careless and self-sufficient, that his opinion would evidently be lightly formed, then even though by some accident it might be on the side opposed to prejudice, it could carry with it very little weight indeed. It is therefore very important to know how far Archdeacon Gerald deserved the hard things that have been said of him.

The question seems difficult enough to settle. One who was unquestionably among the very best of Irish historical critics, the late Dr. Matthew Kelly of Maynooth College, did, it is true, in an article on the Round Towers, call our Archdeacon, the great father of anti-Irish lies. But in the notes that Dr. Kelly furnished to the edition of "*Cambrensis Eversus*," Dr. Lynch's famous refutation of Gerald, published by the Celtic Society, Dr. Kelly himself often appears to some extent a defender of *Cambrensis*,

against the powerful attacks of Dr. Lynch. The latest editor of Cambrensis's own works alludes to this curious circumstance as follows, referring to the "*Cambrensis Eversus*"¹ of the Celtic Society.

"No small portion of Mr. Kelly's notes on the anti-Giraldus parts of the work are devoted to prove that Giraldus is right and Dr. Lynch wrong, at any rate that Giraldus is not so far wrong as Dr. Lynch would make out."

What we are to think of the authority of Gerald is, as we must admit, a point that seems hard to settle, and yet we are satisfied, that there are few things in history that can be settled so conclusively.

We have it in our power, if we will, to study and gauge and come to know Archdeacon Gerald of Brecknock, with a thoroughness denied us in the case of men amidst our own circle of acquaintance. For Archdeacon Gerald had an eventful life, which displayed his character in a thousand ways. He wrote numerous works, now in our hands, and in them he seems to have poured forth his very soul, besides supplying abundant information about his acts. We really believe that, in spite of Boswell, we know Dr. Johnson himself less perfectly, than we may, if we choose, know this extraordinary Archdeacon of the Middle Ages. We know of course a hundred little external circumstances about Dr. Johnson's ways, that we cannot match in the case of our mediæval dignitary. But then, the Johnson whom we know is, as Macaulay well said, "Johnson grown old, Johnson in the fulness of his fame." It is Johnson leading one settled regular undisturbed course of easy life. We may read his books and almost listen to his after-dinner conversation, they will teach us his views on a variety of subjects, but they will scarcely throw much light on his own doubtless once ardent aspirations. We may indeed form an idea of what he would have done in one way or in another, if the quiet tenor of his existence had been suddenly disturbed by great

¹This does not prevent the editor from justly calling *Cambrensis Eversus* "the work of a great Irish Scholar, very learned, and elaborate and valuable; not at all confined to the mere upsetting of Giraldus, but entering largely also into Irish history of all periods down to the time he wrote." It seems very odd that the editor should not have seen a copy of Father White's book against Giraldus, the *Apologia pro Hibernia*, though he refers to its composition as follows: "Stephen White, a learned Jesuit, a correspondent of Archbishop Ussher, and spoken highly of by him, was the first to enter the lists."

hopes or fears, but all we can form here is only an idea. The spirit, the ambition, the tastes, the courage of the man are not tested for us, as in the case of Gerald Barry. With such means at our disposal and such an object to be attained by making use of them, we should scarcely need to apologize for directing our readers' attention to Cambrensis. But the truth is, we could scarcely submit to their notice any subject more interesting, more entertaining in itself. Had we no ulterior end in view, it would be worth while to run over Cambrensis's many works, for the sake of knowing the marvellous man who wrote them, and who has stamped his likeness, in some guise or other, on almost every page.

We proceed therefore without further preface to cast a first glance on his works, as they are now presented to us. We have now seven volumes of them, published by the Treasury according to the plans of the Master of the Rolls. The matter is here evidently abundant. And of course there are editorial views put forward which it would be ill-judged indeed on our part, in the first place to overlook. We must begin with Gerald's editors before coming to himself. Indeed one of the first questions that will suggest themselves to our readers' thoughts will be, what is the verdict passed upon our author in this latest and completest edition of his writings? To this we must answer that the jury disagree. They are not very numerous. The seven volumes have not had twelve or even seven editors: but they have had two, and the two were not of one mind. Happily, however, these are not jurors who give their views without explaining them, and we shall be able without much trouble to form some tolerable estimate of the value of their opinions.

The editor of the volumes I., II., III., IV. was the Rev. J. S. Brewer, Professor of English Literature at King's College, London; and he looks on Gerald's "*History of the Conquest of Ireland*," as really a very fine work, "whose only drawback is the recurrence of artificial orations." "No efforts," he adds, "have been wanting which the most rigid historical fidelity could demand." And as complete proof of this last weighty assertion, Mr. Brewer tells us, in a note appended to it, that "the narrative of Giraldus has been thoroughly confirmed by the Anglo-Norman description of the same events by Morice Regan, himself an eye-witness." Unfortunately these statements are almost categorically denied by the editor of the fifth and following volumes. In his preface to the fifth, after mentioning a

discrepancy between the chronology in the Archdeacon's "History of the Conquest," and that of the Irish annals, this second editor remarks, "There can be no worse authority than Giraldus wherever a date is concerned; he very seldom condescends to give a date, and when he does is quite as likely to be wrong as right, and the Irish annals at this period of history at all events are very accurate in their chronology." As for the description by "Morice Regan himself," we learn from our new editor, that "by a misunderstanding of the original, Sir G. Carew, in his abstract, seems to have believed Regan to have been the actual author rather than the principal informant of the author;" and the same editor remarks further about the work called Regan's, "In rhyme though it be, its history, I have not a doubt, is far more accurately true than Giraldus's poetical prose. Sometimes it gives a strong general confirmation to Giraldus's narrative, but the particulars often are very different." It seems plain, not only that Giraldus, even in his "History of the Conquest," is not quite the trustworthy guide that Mr. Brewer makes him out to be, but that Mr. Brewer himself was sometimes a little too ready to make assertions. Obligated to notice the editors, we cannot help dealing somewhat fully with this point. Unfortunately a careful examination of his work thoroughly confirms the view that Mr. Brewer as editor of *Cambrensis* is an unsafe guide to follow. As professor of English Literature he may have been worthy of considerable praise, but he ought not to have attempted to edit the mediæval works before us.

In the first place he was not sufficiently at home in Latin. This is surely no disgrace to a devoted student, whose attention was fixed on other objects; but disgrace or not, the fact is what we state. He gives us as a story in Giraldus of some "historical interest, as showing Richard I. in a new light," the following passage, which we quote from the preface to the fourth volume:—

"It happened on one occasion that Richard I. was speaking in Latin and made use of the following expressions '*Volumus quod istud fiat coram nobis.*' The archbishop who stood by among other nobles and prelates, wishing to correct the king, cried out '*coram nos*, my liege, *coram nos.*' On which the king, casting a glance at Hugo, Bishop of Coventry, a man of learning and eloquence, replied, amidst much laughter: '*Stick to your own grammar, my Lord Archbishop, because yours is more valiant than mine (plus valet).*'"

This is indeed showing the bluff Cœur de Lion in a new light, as the maker of what at best must be pronounced a ridiculously confused and subtilizing pun for even a grammarian or a pedagogue. Can "valiant" grammar mean audacious, daring grammar? Can *plus valet* mean "is more valiant" and even "is more daring"? Admitting all these things, why should Richard tell the archbishop to keep to his bad or daring grammar. The point ought clearly to be *not* to keep to it. It is good grammar, not daring grammar, that is to be kept to. And this is precisely what is meant in the story. The king's grammar is good, it is better than the archbishop's, *plus valet*, and his majesty is naturally told by "Hugo Bishop of Coventry, a man of learning and eloquence" to keep to it, to "stick" to it, and not mind the archbishop's correction. The whole thing is perfectly clear in the Latin, to which Mr. Brewer refers and which we subjoin:—

'Accidit aliquando quod Anglorum rege Ricardo Latinis verbis in hoc modo proponente; 'Volumus quod istud fiat coram nobis;' praedictus archiepiscopus, qui cum aliis multis et magnis viris tunc praesens extiterat, regem corrigere volens, ait: 'Domine, coram *nos* coram *nos*. Quo audito cum rex Hugonem Conventrensem episcopum, virum literatum et facundum respiceret, ait ille: 'Ad vestram, domine, grammaticam quia plus valet, vos teneatis;' risu cunctorum qui aderant subsecuto."

Common sense cannot more positively require the translation we have given, than does Latin usage itself. If "respiceret" and "ait" were, as Mr. Brewer imagines, to have the same subject, it would be un-Latin to express that subject both as noun and pronoun. In simple sentences, like our "When the king saw his enemy he trembled," or "The prince beholding his foe attacked him," it is not the Latin way to express the pronoun "he" in addition to the noun "king," or "him" in addition to "his foe." The subject or object once named is sufficient for both verbs. Introducing a pronoun in addition points out simply that there is question of some second individual. The "ille" with "ait," while "rex" goes with "respiceret," shows that when the king looked at Bishop Hugh, it was that second individual, Bishop Hugh, that spoke. It is rather hard to have King Richard I. shown up in a new character, because Mr. Brewer does not construe properly. But it is remarkable as showing Mr. Brewer's self-confidence, that in such a case as

this, where the sense he makes out appears so lame, no misgivings, but actually introduces his strange translation to the reader in his preface. It seems as if it had been hard for this Professor to harbour the suspicion that he, an Oxford man of the Nineteenth Century, ought to make himself up on some points before attempting to edit an archdeacon of the Middle Ages.

Even where the words of the author would seem to suggest at first sight that there is something to be looked up, something referred to that is not explicitly mentioned, Mr. Brewer goes on contentedly, as if there could not possibly be anything for him to investigate. We give an example from the same third volume. In the fourth chapter of the first book *De Invectionibus* (King Richard's story occurs in the next chapter), Mr. Brewer prints as Gerald's "reply to Master Andrew's objections in the Consistory," several sentences, the first of which is as follows:—

"Magister Andreas promisit vobis et cotidie promittit mirabilia; sed si ordine psallendi non saliendo inceserit prius ad vilia defecerit quam ad mirabilia perveniet."

Farther on, in the third *Distinctio de Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, we have the same sentence in a better form, requiring, in order to be quite perfect, only the change of one *i* into *e* and the correction of one plainly typographical or clerical error. This second form differs from the first only in the last clause which is printed as follows: "prius ad *Deficit* quam ab *Mirabilia* perveniet." *Ab* of course we take to be a mere slip for *ad*. *Deficit* is we fear a wrong reading of Mr. Brewer's for *Defecit*, which is of course the proper word. No priest in Ireland, no one who reads the Roman Breviary, requires the explanation which for the sake of our lay readers we subjoin. The 118th Psalm is read in the "Little Hours," the part read at Sext commences with the word "Defecit," that read at None with "Mirabilia." Thus in the order of psalm-chaunting, "Defecit" comes before "Mirabilia." And Gerald's funny remark is this, that if Master Andrew, who is always saying "Audietis Mirabilia," goes on according to the regular order of psalm-chaunting, he will come to a full stop, he will come to where people must say *Defecit*, "he has failed," before he gets to the *Mirabilia*, the wonderful exposure that

he promises. We do not expect Mr. Brewer to know the Roman Breviary, though it would certainly be an advantage for Gerald Barry's editor to know it and the Vulgate well. But we should have expected that the words "si ordine psallendi" would have made any editor see, that a peculiar allusion was here made, and that he must notice it, either by explaining it, if possible, or by declaring that he had tried in vain to do his duty in throwing light upon the point. Mr. Brewer, in spite of the way he very properly prints *Deficit* and *Mirabilia* in the second quotation, simply refers us in a note appended to it, to the passage in *De Invectionibus*. He seems to have no idea of any "deficit" or any "mirabilia" in himself as editor.

On the contrary, he rather looks down on poor Archdeacon Gerald as a Latinist. When he cannot understand him, and perceives that he cannot, he abuses him for writing badly. At page 166 of vol. iv. he gives us the following note on one sentence. "The sense is left in this suspended state, the author having inextricably involved himself in a labyrinth of parentheses." The sentence is one of those commencing with "How;" which we sometimes see set down as titles to chapters. If a full stop be put at the end of it, it may be maintained of course that it is only a dependent sentence and incomplete, for want of some such phrase as "We well know," or "It is clearly understood;" a phrase which can be easily supplied and to which "how" and all that follows it should be tacked on. If a note of admiration be appended, the sentence cannot even be called incomplete or ungrammatical. As for the "sense" being "left suspended," the sense is perfectly clear, but for the misplacing of a comma; the main points are, Qualiter etiam literas detulit Qualiter etiam depositus fuit Around these main points there are plenty of parentheses or complements, but not parentheses that run into one another; no one of them begins till the preceding one is finished, and consequently there is no labyrinth of parentheses, and Giraldus was not inextricably involved. Mr. Brewer, indeed, seems to have involved himself inextricably by throwing the "fuit" into an immediately preceding parenthesis (*sed in ipso fere articulo*). Instead of putting a comma after "articulo" before "fuit," he puts one after "fuit" and joins those words. His imperfect mastery

of Latin indeed leaves much to be desired in his text.¹ But his self-confidence or assurance leads him, as we shall see,

¹ The following example will illustrate our meaning with respect both to punctuation and to knowledge of the Vulgate.

PUNCTUATION ADOPTED
BY MR. BREWER, vol. ii., p. 297.

¹ Promovebat, dicens et quasi rationem assignans, quod hi per probitatem suam satis sibi ubique sufficerent, illi vero per ignaviam suam, nisi provisum esset eis, deficiendo perirent. Illi sicut videbatur auctoritati apostoli innitens, inhonestiora membra nostra abundantiori circumdamus¹ honore.

Note appended by Mr. Brewer,

¹ Illi . . . circumdamus. So the passage stands in the MS.

NEW PUNCTUATION PROPOSED.

Promovebat, dicens et quasi rationem assignans, quod hi per probitatem suam satis sibi ubique sufficerent, illi vero per ignaviam suam nisi provisum esset eis, deficiendo perirent, illi (sicut videbatur) auctoritati apostoli innitens: Inhonestiora membra nostra abundantiori circumdamus honore.¹

Note suggested.

¹ Et quae putamus ignobiliora membra esse corporis, his honorem abundantiorum circumdamus. 1 Cor. xii. 23.

Here is an example about punctuation alone.

MR. BREWER, vol. iii., pp. 236-7.

. . . publico praeipientes edicto, ne quis clericus aut laicus absque literis ipsorum transverberetur. Similiter et per portus omnes totamque maritimam praeceptum fuit; praeipue vero de Giraldo, ne transverberetur, edictum exiit; qui etiam per singulas domos de Santwich quaesitus ut caperetur si reperiri posset, praeceptum fuit.¹

Note appended by Mr. Brewer.

¹ praeceptum fuit. So in the MS.

EMENDATION.

. . . publico praeipientes edicto, ne quis clericus aut laicus absque literis ipsorum transverberetur; similiter et per portus omnes totamque maritimam praeceptum fuit.¹ Praeipue vero de Giraldo ne transverberetur edictum exiit. Qui etiam per singulas domos de Santwich quaesitus, ut caperetur, si posset reperiri praeceptum, fuit.²

Note.

¹ praeceptum fuit "ne quis . . . absque literis . . . transverberetur;"

² "ut caperetur si inveniri posset" Giraldus.

The reader may here possibly exclaim, "And Wharton! did he not publish the latter extract? Surely he must have understood it; and what of his punctuation?" Wharton, of course, understood the passage: he was no Nineteenth Century Latinist. His punctuation sufficiently shows he caught the meaning, but it does not make that meaning very manifest, as we see from the perplexity which Mr. Brewer's note ingenuously confesses, though Mr. Brewer had long had Wharton's edition before his eyes.

Wharton's punctuation is the same as Mr. Brewer's, with the exception of a single comma which makes a capital difference. The main point in translating here is to make *ut caperetur* the complement not of *quaesitus* but of the final *praeceptum fuit*. Wharton marked this by placing a comma after *quaesitus*. Mr. Brewer omits the comma, joins *ut caperetur* to *quaesitus*, and then does not know what to do with the *praeceptum fuit* that remains over at the end, till he finally decides to write a note, protesting that this troublesome *praeceptum fuit* exists in the MS. and he must not be held answerable for it.

into considerably graver errors. We mean, of course, his self-confidence or assurance as a scholar proud of the Nineteenth Century, in dealing with a writer of the "dark" Middle Ages. We have no wish, or right, or ground to accuse him of the slightest undue assumption with regard to his own fellows and contemporaries.

J. J. O'C.

LITURGY.

How to make many Commemorations which are to be taken from the same Common Office.

REV. SIR,

Be good enough to explain how one is to make the Commemorations in Vespers and Lauds, when two or more Saints of the same order (say Confessor-Pontiffs), and with no proper antiphons or versicles, are to be commemorated? Only the other day I had as many as three such Commemorations to make at Vespers. It is unnecessary to describe what I did; but I know that I was embarrassed. The Vespers were "*2 Vesp. a cap. de seq. Com. diei inf. Octavam;*" all being Confessor-Pontiffs and to be taken from the Common.

The case which our respected correspondent brings forward is only one of many difficult combinations which may occur in connection with this matter. To make the answer more generally useful, we will briefly explain the whole question so as to meet the ordinary cases of perplexity that are likely to occur in the course of the year.

The embarrassment respecting the manner of making these Commemorations arises, as every priest knows, from the prohibition to repeat in a Commemoration an antiphon or versicle, or prayer, which has been already used for this purpose in that part or Hour of the Office.¹ Of course, they may be repeated in different Hours; we use in Lauds antiphons that were said in Vespers, so that repetition is forbidden only in the same Hour. Thus, in the Commemorations at Vespers we are not allowed to use for the second time the same antiphon, or versicle, or prayer. The same ruling applies to the Commemorations at Lauds.

¹ Rub. Brev. tit. ix. 8.

Moreover, according to Cavalieri,¹ the same antiphon or versicle may not be used in Vespers and Lauds when commemorating *the same Saint*, unless it be specially ordered otherwise. For example, if at Vespers I make use of the antiphon "*Euge, serve bone et fidelis, &c.*," in a Commemoration of St. Colman, Confessor-Pontiff, I may not repeat the same antiphon in the Commemoration of St. Colman at Lauds. Cavalieri relies for the correctness of this opinion on the decree of the Sacred Congregation, 5 May, 1736, in *Einsidlen*,² where the order prescribed for the Commemorations can be explained only on the principle he has laid down.

What, then, is to be done in order to avoid repetition, when many Commemorations are to be made at Vespers or at Lauds from the same Common Office?

The rubrics of the Breviary make provision for only one such Commemoration. We read there³:—

"Si antiphona et versus festi, de quo fit Commemoratio, sumenda essent ex eodem communi unde sumpta sunt in Officio diei, in festo Commemorationes variantur, ita ut in Vesperis sumantur ex Laudibus, et in Laudibus ex primis Vesperis ejusdem communis, nisi aliter signetur."

Here we have a general rule determining, in the circumstances described, where we are to go for the antiphon and versicle of the first Commemoration. The rule is this: When a change of antiphon or versicle is necessary, in order to avoid repetition we go from Vespers (either first or second Vespers) to Lauds; and when the case occurs in Lauds we pass from Lauds to first Vespers. This order is to be observed, except in so far as it must be modified by other fixed principles. Let us illustrate what we mean, by taking an example where another fixed principle enters in. Suppose the Directory to order "*in 2 Vesp., Commem. diei infra Octavam.*" Here we follow the order of the Breviary so far as to take the antiphon of the Commemoration from Lauds. But we do not say the versicle of Lauds, because it is the same as that of second Vespers; for this we pass to first Vespers.

Again suppose we read in the Directory "*in Laudibus Commem. diei infra Oct.*" It will be borne in mind that the rubric of the Breviary told us to pass from Lauds to first Vespers. In this case we do not observe this order, because,

¹ Cap. xxxii. dec. 286. n. 2. ² *Apud Cavalieri, loc. cit.* ³ Tit. ix. n. 8.

as every priest knows, the "dies infra Octavam" has no first Vespers. We pass from Lauds to *second Vespers* for the antiphon, but because the versicle of the second Vespers is identical with that of Lauds, which has just been read, we are obliged to seek elsewhere a versicle.¹ This we find in the first Vespers.

We cannot doubt that this is the correct order in the case submitted, as we have for it the authority of the Sacred Congregation of Rites:—

"Quando recitatur de S. Confessore, et in Laudibus fieri debet Commemoratio de infra Octavam alterius Confessoris propriam non habentis, quaeritur, unde desumenda est antiphona: ex primis Vesperis an potius ex secundis, cum infra Octavam primas non habet Vesperas."

S. R. C. respondit: "*Negative quoad primam partem, et affirmative quoad secundam, scilicet, pro Laudibus sumendam esse antiphonam de secundis Vesperis, et pro secundis Vesperis de Laudibus; in utroque tamen casu cum versu de primis Vesperis.*"—18th Dec. 1779 (4395).

In order to avoid confusion of thought regarding this question, it should be clearly understood that the rubric we have quoted from the Breviary supposes that the antiphon or versicle, or both of them, which but for the rule prohibiting repetition would have been used in making the Commemoration, have been read in the Office of the day. The rubric regards only the case of displacement. Because, if the Commemoration belongs to a different Hour (for instance to second Vespers, when we are saying the first Vespers of the day, or *vice versa*), and the antiphon and versicle there are available, or either of them, they must be taken. Here are examples of what we mean:—

Suppose we read in the Directory "*Vesp. de seq. festo, Commem. S. Albei, Ep. et C.-Simp.*"—We would say: (1) For the Office of the day, the versicle and antiphon of first Vespers; (2) For the Commemoration, the antiphon and versicle of Lauds.

In this case we follow the order described in the Breviary. The reason is, a simple Office has first Vespers, and only first Vespers. Only that it is put out by the other Office, the Commemoration would be taken from the first Vespers, and the order, in *case of displacement*, is from Vespers to Lauds.

¹ We suppose the Office of the day to be a "Confessor-Pontiff," and also the Octave to be of a Patron, Con.-Pontiff; and both to be taken from the Common.

Let us now take a different case. Suppose we read in the Directory, "*in 2 Vesp., a capitulo de seq., Commem. praeced.*;" or again, "*Vesp. de seq., Commem. diei infra Octavam.*" The rubric does not apply to either of these cases. The order would be in the first case:—*for the Office of the day*, versicle and antiphon of first Vespers; *for the Commemoration*, antiphon and versicle of second Vespers. Here we pass not from Vespers to Lauds, but from first to second Vespers, because the Commemoration belongs to second Vespers, and the antiphon and versicle there are available, that is, they have not been already read in this Hour. In this case there is no displacement. The same applies to the case of the "*dies infra Octavam*;" its Commemoration is part of second Vespers. It may be well to remark in this place, that the Commemoration of the patron of the church among the "*Suffragia Sanctorum*" belongs also to second Vespers and not to the first.

Leaving the cases where only one Commemoration is to be made, we come now to consider what is to be done when two or three are ordered, and all of them from the same Common Office. We will take in succession the different combinations that are likely to occur, and we shall continue to use, as suggested by our correspondent, Confessor-Pontiffs, as the typical class. This selection of a particular Common will help to make the matter more clear, by enabling us to give the first words of the antiphons and versicles referred to. Finally, touching these cases of two or more Commemorations the rubrics of the Breviary are, as we said, silent, but we have for our guidance some decisions of the Congregation of Rites, and the teaching of rubricists of recognized authority on the rules of the Breviary. We will begin with Vespers.

FIRST CASE. Suppose the Directory to order "Vespers of the following, with Commemorations of three Simples." What antiphons and versicles are to be said?

The order to be observed in this case has been fixed by a decision of the Congregation of Rites.¹

1. *For the Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of first Vespers. (*Ver.* "Amavit eum," &c. *Ant.* "Sacerdos et Pontifex," &c.)

2. *For the first Commemoration*: antiphon and versicle of Lauds, in accordance with the rubric of the Breviary. (*Ant.* "Euge, serve bone," &c. *Ver.* "Justum deduxit," &c.)

¹ 5 May, 1736, in *Einsidlen*, apud Cavalieri. *loc. cit.*

3. *For the second Commemoration*: antiphon of second Vespers and the versicle of the second nocturn of Matins, which is the same as that of Terce. (*Ant.* "Amavit eum Dominus," &c. *Ver.* "Elegit eum Dominus," &c.) The reason for not taking the versicle from the second Vespers is because it is the same as that of Lauds, which has been already in use in this Hour.

4. *For the third Commemoration*: the first antiphon of the third nocturn and the versicle of the same nocturn, which is identical with that of Sext. (*Ant.* "Domine iste sanctus," &c. *Ver.* "Tu es sacerdos," &c.)

This case has been, as we said, decided by the Congregation, and the order pointed out in it is to be observed when the Commemorations we are discussing occur at Vespers, unless in so far as it must be modified to avoid repetition, and by those other fixed principles to which we referred, when treating of one Commemoration only. According to this order we pass from Vespers to Lauds for the antiphon and versicle, thence to Vespers (first Vespers, if we began with second, and second Vespers, if we began with the first), making use of the versicle of the second nocturn, when it is necessary for change, and finally to the first antiphon of the third nocturn with the versicle of the same.

SECOND CASE. We read in the Directory: "second Vespers, a *capitula* of the following, Commemoration of the preceding, with two other Commemorations."

Here the order would be:

1. *For the Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of first Vespers. (*Ver.* "Amavit eum," &c. *Ant.* "Sacerdos et Pontifex," &c.)

2. *For the Commemoration of the preceding*: antiphon and versicle of second Vespers: because this Commemoration properly belongs to second Vespers, and the antiphon and versicle here are still available. (*Ant.* "Amavit eum Dominus," &c. *Ver.* "Justum deduxit," &c.)

3. *For the second Commemoration*: antiphon of Lauds with versicle of the second nocturn or of Terce. (*Ant.* "Euge, serve bone," &c. *Ver.* "Elegit eum Dominus," &c.) The versicle of Lauds is identical with that of second Vespers, and cannot, on this account, be read again.

4. *For the third Commemoration*: first antiphon of the third nocturn with its versicle. (*Ant.* "Domine, iste sanctus," &c. *Ver.* "Tu es sacerdos," &c.)

THIRD CASE. We read in the Directory: "second Vespers, Commemoration of the following Semi-double, and of two Simples."

The order in this case would be:

1. *For the Office of the day*: antiphon and versicle of second Vespers.

2. *For Commemoration of the following*: antiphon and versicle of the first Vespers.

3. *For the second Commemoration*: antiphon of Lauds and versicle of second nocturn.

4. *For the third Commemoration*: first antiphon of the third nocturn with its versicle.

Finally we come to the case into which the Commemoration of the "dies infra Octavam" is introduced, as given by our correspondent.

FOURTH CASE. We read in the Directory "in 2 Vesp. a cap. de seq. Comm. diei infra Oct." Here the order will be:

1. *For the Office of the day*, which is just begun with the capitulum of Vespers: versicle and antiphon of first Vespers.

2. *For the Commemoration of the preceding*: antiphon and versicle of second Vespers: because this Commemoration belongs to second Vespers, and the antiphon and versicle there are still available.

3. *For the day within the Octave*: antiphon of Lauds with versicle of second nocturn.

4. If there was another Commemoration of a Confessor-Pontiff, say of St. Patrick, in the "Suffrages of the Saints," it would consist of the first antiphon of the third nocturn with its versicle.

It is hardly necessary to consider what should be done if more than three such Commemorations occurred. It is barely possible, but most unlikely, that the Offices of more than four Saints of the same class, and all Common Offices, should meet on the same day. Cavalieri suggests, if such a thing should happen, to make use of the remaining antiphons of the third nocturn, and for versicles he sends us to the nocturns of kindred Offices: for instance, in this case of Confessor-Pontiffs, to the Office of the Confessor non-Pontiff.

To sum up, we deduce the following principle as to the order to be observed in Vespers, in Commemorations of the kind we are considering. From Vespers we pass to Lauds, from Lauds to Vespers (first Vespers if we

began with the second, second Vespers if we began with the first), making use of the versicle of the second nocturn for change, when necessary, and finally, to the first antiphon and the versicle of the third nocturn.

Having described the order to be followed at Vespers, we come in the next place to treat of the Commemorations at Lauds.

The rubric of the Breviary tells us,¹ as we have seen, that when a Commemoration is to be made at Lauds from the Common, and the antiphon and versicle are not available, because they have been already read in the Office of the day, we are to take the antiphon and versicle of *first* Vespers. This rule is subject to the limitations we noticed, when treating of Vespers; in fact, it supposes that the Office which is commemorated has *first* Vespers. Now this is not, for instance, the case with the “*dies infra Octavam*.” It has not first Vespers, so that the Commemoration of it at Lauds would be taken, not from first, but from second Vespers, the versicle, however, of first being substituted for that of second Vespers,² when this is necessary in order to avoid repetition.

In the rubrics of the Breviary, as we said already, provision is made for only one Commemoration. The question before us now is, what is the order when we have two or more?

FIRST CASE. Suppose we read in the Directory, “In Lauds three Commemorations of Simple Offices.” The order will be as follows:

1. *For the Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of Lauds.

2. *For the first Commemoration*: antiphon and versicle of first Vespers.

3. *For the second Commemoration*: first antiphon of third nocturn, and versicle of the same nocturn.

4. *For the third Commemoration*: antiphon of second Vespers and the versicle of second nocturn, or of Terce.

It will be remarked, probably, as something strange that the antiphon and versicle of the third nocturn are called into use before the antiphon of the second Vespers and the versicle of the second nocturn. But this is made necessary, as Cavalieri explains, to avoid repeating an antiphon and versicle in a Commemoration of the same

¹ Tit. ix. n. 8.

² S. R. C. 18 Dec., 1779 (4395).

Saint in the same Office. By referring to this first case at Vespers, it will be seen that in commemorating the second Simple Office we made use of the antiphon of the second Vespers, and the versicle of the second nocturn.

This order is to be observed at Lauds, regard, however, being had to the certain fixed principles referred to when we were speaking of Vespers.

Here is a case where one of those modifying principles enters in :

SECOND CASE. "In Lauds, Commemoration of the day within Octave, and of two Simples." Here the order would be :

1. *For the Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of Lauds.

2. *For the Commemoration of the "dies infra Octavam"*: antiphon of second Vespers, and versicle of first nocturn, which is identical with the versicle of first Vespers. The antiphon of the first Vespers is not taken, contrary to the rule of the rubric in the Breviary, because the "dies infra Octavam" has no first Vespers. The versicle of the second Vespers cannot be selected, for it has been read in Lauds, and accordingly we go for a versicle to the first nocturn, where the versicle is identical with that of first Vespers.

3. *For second Commemoration*: antiphon of first Vespers with versicle of second nocturn.

4. *For third Commemoration*: first antiphon of third nocturn with its versicle.

To sum up, we deduce, from what we have written, the following principle to regulate the order to be observed in Commemorations of the kind we have being considering: namely, Commemorations displaced from the Hour to which they properly belong, by the previous use of the antiphon or versicle, or of both of them to be found there.

AT VESPERS.

1. *For Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of Vespers (first or second, according as we are saying the one or the other).

2. *For first Commemoration*: antiphon and versicle of Lauds.

3. *For second Commemoration*: antiphon of Vespers (second, if we began with the first, first if we began with the second) and versicle of second nocturn, when the avoidance of repetition necessitates a change.

5. *For the third Commemoration*: the first antiphon of third nocturn and its versicle.

AT LAUDS.

1. *For Office of the day*: versicle and antiphon of Lauds.
2. *For first Commemoration*: antiphon and versicle of first Vespers.
3. *For second Commemoration*: antiphon of second Vespers, versicle of second nocturn.
4. *For third Commemoration*: first antiphon and versicle of third nocturn.

This order is subject to modification from the other fixed principles we explained.

The chief modifying principles which require to be attended to are:—1° Repetition of antiphon or versicle in the same Hour is not allowed. 2° Repetition of the same antiphon and versicle for a Commemoration of the same Saint is not allowed in Lauds and Vespers. 3° The antiphon or versicle is to be taken from the part of the Office to which the Commemoration properly belongs, when either is there available. But, regard being had to these principles, as little deviation as possible from the order set down above is allowed.

THE PRAYERS.

It is also prohibited to use the same prayer more than once in the Commemorations made at the same Hour of the Office. What must, then, be done to avoid repetition, when two or more Commemorations are to be made from the same Common?

For the Office of the day we say the prayer assigned to it, and for the Commemorations we take the other prayers, in order, to be found in the same Common. If the prayers in this place are not sufficient, Cavalieri tells us to pass to a kindred Common Office—from the Confessor-Pontiff to the Confessor non-Pontiff or to the Martyrs—omitting, however, the unsuitable designation and inserting a suitable one in the prayer to be found there. Thus we should omit the word “Martyris” and insert “Pontificis” or *vice versa*.

Prayers are considered to be the same, when they are identical in the purport of the petition, and practically identical also in the words. The same is the test applied to antiphons. The mere insertion of the name of a Saint

does not make them different. On the other hand, the antiphons at the "Benedictus," in the Offices of Confessor non-Pontiff and of Confessor-Pontiff, are considered to be different, though the only words which are not the same, are: "dicit Dominus" and "intra in gaudium Domini tui;" because these words show the purport or scope of the prayers to be different.¹

R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MIXED MARRIAGES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MY DEAR SIR—Having had painful experience in the past, as in the present, of the disastrous consequences of mixed marriages, I perused with a peculiar interest, the valuable exposé on that subject, in the December number of the RECORD, giving, in a lucid and intelligible form, a summary of the conditions required by the Canon and Civil Laws, for the valid and licit celebration of such marriages. The vital importance of the subject must plead my excuse, for a doubt as to the perfect accuracy of one or two statements there set forth.

The learned writer, referring to the solemn promise as to the education of the children, required from the non-Catholic party, suggests the execution of a *deed* as "the most efficacious way of procuring the desired result. For the parent cannot afterwards, in any circumstances, claim the right to educate the children as non-Catholics, when, by marriage deed, he authorised them to be educated in the Catholic faith."

Now, if this view of the legal effects of a deed of settlement be not strictly accurate, it would be merely adding one other to the many pitfalls and dangers, which surround mixed marriages, especially in these countries. Permit me to say, with much diffidence, I entertain grave doubts as to its accuracy; until I read the article in the RECORD, I was always under the conviction, that the law of England looked upon the rights, as well as the duties, of guardianship of his children, as inherent in the parent. And as he is incapable, by any act of his, of divorcing himself from the duties which guardianship impose, so also is he incapable of divesting himself of the natural rights attaching thereto. According to my recollection, this principle has not merely been again

¹ See Cavalieri, Cap. xxxii. Dec. 284. n. 3.

and again asserted in our law-courts, but made the very basis of several judicial decisions adverse to Catholics, both in the Irish and the English law-courts, including the Agar-Ellis case, to which allusion is made. In my very humble opinion therefore, it would be a fatal error, to permit the Catholic party to rely on either promise or deed, when there is question of mixed marriages. The latter has, as I believe, no legal effect in the case, while I know the former to be habitually disregarded.

I would also beg leave to suggest that the Act 34 and 35 Victoria, extends to Catholic Bishops the same authority to issue "licences," which was previously vested in the Protestant Bishops alone, and by virtue of which they were empowered to authorise the celebration of marriages *in any place or at any hour*. If this be so, it is competent for a Catholic Bishop to permit the celebration of a mixed marriage in a house other than "one set apart for the celebration of divine service," and thus avoid any infringement of the Ecclesiastical Law on that matter.

Permit me in conclusion to remark, that when the Act above cited expressly defines a "licenser," to be a person "nominated by a Bishop of the Roman Catholic Church, *by writing under his hand*," it would be a dangerous venture to substitute any ordinary parish priest, without any such nomination, especially as the issue involved is the legal validity of such marriages.

Trusting the importance of the questions involved, as well as their novelty, may excuse the intrusion of my doubts and friendly criticisms.

Believe me faithfully, &c.

December 4, 1880.

P. CANON O'NEILL, Clontarf.

We are thankful to our Very Reverend Correspondent, for calling further attention to the important interests involved in the due celebration of mixed marriages, both from a canonical and purely legal point of view. The doubts to which he refers in the above letter were before our mind; and with a view of getting, if possible, some authoritative decision on these very points, we sent the proof sheets of the article on Mixed Marriages before its publication, to the Registrar General, whose predecessor had issued a pamphlet on the new marriage laws, for the guidance of all concerned. But the Registrar General declined to pronounce any opinion on the questions here raised. We had then no resource but to interpret the Act for ourselves, with what judicial assistance was at our disposal. We believe that no legal decision has, as yet, been pronounced on any of the *exact* questions at issue. We have been indirectly informed by a lawyer of high authority, that a deed executed at the time of the marriage,

and permitting the offspring to be brought up as Catholics, will be maintained in law as valid. On the other hand, it is said, the *reasons* assigned by the judge in the Agar-Ellis case for setting aside the *parole engagement* would apply equally to a *deed*. The reason for a judgment is a very different thing from the judgment itself, just as a deed is very different from a *parole* promise; and, pending a decision of the courts on the exact point at issue, we prefer to hold with our informant that a marriage deed, authorizing the education of the children in the Catholic faith, will not be declared invalid by any court in this country, on the ground of its being opposed to public policy. We may add that it is, at least for the present, the most efficacious means to procure the desired result.

With regard to the second point there can hardly be any doubt about the matter. The words of the Act in the *case of mixed marriages*, requiring them to be celebrated "in a building set apart for divine service, according to the rites and ceremonies of the religion of the clergyman solemnizing such marriage," under penalty of its "*being void to all intents*," where the parties knowingly and wilfully intermarried in a building not so set apart—these words are to our mind so clear as to admit of no doubt as to their meaning, and must be understood as limiting, in the *case of mixed marriages*, the power of issuing a licence for their celebration in any other place.

With regard to the third point, the words of the law at first sight seem to require that even the Parish Priest be licensed in writing under the hand of the Bishop; but we endeavoured to show from the context of the Act that the Parish Priest, by his appointment as such, may be considered as licensed under the hand of the Bishop for the celebration of mixed marriages, as he certainly is for the celebration of other marriages. We confess however on this point, here, as we did in the article, that we are by no means certain, and can only await an authoritative decision from a legal tribunal.

J. H.

ON THE ADVENT FAST.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SIR.—I have just read with usual pleasure, and, I hope, profit, the latest of the many able contributions by the Very Rev. President of Maynooth College to the RECORD. I refer to that on the Advent Fast. It occurs to me, however, that in p. 749, there is a misstatement, made on the strength of the *O'Renehan Collections on Irish Church History*, &c., that the Advent Fast has been known in Ireland only since the year 1778.

If I read Irish MSS. correctly, that Fast had been in use in Ireland more than a thousand years previously. Thus in the Rule for the Culdees its existence is implied. "Skimmed milk on Sundays of the great Lent to the people of severe penance."¹

So again in the *Vision of Adamnan*, born in 624, the Advent Fast is not only implied but expressly mentioned as the Winter Lent. After speaking of the manner in which the *Triduum* should be observed, the holy writer proceeds to define *when* each of the four Tridiums was to take place.

"The first Triduum then, unless necessarily to be transferred, should usually begin on the Wednesday after entering on the Winter Lent; the second Triduum on the first Wednesday of the Spring Lent."²

These entries leave no doubt as to the prevalence of the Advent Fast in Ireland. Of course Dr. Walsh's solid theological grounds are not at all affected by the historical aspect of the question.

In conclusion, I may remark that the Irish loan-word for Lent is *corgais*, a contraction for *quadragesima*, that is forty, the fast of forty (days). By and by a fast of a shorter nature was called *Corgais* from a familiarity with the *Quadragesima*; and thus proves not only that a conventional meaning of a word may be different from, but even essentially contradictory to, the original derivative signification of the word.

I remain, yours, &c.,

S. MALONE.

[At the request of the Editor, I have read the foregoing interesting note contributed by my friend, Father Malone.

¹"Lomm napp in domnic in chongair mair do oer oupphenoi."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 11, col. 2.

²"I ann tra, oleagar in ceasna treoan do gner munar umraigro ecen, eadon, in ceasna ane iarnnuit Corgair ghempro. In treoan canaistri tra in cheasne iarnnuit chongair eppais."—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 259, column 1. [This passage is printed, word for word, as furnished to us by our Reverend Correspondent. It is not easy, however, to identify some portions of it with the corresponding portions of the passage in the *Leabhar Breac*, as recently printed. We regret that time does not allow of our affording our Correspondent an opportunity of revising the extract as it stands. It will be seen, however, that the points in question are not such as to give rise to any substantial difficulty.—[Ed. I. E. RECORD.]

As I should be most unwilling to have it supposed that in any statement of mine, theological or otherwise, I was misled by my reliance on the work referred to in my Paper, in the last number of the RECORD, I think it well to add a few observations in further explanation of the point to which F. Malone calls attention.

1. In the first place, I should say that the Advent Fast which I had in view when writing—or, to speak more accurately, the Advent Fast to which I wished to confine my remarks—was that which is now observed in Ireland and also in other countries throughout the Church. I took it for granted that not a few readers of the RECORD might possibly be under the impression—as I confess that I myself was until a few years ago, when I was set right by the learned editor of Dr. Renehan's *Collections*—that in Ireland the Advent fast had come down to us like the fasts of Lent, or of the *Quatuor Tempora*, or of the various Vigils throughout the year. Every student of theology is, of course, aware that the Advent fast is not one of the fasts imposed, as those others are, by common ecclesiastical law. But I thought it not unlikely that many were of opinion that, at least in Ireland, this fast had come down to us from the early ages of our Church as a portion of that specially rigid discipline in fasting, for which our forefathers were so remarkable from the very beginning. Hence I considered it would interest many to learn that such was not the case—that, even in Ireland, the Advent fast, instead of being a remnant of ancient discipline, was of very recent institution—that it had no existence among us even at that period, two hundred years ago, when the extreme rigour of the Irish discipline of fasting is attested by that most interesting collection of ecclesiastical documents, for the collection and publication of which the Irish Church is indebted to Dr. Renehan and Dr. McCarthy—and that, in fine, as set forth in one of the documents of that collection, its institution dates from a time, barely a hundred years ago, the year 1778. As to the existence of an Advent fast of a very different kind, which existed in Ireland at the interesting period of our history to which F. Malone refers, I had no thought of explicitly referring. In fact I thought it better not to do so, as it seemed to lie altogether outside the drift of my Paper.

2. The footnote referring to the article in Ferraris' *Bibliotheca*, in regard to the Advent fast of ecclesiastical antiquity, indicated, I thought with sufficient plainness, that

I distinctly marked off that aspect of the question as altogether omitted from my discussion of the practical question regarding the present fast of Advent, which alone I had undertaken to consider. But as it is a point of no little interest, and as F. Malone has so kindly contributed the important evidence set forth in his letter, regarding the observance of this more ancient fast in Ireland, it may be well to add, that as regards the Western Church generally, this fast, as stated by Ferraris, fell into disuse about the twelfth century. So that, whether as regards the ancient observance of the fast, or the subsequent disuse and abrogation of it, the Irish Church was by no means singular.

3. In reference to the Irish word *corgais* (from *quadragesima*) as used to designate the ancient fast of Advent, I would suggest for Father Malone's consideration, and possibly investigation, a point which may prove to be of some interest. Is it quite certain that the word *corgais*, as thus applied, furnishes an instance of a word employed conventionally in a sense different from its derivative or etymological signification? The Advent fast of our present discipline is no doubt a fast of much shorter duration than the forty days fast of Lent. But is it quite clear that this was true of the earlier fast to which Father Malone refers? He has done so much for the elucidation of questions concerning our ancient ecclesiastical usages, that I venture to hope he will be able to throw some light on this point. It is one, I need not say, which lies altogether outside the range of my reading.

4. My reason for raising the question is that, as regards ecclesiastical antiquity generally, there is no doubt that, in many countries, the ancient fast of Advent, was, like that of Lent, a fast of *forty days*. Ferraris quotes several authorities on this point. So also does Benedict XIV., in his erudite Instruction on the time of Advent, contained in one of the Pastoral Letters which he published for the diocese of Bologna, when he was Archbishop of that See, before his elevation to the Chair of Peter. "*Multis saeculis,*" says Ferraris, "*Adventum 40 diebus . . . constasse indubium est. . . Hinc Adventum vocatum fuisse Quadragesimam,* in Vita B. Dominici Loricati legimus, et in Sacramentariis Ratholdi, abbatis Corbiensis." It is, in fact, still observed as a fast of forty days in many of the Churches of the East. Even in the Western Church, this ancient usage is still to some extent preserved in more

than one religious order, in the fast of forty days in preparation for the feast of Christmas. It would be interesting to ascertain if a similarity in our ancient usage may not prove to be the true explanation also of the term *corgais*, or *quadragesima*, as applied in Ireland to the fast of Advent.

W. J. W.

THE FAST DAYS IN THE LAST WEEK OF ADVENT.

*St. Patrick's College, Maynooth,
23rd December, 1880.*

VERY REV. AND DEAR MR. EDITOR,

I have just received from a friend the interesting letter which I enclose. He is anxious to have it inserted in the forthcoming number of the RECORD, and he asks me to obtain its insertion. I am aware of the editorial rule you have very properly made, not to admit into the RECORD, unless signed by the writer, any communication in the form of a criticism on any paper which you may have published with the writer's name. My friend does not formally authorize the publication of his name. I am sure, indeed, he would make no difficulty in doing so. But as the day of publication is rapidly approaching, I think the best course is to ask you to publish the substantial parts of his letter, as enclosed in this letter, from me. The writer, as you will see, is of opinion that in a case such as we have had this year, the days of the Advent Fast in Ireland are Wednesday and Friday in the first, second and third weeks of Advent, but only Friday (and not Wednesday) in the fourth week.

Against this view, as suggested by a question from a correspondent, I stated in your last number the considerations that occur to me as showing that the new arrangement, sanctioned by the Rescript of 1876, is, that, instead of Friday and Saturday, *the Advent Fast Days are now*, as they were before 1830, *Wednesday and Friday*—the Saturday fast, which had hitherto been one of the obligations of Advent, being thus suppressed, and a Wednesday fast being substituted for it. This is my reading of the document in which our Bishops, at the Maynooth Synod, applied for the change, subsequently granted in the Rescript in question, "*ut loco Sabbati feria 4ta fieret dies jejunii*," and again, "*ut jejunium Sabbati tempore Adventus transferatur in feriam 4^{ta}m*." It is, however, only fair that your readers should be put in possession of what can be said in favour of another view.

I do not like, however, to ask you to publish the enclosed, especially as thus forwarded by me, without saying that, although, of course, I could have no thought of setting up my judgment as any sort of standard in the matter, the question is altogether one of the

interpretation of a Rescript. In putting forward, in your last number, the interpretation which I regard as the true one, I had fully before my mind the considerations set forth in the following Statement of Reasons, and indeed several others besides. I ought, perhaps, to add—as indeed I should have stated in your last number, if I had thought it possible that any other view could be taken of what I wrote—that in this, as in any other theological decision I have ever given on any question proposed to me, I had no thought of going beyond a statement of my theological opinion, and of the reasons which influenced me to adopt it. In the absence of an authoritative exposition of the document in question here, it would plainly be very presumptuous for me to undertake, in any other sense, to put forward an interpretation of it. And it so happens that, as might indeed naturally be expected when there was question of the interpretation of a document, which possibly might be understood by others in a different sense from that which I regarded as the true one—I was more than usually careful to indicate throughout my paper, that I was merely putting forward my *opinion* on the question proposed to me, and not in any way laying down my view as *certain*. Whether, in point of fact, I regard it as certain, is another question. But for the present, I do not see any reason to undertake the defence of a thesis which, as yet, I have not laid down.

I subjoin the statement of reasons as forwarded to me, inserting in brackets [thus], at the close of each paragraph, any observations that occur to me as advisable to be made in regard to it.

I remain, dear Mr. Editor,

Most faithfully yours,

WILLIAM J. WALSH.

*Statement of Reasons against the Certainty of the Opinion that
Wednesday in the Fourth Week of Advent is a Fast Day.*

1° That opinion rests on the assertion that the Papal Rescript, as read by the petition of the Irish Bishops, did not make an exchange of *individual Wednesdays* for Saturdays in Advent, but instituted a *new order* of fasting by which *Saturday* as a fast day is *abolished*, and *Wednesday* made a fast day instead.

To that I venture to reply that it is only an assertion. No doubt the words of the Rescript *admit* that interpretation, but certainly they do not *demand* it. And as there is a question of imposing an obligation *sub gravi*, the *onus probandi* rests on those who assert its existence.

[Unquestionably the *onus probandi* lies on those who assert the existence of an obligation, whether *sub gravi* or *sub levi*. But it must be remembered that the “proof” required in cases where the question re-

gards the *interpretation* or *construction* of a document, is of a different kind from that which is required when there is a question, say, of its *existence*. In questions of *construction*, the appeal to what Cardinal Newman in his *Essay on Assent*, so happily terms "the illative sense" can rarely, if ever, be dispensed with. And does it not frequently happen that we thus have fully satisfactory assurance that a certain construction of a document is the true one, although ingenuity may suggest some other interpretation which possibly might be engrafted upon the text without any such distortion as could fairly be called actual "violence"? For a reason which will be apparent as we proceed, I think it useful to lay down this preliminary canon before undertaking to discuss *seriatim* the reasons here set forth as regards the case before us.]

On the other hand I presume to think that the terms of the petition of the Irish Bishops, and the circumstances of the case, point in the opposite direction.

Let me cite their words :

"Tempore Adventus Feria 6^{ta} et Sabbatum sunt dies jejunii. Jamvero minus molestum esset et huic regioni magis accommodatum si, loco Sabbati, Feria IV. fieret dies jejunii; quapropter episcopi petunt ut jejunium Sabbati tempore Adventus transferatur in Feriam IV."

The Concession of the Holy See is :

"Quoad translationem jejunii Sabbati Adventus in Feriam IV. supplicandam Ssmo. pro gratia juxta petita."

As the Concession is made *juxta petita*, we may fairly argue the case from the terms of the Bishops' petition.

1° The petition of the Bishops is limited in its extent by the statement of fact with which it opens, that is to say, that "in Advent, Friday and Saturday are fast days." Now that fact does not hold good *next week*, and, therefore, next week does not come within the scope of the Bishops' petition.

[As to this first reason I shall merely note that I see nothing in it inconsistent with my view. Previous to the granting of the Rescript, every Friday and Saturday that could possibly occur in Advent were fast days. The Bishops then asked to have Wednesday substituted for Saturday:—"Tempore Adventus feria 6^{ta} et Sabbatum sunt dies jejunii. Jamvero minus molestum esset . . si, loco Sabbati, feria 4^{ta} fieret dies jejunii . . Quapropter petunt ut jejunium Sabbati tempore Adventus transferatur in feriam 4^{am}." My reading of the Rescript, granted *juxta petita*, is that the transfer of the Saturday fast to Wednesday was in fact then made in compliance with this prayer, so that thenceforth the fast days of Advent were to be—not Friday and Saturday—but Wednesday and Friday. The Rescript does not speak of the Wednesday and Friday of any particular week or weeks, but of the whole time of Advent "tempore Adventus"—that is to say, from the first Sunday of Advent to Christmas Day.]

2° The terms of that petition imply that the Bishops merely sought a remedy for the practical grievance of having two fast days running in each week, "*minus molestum esset et huic regioni magis accommodatum si loco Sabbati Feria IV. fieret dies jejunii.*" All that is true only *up to the end of the third week*, when Friday and Saturday come together as fast days, and no doubt it is in these weeks *minus molestum* to fast on Wednesday. But in the last week of Advent the inconvenience did not exist at all, and, consequently, the Bishops could have had no reason to include it in their petition.

[No doubt another arrangement *might* have been made which would have avoided the inconvenience, without the absolute transfer of the Saturday fast to Wednesday during the entire time of Advent. The Wednesday of the last week *might* have been specially exempted. But I fail to see that it was exempted as a matter of fact. A further observation which occurs to me here will probably come in more appropriately in connexion with the next reason.]

3° They would rather have had reason to exclude it, for, otherwise, they would increase the number of fast days in Advent. I don't suppose that for the sake of shifting the fast of two Saturdays to the Wednesdays preceding them, the Bishops would have asked *to create a new fast day* each year in the last week of Advent, giving nine fast days in Advent instead of eight as heretofore.

[It seems to be assumed throughout, as indeed it is here expressly stated, that the last week of Advent had previously but one fast day, and that if my view be correct, the result of the change is "*to create a new fast day each year in the last week of Advent.*" Here at all events we have an issue of fact—and, as it so happens, a substantial one—for, the additional obligation, thus supposed to be created, is made the groundwork of an argument to which much importance is not unnaturally attached.

Now, in the first place, as regards the fact, the question of the introduction of an additional fast day cannot possibly arise except in those years when Christmas Day falls on Friday, Saturday, and possibly, Sunday—that is to say, *in only two, or at most three, years out of every seven.* This then is a very different result from the creating of a new fast day every year.

Secondly, as regards the practical inconvenience which it was intended to diminish by the substitution of Wednesday for Saturday, I should say—but, as this is a matter to be determined chiefly by the practical experience of missionary priests, I make the observation with considerable diffidence—that in regard to the grave inconvenience which was found to result from the occurrence of *two consecutive fast days, immediately preceding Sunday, for three weeks in succession*, the arrangement substituting Wednesday for Saturday as the day of the Advent fast may fairly be regarded as very notably *minus molestum*,

even though it should involve the obligation of an additional fast day, on the Wednesday in the fourth week, in those years in which alone, as I have said, this question can arise—that is to say, on an average in *only two, or at the most three, years out of every seven.*]

4° Looking at the words of the petition, they indicate an exchange *day for day*: that is implied by the phrase “*si loco Sabbati Feria IV. fieret dies jejunii.*” As also by the phrase “*transferatur,*” which cannot be well verified by a new order of fasting, suppressing Saturday and instituting Wednesday as a fast day.

[Here I can only say that, as I read the document, the phrases in question plainly imply the establishment of the Wednesday fast, so that in future the Wednesday, and not the Saturday, should be, in addition to Friday, the fasting day in each week of Advent.]

5° Not only the wording but the *matter* of the petition leads to the same conclusion. “*Tempore Adventus,*” it says, “*feria 6^a et Sabbatum sunt dies jejunii.*” Again “*episcopi petunt ut jejunium Sabbati tempore Adventus transferatur in feriam IV.*” But none of this applies to *next Saturday*, that is the Saturday after the fourth Sunday of Advent; it is not a fast day, nor is it in Advent, and there is no fast to be transferred to the preceding Wednesday.

[It is here assumed that the petition deals individually with each week of Advent. I cannot see that this is so. It begins with a general statement regarding the whole Advent time. It then applies, in the most unrestricted terms, for the substitution of Wednesday for Saturday, or, in other words, for the *transfer of the Saturday fast of Advent to Wednesday.* Does not this in any reasonable construction of the document imply that every Wednesday in Advent should be a fast day? No doubt, in the last week there is no fast on the following Saturday; and if *each individual Wednesday* could become a fast day only by the anticipation of a fast from the following Saturday, this line of reasoning would be conclusive. But I cannot discover the slightest ground for the assumption that the introduction of the Wednesday fast was to be limited in this peculiar way. Certainly there is nothing in the document to imply it.]

6° That Wednesday in the last week of Advent was formerly a fast day in Ireland, is, I venture to think, beside the question, as there is no evidence that the Bishops asked the change, nor that the Holy See granted it, as a *return* to that old system. I think it is pretty plain from the whole case that the Bishops merely wished to meet a particular inconvenience, which in *three weeks* of the Advent was found to press severely upon the people of this country, and, without considering different systems of observing

Advent, suggested a practical remedy which was allowed by the Holy See. It is fair then to limit their application by that inconvenience, to presume that they asked for a change only in so far as it was necessary, and while we can interpret their 'words' in that sense without violence, we are bound to do so. Especially when, in the other opinion, we must suppose the Bishops in seeking to get us a something "*minus molestum*," doing the very reverse, and adding a new fast day to our permanent burdens.

[This sixth reason suggests more than one observation.

In the first place, I would observe that my statement of the arrangement which existed previous to 1830 (in which Wednesday and Friday were the fast days of Advent), was not put forward in the sense here suggested. I merely showed from it that Wednesday and Friday were, in fact, the *normal* days of the Advent fast in Ireland. This being so, it seems to me that it puts a strain upon the recent Rescript, to interpret it so as to exclude one of those Wednesdays from the arrangement of the fast now in force.

Secondly, as to the inconvenience of the arrangement existing from 1830 to 1875, which the Bishops were anxious to have removed, I have already stated, in my note on the second reason, that this is no way inconsistent with the substitution of Wednesday for Saturday as a day of Advent fast. It is indeed plain that the Bishops merely wished to meet the practical inconvenience referred to. It is equally plain that this inconvenience did not exist in the fourth week. But on the other hand it is no less plain that neither in the petition, nor in the Rescript, is the Wednesday of the fourth week exempted from the new arrangement, in which *Wednesday is substituted*, throughout Advent, *for Saturday*, as a day of fast.

Thirdly, I have stated at the outset that even if I were to concede that the interpretation I am discussing was one the adoption of which might be regarded as something short of actual "violence" to the text, it would by no means follow that we were at liberty, much less that we were "bound," to adopt it.

Finally, in regard to the observation in the closing sentence of the paragraph, I have already stated (in my note on the third reason) that I am satisfied the present arrangement is *minus molestum*. I have also pointed out that it is obviously a mistake to regard it as adding "a new fast day to our permanent burdens," in the sense of my friend's letter. He, as we have already seen, regards it as creating a new fast day "*each year*" in the last week of Advent. It is, as I have pointed out, obvious that this is not so.]

Finally, I presume to think that this interpretation of the petition and concession is at least *probable*. Unquestionably the view advocated in the last number of the RECORD is not evident, nor certain; and, consequently, as there is question of introducing an obligation, in *dubio possidet libertas*, it is quite possible that if the Holy See were

consulted on the point, it may decide that all the Wednesdays of Advent are fast days now for us. But the question at present is, has the Holy See so decided already, and in terms so distinct as to leave no room for reasonable doubt? In my humble opinion the case is very doubtful. The interpretation of the Papal Rescript in your last number was so skilful and reasonable, that no one can resist its influence; yet on the other hand, the circumstances of the case, and the words of the Bishops' petition by which alone we can be guided, lead to an opposite conclusion, or at least make it probable.

If that be so, the practical obligation of fasting does not exist until an authoritative interpretation distinctly imposes it.

E.

[I do not see that it is necessary for me to add anything more. My friend, in sending his paper, has asked me, in the event of its insertion in this number of the RECORD, to answer it. I have done so to the best of my ability. When there is a question of the interpretation of a document which is at all capable of been understood in opposite senses, it is not likely that any amount of reasoning will result in the abandonment, by the advocates of the two interpretations, of their respective views. I do not expect then that he will fully enter into my views. I must also claim the liberty of not regarding his interpretation as fairly admissible.

Authoritative expositions of official documents are no doubt the only thoroughly satisfactory standards in such cases. But they are not always available. And in their absence we must endeavour to make the best use we can of theological reasoning.

I have little doubt of what the authoritative exposition will be in this case, if it should ever come to be thus decided. But perhaps if the decision were now to be given, I might find myself not far from furnishing an illustration of that pregnant remark, which, to bring these notes to a close, I may venture to transcribe from that marvellously suggestive work already quoted¹:—

“Can we doubt that many a confident expounder of Scripture, who is so sure that St. Paul meant this, and that St. John and

¹ Cardinal Newman's *Essay in aid of a Grammar of Assent*, Part ii. Chapter 6. § 2.

St. James did not mean that, would be seriously disconcerted at the presence of these Apostles, if their presence were possible, and that they now feel an especial 'boldness of speech' in treating their subject, because there is no one authoritatively to set them right, if they are wrong."]]

W. J. W.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Maynooth College Calendar for the Year 1880-81. Browne & Nolan, Dublin, 1880.

SOME short account of the contents of the "Maynooth College Calendar" for the current academical year, will, we feel assured, be of interest to a very considerable number of our readers. There is an unnumbered page in the middle of this year's Calendar which will attract special attention, and excite deep and sorrowful interest, as it tells how rich a harvest death has reaped during the past year amongst the old and venerated chiefs, as well as amongst the young and promising students of the College. This page asks a prayer, which will not be refused, for the departed souls of the following Superiors and Students of Maynooth :—

"Orate pro Animabus

A. R. D. CAROLI G. RUSSELL, Presbyteri Dunensis, S.T.D., ex Int. Cubic. SS. D. N. Pii IX., Collegii Praesidis ;
 A. R. D. ROBERTI FF. WHITEHEAD, Presbyteri Tuamensis, S.T.D., Vic. Gen. Limericensis, Collegii olim Propraesidis ac Bibliothecarii ;
 MICHAELIS GALVIN, Lectoris, Alumn. Waterfordensis ;
 STEPHANI M'KENNA, Alumn. Armacani ;
 MICHAELIS MORAN, Alumn. Tuamensis ;
 GULIELMI KENNEDY, Alumn. Fernensis ;
 JOANNIS M'DONNELL, Alumn. Læonensis ;
 JACOBI KEANE, Alumn. Kerriensis.

qui anno Academico MDCCCLXXIX-LXXX. pie obierunt."

Amongst the Appendices will be found the much admired obituary notice of Dr. Russell, contributed to the July number of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD by his life-long friend, the present esteemed Lord Chancellor of Ireland, Lord O'Hagan.

In another Appendix is reprinted the appreciative obituary notice of Dr. Whitehead, which appeared in the *Freeman's Journal* of the 2nd January, 1880.

The first Appendix, which contains "Resolutions, &c., regarding the Dunboyne Establishment," will serve to remind the readers of the Calendar of the re-establishment, in full working order, of an institution to which the College is largely indebted for its prestige.

The last of the Appendices is devoted to a very interesting account of the second visit of the Empress of Austria to the College (15th February, 1880), and of the exquisite gifts presented to the College by Her Imperial Majesty, as a memorial of both her visits. The magnificent memorial of her first visit in 1879 is thus described:—"It is a statue of solid silver, representing the conflict of St. George and the dragon, and weighs 460 ounces. The figure of the rider is exquisitely wrought, holding a drawn sword in act to strike; beneath, the writhing dragon with open jaws and scaly folds is vividly reproduced. The horse is in itself an admirable work of art. It seems as if it were leaping lightly from the pedestal over the prostrate form of the writhing monster. It is moulded with the greatest care, and in perfect proportion, with all that attention to detail which bespeaks the genuine artist, even to the swelling veins of the muscular fore-arm, and the rounded tendons of the clean, flat limbs. The whole figure is three feet high, and is mounted on an ebony pedestal curiously inlaid with silver." Furthermore, in reference to her Imperial Majesty's second visit, we are told that "not many weeks had elapsed after her return to Vienna, when she sent once more a beautiful and costly present to the College: a suit of vestments, most tastefully wrought, of the richest cloth of gold. The embroidery—all but exclusively of shamrocks, worked in green silk—is of the chastest description. The fringes are of gold lace, through which again tiny shamrocks, to be counted by hundreds, are deftly interwoven. In front of the chasuble, beneath the cross, stand three shields, bearing the arms of Austria, Bavaria, and Lorraine, richly wrought in appropriate heraldic colours, and surmounted by the Imperial crown in gold. Within, on the satin lining of the chasuble, are embroidered, in green and gold, the name of the Imperial donor, and the date of the visit so graciously commemorated—'Elizabeth, 1880.'"

Another item of special interest in this year's Calendar is a carefully tabulated statement of the distribution of free studentships amongst the various dioceses in Ireland, and of the number of students at present in the College from each diocese. Besides the number of free places at present allotted to each diocese, we find set down in parallel columns the corresponding number that existed before the Parliamentary grant was increased in 1845, the number existing after the increase of grant from 1845 to 1870, the diminished number that, after the re-establishment of free places in 1873, existed in 1873-4, the addition made in 1874, the further increase made in 1879-80, and, in fine, the still further increase made in the present Academic Year.

From this comparative statement we learn that the number of free places is now for each diocese, as nearly as possible what it was before the increased grant of 1845. We find, too, that the number of students, which decreased rapidly after the withdrawal

of the Parliamentary annual grant in 1871, has been steadily increasing during the last few years. until it has now all but touched the highest level of former years. Thus the whole number of free places, exclusive of Burses, is at present 250, while the number of students has reached 490.

We understand that the President has been successful recently in securing a considerable number of the Irish Belgian Burses for students studying in Maynooth. At the present time and in the present circumstances of the country, every additional free place added to the existing number is, it is needless to say, of vital importance. Indeed it seems to us that if the existing circumstances of the College were more generally and accurately known, many persons who have money to devote to pious purposes would regard the foundation of a free studentship in the College, as an act of the highest piety and of the soundest patriotism. In looking through the list it strikes us as a noteworthy fact that one diocese—that of Kerry—has set down to its credit no fewer than *eight* Burses of private foundation, established in Maynooth for its students. If every other diocese in Ireland could point to so noble an endowment, thus founded by the piety and generosity of its people, a burden that now presses heavily upon the straitened resources of many a Catholic family would indeed be lightened.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin.

Lessons in Gaelic. Book I., Part III.

The Practice of Interior Recollection with God. By FR. PAUL SEGNERI, S.J.

Manual for Communion.

Erin : Verses, Irish and Catholic. By Rev. MATTHEW RUSSELL, S.J.

Messrs. BURNS & OATES.

The Mission of Woman. By MONSEIGNEUR MERMILLOD.

The Parochial Hymn Book. New and Revised Edition.

Challenor's Meditations. New Edition by Very Rev. MONSIGNOR VIRTUE.

Messrs. BROWNE and NOLAN, Dublin.

Browne's Diaries, 1881.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

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Nihil Obstat.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

FEBRUARY, 1881.

THE FRUITS OF IRISH FAITH IN MODERN TIMES.

I.—SCOTLAND—(CONTINUED).

WHEREVER the sons of St. Patrick find a home, the work of church-building and of multiplying religious institutions, no matter what difficulties may stand in the way, is sure to prosper. In the *Glasgow Herald* of May 26th, 1880, there is an interesting account of the ceremony performed the day before, of blessing the corner-stone of a new church at the south side of Glasgow. On that occasion a venerable priest stated, that when he came to the city, the territory to the south of Glasgow was quite a waste:—

"There was no church," he said, "between Govan and Rutherglen, except the old Church of St. John—there was no church at Govan, none at Kinning Park, none at Rutherglen, none in Cumberland-street—one might walk along the river to Greenock on the one side, or to Lanark on the other side, and find no church there. They had only to look around now to see how the district was being taken possession of by the faithful. There was a beautiful church at Govan, there would soon be a fine church at Kinning Park, they had a very workable church in St. John's, they had just laid the corner-stone of a fine new church in Cumberland-street, and further down, there was a very good church at Rutherglen. Formerly they were under the necessity of worshipping in hiding-places in Glasgow and elsewhere, but now, thank Providence, they occupied the territory not merely in their hundreds, but in their hundreds of thousands; and he hoped they might go on increasing in numbers until they had banished Calvinism altogether out of the country."

On the preceding Sunday another new church had been dedicated at Ballieston, under the invocation of

St. Bridget. The reverend preacher, on that occasion, dwelt at some length on the wonderful religious change that in a few years had come over the greater part of Scotland. The hold of Presbyterianism was everywhere being relaxed, and the Catholic Faith, ancient in years, but ever new in the freshness and bloom and vigour of perpetual youth, was making itself known even in the remotest parts to those who had been its bitterest enemies. And as to the numerical increase in the Catholic body, he added:—

“Everyone knows that the great increase in the number of Catholics in Scotland, during the last fifty years, is to be attributed almost exclusively to the Irish immigrants, countrymen of the early Apostles of Scotland, who have settled in certain districts in the country, and have here, as everywhere else, brought their faith and its ministers with them. In the parts of Scotland where nothing attracts the Irish immigrant, the Catholic Church has made but little progress in point of numbers during the present century.”¹

This estimate of the fruits of Irish Faith is not over-drawn. It has been calculated that in the City of Glasgow almost the whole Catholic population is Irish: for instance, in the important Parish of St. Joseph’s, which is under the care of the zealous Jesuit Fathers, and reckons about 12,000 in its congregation, there are not five Catholic Scotch families. How striking is the religious change that is thus brought home to us. The 200 poor Irish strangers, of whom Father Farquharson wrote in 1796, forming little more than one-third of the whole Catholic population of the district, have increased in the city alone to 110,000; whilst the little garret in a back-lane, which was their only place of worship in the beginning of the present century, has been exchanged for fifteen beautiful churches, with a large number of flourishing schools and convents, and other religious institutions.

This wonderful growth of the Church is not confined to the City of Glasgow, it extends throughout the whole diocese. It has been calculated that in addition to those in the city, no fewer than 120,000 Catholics are scattered through its various towns and country districts, and almost all are Irish. A few instances may serve to illustrate the accuracy of this statement.

I will commence with Greenock, which is so well known among us for its ships and steamers, its paper-mills and

Glasgow Herald, Tuesday, May 25th, 1880.

cotton-mills, its foundries and its fisheries. This extensive seaport is built on a narrow strip of land, on the southern bank of the Frith of Clyde. From the summit of the hills which bound it on the south, there is a view of shipping and of scenery which cannot be surpassed in the British dominions. In the beginning of the century, an exiled French priest seems for a while to have administered the Sacraments to the faithful in this district; but the first resident missionary was not appointed till the year 1808. As late as 1830, the territory of which the Greenock priest had sole charge comprised the present distinct districts of Greenock, Port-Glasgow, Gourock, Inverkip and Largs, Dunoon, Dumbarton, Duntocher, Alexandria, and Helensburgh. In 1808 about 100 persons used to assist at Mass in Greenock, and the only place where the Holy Sacrifice could for many years be offered was the Star Hall Inn. In 1815 Old St. Mary's Chapel was built, and it continued for a long time to be the only place of Catholic worship. As late as the year 1830, there was only one small Chapel and one priest in Greenock, whilst the Catholic population of the whole vast district was not more than 3,100. At present, in Greenock alone, there are seven priests and three churches, with a convent and a Catholic population of 10,000; whilst its off-shoots, now distinct districts, have eight priests and eight churches, with an aggregate Catholic population of about 9,000. The new Church of St. Mary's, with its fine parochial residence, was built in 1862, whilst on the site of the old church, magnificent schools have been lately erected at a cost of about £7,000. The building now known as St. Lawrence's Church, was originally used as an "Old Light Antiburgher" meeting-house. It subsequently became the property of the Caledonian Railway Company, from whom, in 1855, it was purchased for the Catholic congregation, and dedicated to St. Lawrence, who in Catholic times was the patron of this district. During the past twenty-one years, accurate statistics of the Catholic population of Greenock have been drawn up by the clergy, the census having been made no fewer than fourteen times, and hence we are able to pronounce with precision as to the relative proportion of its Scotch and Irish Catholics. In all the Catholic population of 10,000, the non-Irish by birth or descent through both parents do not number 150. Among these, however, are classed the French, Spaniards, Italians, and other foreigners, some of whom are always to be found either as lodgers or as

residents in this great seaport town; so that a dozen Scotch Catholic families can with difficulty be registered in all Greenock. There is another important fact which has been proved by the accurate detailed statistics to which I have referred. It is, that even among the converts who have been received into the Church during the past twenty years, nine-tenths have been Irish.

It may not be uninteresting to note here the gradual formation of new missions which is so well illustrated by this district. In 1830, Dumbartonshire, comprising Dumbarton, Duntocher, Alexandria, and Helensburgh, with a Catholic population of 450, was detached from Greenock. Duntocher, with a congregation of 400, became a separate mission in 1841; Alexandria with 1,500, in 1859; and Helensburgh with 500, in 1865. At the present day Dumbarton alone has more than 3,000 Catholics. In 1846, Port-Glasgow was formed into a distinct mission, with a Catholic population of 1,500. In 1862, Largs and Inverkip on one side of the Frith, and Dunoon on the other, became a united and distinct mission, and continued so till 1869, when they became two separate missions, with congregations respectively of 360 and 250 Catholics, which have since considerably increased. But we must cite a few other instances to illustrate the subject now before us.

Paisley is, after Greenock, the most important town in Renfrewshire. Its Catholic population is 8,000, and the overwhelming proportion of the Irish element is not less than in Greenock. The Irish labourers who were attracted thither to the factories in the beginning of the century, were for a considerable time in a sad state of spiritual destitution. Dr. Cameron, Coadjutor Bishop of the Lowland District, writes to Archbishop Troy on 25th November, 1808, soliciting aid to provide his Catholic flock with churches and schools, and mentions the case of Paisley as proof of their extreme want. "In Paisley," he says, "there are about two hundred Catholics, principally Irish, and they have neither a pastor nor a place to assemble."

Before the close of that year, however, a church was begun, through the exertions of that zealous Prelate, and it was very soon filled to overflowing with an ever-increasing congregation of Irish exiles. In the year 1843, however, several of the factories were closed, and the people being left without employment, the greatest distress prevailed. The Scotch Presbyterians refused to give aid towards the relief of the Catholic sufferers, but when the local clergy solicited

the charitable assistance of the Archbishop of Dublin, he left nothing undone to succour them in their dire distress. The Western District had been at this time erected, and its first Vicar Apostolic, Dr. Andrew Scott, of whom we have already spoken, thus writes to the Archbishop, from East Shaw-street, Greenock, February 24th, 1843 :—

“ I was this forenoon honoured with your Grace's letter of the 22nd current, covering an order for £41 to be given to the Rev. John Bremner for behoof of his persecuted Catholic flock of Paisley. The money shall be duly remitted to him. I have heard of your Lordship's former remittances, and Mr. Bremner was certainly much to blame for having so long delayed to thank your Grace for your generous contribution to his poor flock. I know that of late his door has been besieged by hundreds of poor starving creatures, and that his time was much taken up in distributing to them the donations he had received, and in striving to ascertain who were proper objects of charity . . . Since the public resolution passed by the Paisley Relief Committee to exclude all *Irishmen*, that was the word, though Catholics only were meant, for in this country Irishmen and Catholics are synonymous terms, he has got a good deal of money for the relief of his poor flock. But the really destitute are so numerous that unless he doles it out in small quantities his stock will soon be exhausted. The other Relief Committees in Glasgow and other neighbouring towns were about to act upon the same principle, but the glaring injustice of the Paisley Committee Resolution, and the noise it made in the country, has prevented them as yet from doing so. A number of Protestant Liberals and even of moderate Tories condemned the resolution, still acted on it to the very letter, for not a single Protestant, either Liberal or Tory, that I have heard of, has contributed a penny for the relief of those who were so unjustly and so cruelly cut off from all assistance . . . Here (in Greenock) and in Glasgow, though no excluding resolution has been passed, a variety of pretexts are found out to give the Catholics nothing, or to put them off with less than one half of what is given to others in the same circumstances. Hundreds of our poor Catholics here are as ill off as they are in Paisley. When one of the priests here went to the distribution of the subsidy to inquire why such and such a person was refused, the only answer he got was, ‘ we do not want to see any of your people here.’ . . . A poor old Catholic woman in Glasgow, legally entitled to parochial relief, and who was almost dying from hunger, got nothing, and the only thing said to her was, ‘ go home, ye w—, to the Island of Saints and die there.’ While trade is good, and their services required, they flatter and cajole them; but should they fall into misery and their services be no longer required, in place of getting any relief, they meet only with insult. According to the law of Scotland a person wherever born,

if within her Majesty's dominions, is entitled to parochial relief if he has been three years a residenter in any parish. But the minister and his elders are the distributors of that relief, and the law fixes no particular sum as adequate relief according to the circumstances. They publicly, many years ago, in Glasgow, refused all parochial aid to Catholics born in Ireland. To establish the principle I carried it before the Sheriff and the Court of Session, and it was decided in favour of the poor applicants, a man and his wife unable to work. The lawsuit cost £30, and the poor applicants were put off with 2s. a week. They know well that poor people are not able to enforce their claims at law, and it would cost us more to do so, than to maintain these poor people for some years. Hence their refusal to give aid, even when the applicant has the clearest claim. Every Catholic even born in Scotland, if his parents were from Ireland, is treated in the same way, though by law they must be considered Scotch."

I have given these long extracts from this invaluable letter of the first Vicar Apostolic of the Western District, as it suffices to illustrate in how wonderful a way the Catholic Church and the Irish people were identified as well in the hatred of the Calvinists as in the love of the true Pastors of Christ's fold. I will only add that the Rev. John Bremner, the priest in charge of this district, and his assistant, Rev. John Carolan, in their letters addressed to the Most Rev. Archbishop Murray, attest at the same time the extent of the distress and the gratitude alike of clergy and people for the aid forwarded by their generous Irish benefactors:—

"During the week (writes Father Bremner on 19th February, 1843) more than 1,200 persons have received a scanty allowance from me, and 100 children have got shoes and stockings." "The poor people here (writes Father Carolan, 4th March, 1843) can never evince sufficient gratitude for the good deeds you have done them." "The united prayers of priests and poor congregation, whom you have so generously contributed to relieve (he writes in another letter) shall be always offered for so liberal and distinguished a benefactor."

A few miles from Glasgow we meet the town of Pollokshaws, picturesquely situated on the Cart, a short distance from the spot where, three hundred years ago, the decisive battle of Langside brought ruin to the Catholic cause. At the close of the last century there does not appear to have been a single Catholic in this town. In the year 1802, two Catholic families came to live there. In 1808, however, the number was considerably increased, as

several Irish Catholics came to seek employment at the Glasgow and Paisley Canal Works, which were then begun. In 1820, the Rev. J. Murdoch, afterwards Bishop of the Western District, took charge of this mission, not residing there, however, but only visiting it at stated times from Glasgow. With the permission of the magistrates, a Sunday Christian Doctrine School was successfully organized: but when a Catholic day school was opened, it very soon dwindled away and had to be closed for want of sufficient support. It was not until 1849 that Pollokshaws had the advantages of a resident priest. The first chapel was an old smithy. Father Galletti (of Italian descent, but born in Scotland), when entering on the charge of the district in 1849, estimated the whole number of Catholics at 800 souls, and he added:—

“In this little heretical stronghold of petty tyrants, what noble sufferings and sacrifices had not the faithful to undergo in order to support their families and at the same time rear them up uncontaminated by heresy! To say the half would be to repeat what is well known here, and is so glorious to the Catholic and honorable to the Irish heart.”

Ten years later a census of the whole missionary district was made by Father Bonnyman; he reported the Catholic population at about 2,000: two-thirds of these being born in Ireland, and the remainder being the immediate descendants of Irish parents. Through the exertions of the Rev. Bernard Tracy, a beautiful church with presbytery was erected in 1865. In a printed appeal to the charity of the faithful, dated 21st September, 1865, the following passage occurs:—

“The history of the locality is fraught with events of Catholic interest. The new church stands on the top of a hill, within a gun-shot of, and looking over upon, the fatal battle-field of Langside; where, three hundred years ago, the death-knell of Catholicity in this country was said to have been sounded, on the occasion of the final defeat of its Catholic queen, the devoted Mary. This defeat left Calvinism in the ascendant, by whose infatuated followers the old parish church was razed to the ground, and almost every local vestige of the ancient worship obliterated. Now that the Catholic religion is, by God's great and singular mercy, restored to Scotland, a new church, in the parish in which the nation may be said to have signed and sealed the decree of its banishment, is just the monument which suggests itself to celebrate its second advent amongst us, and to testify our gratitude to God. To this end the long since demolished “Parish Church” must be rebuilt,

its venerable and sacred precincts, too long desecrated, must be consecrated anew, its altars re-erected, and a holocaust of Reparation and Expiation offered thereon for the nation's apostacy. God's eternal truth and wisdom must be vindicated there, and the glory and prestige of the old, imperishable Faith be once more loudly and solemnly proclaimed, even on the spot where that same Faith was ignominiously denied and rejected by a whole people. *Adorabimus in loco ubi steterunt pedes ejus* : ' We shall adore in the place where his feet have stood.' "

The venerable Bishop, Dr. Murdoch, when sanctioning this appeal, thus wrote :—

" Long and earnestly have I desired to see your mission provided with a suitable temple of Divine worship, and also with a commodious presbytery. I have now to bless God that, thanks to your energetic endeavours, my wishes are fully gratified. You have erected a church, and enlarged and fitted up a priest's house, which do the greatest credit to your taste as well as to your zeal. Your good people, God bless them, though almost all of the poor and labouring classes, have generously contributed, and still continue to contribute, to the good work."

In the year 1867, for a Poor-law inquiry, it became necessary to make an accurate census of the Catholics in the town of Pollokshaws, and the districts immediately adjoining. The number of Catholics was found to be 2,108, and of these 1,090 were born in Ireland, whilst 1,018 were born in Scotland of Irish parents. At the present day the number of Catholics in the entire parish is estimated at 3,000, and all, with the exception of one solitary Highlander, are Irish.

The town of Lanark, so favoured by nature, and so beautifully situated near the Clyde's falls, amid scenery which is not surpassed in Scotland, was, in a spiritual way, till our own days little better than a dreary waste. When old Father Forbes, who only a short time ago was gathered to his fathers, first came to the Scottish Mission before the year 1830, he and another were the only priests in Glasgow, and their care included Lanark which is thirty miles distant. Occasionally they visited the few Catholics scattered here and there through the country, but Mass was not said in Lanark, and the children had to be brought to Glasgow to be baptized. Even thirty years ago there were not in Lanark and two neighbouring villages more than ten Catholic families. At this time a priest was resident in Hamilton, and the faithful went thither, a distance of fourteen miles, to receive the Sacraments. It was

not as yet even safe for a Catholic to be known as such. A respectable labourer is still living who, when it became known that he was a Papist, was without ceremony dipped in the Clyde for the amusement of his Presbyterian neighbours. A little later, the first priest that was stationed here, was frequently hooted in the streets, and pelted with stones, and otherwise treated with the greatest contumely. All this however has long since passed away: the desert has bloomed with gladness, and there are few districts of Scotland on which the blessings of God's mercy have been so abundantly poured out as on Lanark. Four priests of the congregation of St. Vincent de Paul attend to the spiritual wants of the district, and give missions and conduct retreats. The Sisters of Charity instruct the children in the schools, and have also an orphanage in which there are at present about five hundred orphan children. Besides these orphans the Catholic population has increased to more than one thousand; and thanks to the munificence of a distinguished convert, who has proved himself a most generous benefactor of this mission, the Church of St. Mary's and the presbytery, and the schools, and the convent of the Sisters of Charity, with the hospital under their care, and the orphanage, are so many religious monuments of which the most Catholic country might be justly proud. If in this district Calvinistic prejudice has almost entirely melted away, this is mainly to be attributed to the true charity and kindness shown by the devoted nuns to the children, and to the sick, and to all classes of every creed in their frequent intercourse with them. The proportion of Irish in the population of Lanark, including the children of Irish parents, who never fail to call themselves Irish, is as one hundred to one; and the venerable priest who favoured me with many of these details, and who had laboured for years on the mission in Lanark, and in several other parts of Scotland, adds that "the same proportion may be accepted as a fair criterion of the relative numbers of the Irish Catholics throughout the greater part of Scotland."

If we pass from the Frith of Clyde to the Frith of Forth, we enter the Diocese of St. Andrew's, and in the Scottish capital so replete with historic memories, and so proud of its national institutions and monuments, we meet with the Catholic Church, not in the decay of old age, but in the renewed vigour and comeliness of youth. Within the city, the proportion of the Irish element in the Catholic body is greater than in some of the country districts, but taking

the whole diocese together, the Irish Catholics form, at the lowest estimate, 95 per cent. of the whole congregation. I may be allowed to name two Institutions whose Irish features none can gainsay, and which, nevertheless, have contributed so much to promote the interests of religion in Edinburgh. One of these is the Lauriston Convent, so favoured in its beautiful site and scenery, but still more remarkable for its fruitfulness in works of mercy. The other is the Young Men's Society, with its thousand energetic members who vie with each other in the manliness of their faith, in their love of temperance, and in their zeal to correspond to every wish of their loved spiritual director. As the Scottish Church owes so much to faithful Erin, it does not surprise us to find an Irishman chosen in the ways of Providence to be the first Archbishop of St. Andrew's in the renewed Hierarchy. A few years ago when the Cathedral of Armagh was solemnly dedicated in the presence of most of the Irish Bishops, and of representatives from England and Scotland, the Most Rev. Dr. Strain, then Bishop of the Eastern District, was also present, and among the motives which, as he alleged, impelled him to pay this compliment to Ireland's Primatial See, not the least was his being himself one of St. Patrick's sons, for though he was not actually born in Ireland, yet it was only a short time before his birth that his parents quitted their native hills of Armagh to settle in the capital of Scotland.

On the 13th of June, 1878, the Catholic Institute of the Young Men's Society in Edinburgh witnessed a most gratifying demonstration of reverence and affection towards the Right Rev. Dr. Rigg, the newly consecrated Bishop of Dunkeld. This illustrious Prelate had laboured for many years in Edinburgh, and for almost half a century had been a prominent figure in the Catholic body throughout the Eastern District, and the Catholics of the city, now assembled in the presence of the Archbishop, and of the secular and regular clergy, to offer him an address of congratulation on the high dignity of first Bishop of Dunkeld in the restored Hierarchy, to which the Vicar of Christ had elevated him. In his reply, Dr. Rigg dwelt on the blessings which God in His mercy had poured out on Scotland, and he did not omit paying a graceful compliment to his Irish friends:—

“How is it (he said) that the Catholic body has increased in this country? How is it that we have now eighty priests in this part of

Scotland, instead of eleven, which we had in 1838? How is it that we have so many additional chapels and churches? It has not been through any intrigues or through any secret machinations. It has simply been by Catholics settling themselves in these parts of Scotland, and by its thus becoming necessary to provide for their spiritual wants, and to give them the same liberty of conscience which was claimed by their fellow-men. Catholics have increased in Scotland, because, in a great measure, the Irish population, driven from their native country, have sought employment and an asylum in Scotland, and have thus raised the number of the Catholic population of this land. It is true that a few Scotchmen, who were formerly of a different religion, have joined the Catholic Church; but everyone knows that the great increase in our numbers is owing to the Irish Catholics who have come amongst us."¹

The City of Perth, the ancient capital of Scotland, is the episcopal residence in the Diocese of Dunkeld. Twenty-five years ago Dr. Rigg had charge of the mission in that city, and writing to the Archbishop of Dublin to solicit his co-operation in the establishment of a Religious Community, he said :—

"If I see no prospect of obtaining a Religious Community, I must endeavour to devise some other means of providing instruction for the young people here. At present we have only one school, hardly deserving the name, under a master, and matters cannot be allowed to remain as they are."

Returning now to Perth as Bishop, Dr. Rigg finds that his earnest wishes have long since been realized. Besides the parochial clergy it has a numerous community of Redemptorist Fathers, whilst the Ursuline Sisters attend to the education of the female children in two excellent schools.

But though Perth is the episcopal residence, Dundee, with its busy port and stirring people, has a larger Catholic population, and is in many respects the more important city. Fifty years ago, when the Rev. Stephen Keenan received the charge of this mission, it was regarded as one of the chief strongholds of Presbyterianism, and its Catholics were only a handful, without a church and without a school. That zealous priest was a native of the north of Ireland, and was remarkable for his writings no less than for his fruitful labours among his countrymen in Scotland. By his efforts the Church of St. Andrew was built in 1836, though as yet there were scarcely a hundred Catholic families in the district. The mission however grew apace,

¹ *Catholic Opinion*, June 21st, 1878.

and a second church was soon found necessary. The learned Bishop of the Eastern District, Dr. Gillis, visited Ireland towards the close of the year 1853, and being struck by the manifold blessings resulting from the missions given by the Vincentian Fathers, he, on his return to Edinburgh, addressed a letter to the Archbishop of Dublin, earnestly requesting that two of these zealous priests might be sent to conduct a mission for a few weeks in the town of Dundee. He added:—

“It is the principal town of this vicariate after Edinburgh: there is a very large congregation, and exclusively an Irish one.”¹

Having received no favourable response to this letter, he urged his request again in the following month:—

“I wrote to your Grace about a month ago, to implore of you to procure for us the blessing of a fortnight’s mission in the town of Dundee, where there is a large and almost exclusively Irish congregation, and where many agencies are now at work to injure seriously the interests of religion. . . . The fiendish energies that are now being everywhere exerted against us poor Catholics in Scotland, and the number of our people who are every day falling victims to the same, make it absolutely necessary that more than ordinary zeal be brought into action, or the result must ere long be a fearful one.”²

In Dundee there are at present three fine churches, and the Catholics are reckoned at about 20,000. Ten priests devote themselves to the spiritual care of the flock of Christ, and the Sisters of Mercy and the Marist Brothers attend to the instruction of the children, in some of the finest schools that are to be found in Scotland. The proportion of Irish Catholics in the congregation has not changed since the time that Dr. Gillis addressed his letters to the Archbishop of Dublin. Indeed here, as in most other parts of Scotland, to be a Catholic and to be an Irishman, is considered as one and the same thing. Not many months ago, on a Sunday evening, a well-dressed Scotchman called at the house of the parochial clergy of one of the churches, and after some preliminary conversation with the clergyman whom he met, asked to be received into the Church. In conveying this request, however, he made use of the peculiar phrase—“Your Reverence, I want you to turn me Irish”: so true it is, that in popular feeling the Catholicity of the country is identified with its Irish population.

¹ Letter dated from Edinburgh, 16th January, 1854.

² Letter from Edinburgh, 18th February, 1854.

One of the first diocesan works inaugurated by the Bishop of Dunkeld after his consecration, was the opening of a new school at Arbroath. About forty years ago a considerable Catholic population had gathered here, and through the exertions of Bishop Carruthers, a commodious chapel and presbytery were erected in 1848. From that time the number of the faithful went on gradually increasing, and the want of a Catholic school was severely felt. Through the exertions of Father Fay, this good work was also accomplished, and the new school was solemnly inaugurated on the 5th of August 1878. It is a large handsome edifice, solidly built, and will long be a source of the greatest blessings to the faithful of Arbroath. A circular in which the respected clergy of that mission solicit aid towards paying off the debt incurred, now lies before me. It makes the clear distinct statement: "the Catholic people here are all Irish."

In the town of Alloa, so picturesquely situated amid the Clackmannan Hills, there were, thirty years ago, only a few Catholics, and when the priest visited it, he was obliged to say Mass in a loft which was known as the Masons' Hall. Religion is now bearing excellent fruits in its Irish congregation. A beautiful church, dedicated to St. Mungo, was first erected, then a presbytery was built, and last of all, in the autumn of 1878, an excellent school was completed, to the great joy of the Catholic population.

To illustrate the difficulties that at times beset the missionary when endeavouring to impart instruction, and to administer the Sacraments to his scattered flock, I may take an instance from the town of Lochgelly. It has at present about 800 Irish Catholics, and, till the erection of the present Church of St. Patrick, Mass was said in a hall attached to a public house, and confessions were heard in the house of some one or other of the people:—

"In the hall, more than once, the stage and scenery of a strolling company of actors have stood face to face with the temporary altar. At other times the hall has been shared with auctioneers, whose goods were in full view during Holy Mass. On week evenings, the clergyman has often been glad to get the use of the hall for catechising, in the interval that a dancing master employed in taking his tea."¹

In the Diocese of Aberdeen, which corresponds to the former Northern District, the Catholics are but few, the

¹ Circular in the Catholic Directory for Scotland, 1877, page 75.

whole number being under 15,000, but the proportion of the old Highland families is greater than elsewhere. On the other hand, the southern Diocese of Galloway is so thoroughly Irish in its Catholic congregation, that we might suppose it to be a small Irish diocese that had been wafted, clergy and all, from the sister Isle.

The Diocese of Argyll comprises the islands lying off the Western Coast, which, in olden times, were peopled with Irish Saints. Even at the present day, if the Irish were withdrawn from this diocese, all its Catholics would find accommodation in a small room. The Cathedral is at Oban, and, like the structures of the old Celtic missionaries, is of wood. Even in its dimensions it corresponds to the churches erected by St. Columba and his disciples, being about 30 feet in length and 18 feet in width. The devoted missionary who is now stationed there, made during the autumn of last year an excursion to some of the outlying islands, which for years had not been visited by a priest. He found scattered through them eleven Catholic families, and of these, nine families were Irish. Iona too, so fallen from its ancient glory, has had for some years past one Catholic family. The head of this family, a devoted countryman of the great Saint whose blessing so long sheltered the island, used at times to make the journey to Glasgow in order to approach the Sacraments. His means would not allow him to bring his family with him. Nevertheless, when the priest visited his house last year he found the children admirably instructed, and eagerly desirous to receive the Sacraments, for they had been taught to devoutly recite the Rosary, and with it every day they had received a lesson in the Catechism.

This reminds me of the saying of the late venerated Rector of the Scotch College in Rome, whose friendship I enjoyed for many years in the Eternal City, and who was summoned to his reward at the very moment when the Hierarchy, for which he had so long sighed, was about to be restored to his country. He used to say that the Scottish Church of modern times was indebted to its Irish Catholics for a most tender devotion to the Blessed Virgin, and he added that should Ireland have conferred no other blessing on Scotland, yet for this alone his countrymen would owe us a debt of everlasting gratitude.

The instances which I have given will, I trust, suffice to show how fruitful has been the faith of our Irish people in renewing the blessings of religion throughout the length

and breadth of Scotland. Churches and schools have sprung up wherever they have gone, and no matter how poor they may have been in the eyes of this world, yet fervent piety, and the teaching of Divine Truth, and the Sacraments of Life, and the offering of the Holy Sacrifice, were sure to bless the district in which they settled. Not long ago, I asked an illustrious Prelate who had laboured for some years on the Scottish Mission, what part did he allot to Irish Catholics in the renewal of the Faith in Scotland:—"The whole Church in Scotland," he replied, "is Irish." There are to be sure, he added, some old Scottish Catholic families, and there are some illustrious converts who have shown a princely munificence to the churches and missions of Scotland, but taking the Scottish Church as a whole, it may well be styled an off-shoot from Ireland, and almost everywhere you go, the churches and their congregations, the schools and their children are Irish.

P. F. M.

IRISH THEOLOGIAN.—No. III.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.—(CONTINUED.)

IN a previous paper we gave a sketch of the leading events in the life of Duns Scotus; we now propose to examine his writings with a view to ascertain not only the place he held in the Schools of Theology, but also the characteristic principles of his system, as well as the influence of his teaching in the development of the Sacred Sciences. This however we can do only very briefly and in mere outline.

In order to understand Duns Scotus it is first necessary to sketch the history of Scholastic Theology before his time.

Scotus Erigena, who flourished in the ninth century, is generally and justly regarded as the precursor both of Scholastic and Mystic Theology. These two branches of Sacred Science are indeed very different—the theology of the *intellect* which strives to ascertain truth by ratiocination, and the theology of the *will* which strives to reach God by contemplation—yet to the erratic Scotus we owe the origin of both. "He was," says Alzog, "the first man in the West, and the only one in any country for three centuries, who, travelling beyond the traditionary limits of logic and dialectics, built up a strictly coherent system of metaphysics."

Elsewhere he is described as "the forerunner of the Mysticism of the Schoolmen, or the union of contemplative piety with scientific theology, and led off in the controversy on Universals." His method, aims, and objects, were altogether different from those of the Positive School who preceded him. In the exposition of doctrine and the refutation of error they, for the most part, appealed to the authority of Sacred Scripture and the testimony of the Fathers; they wrote in a loose rhetorical style; they spurned dialectics, and eschewed philosophy. Not so Scotus, and the new School of which he is the primal type. He was by nature a logician, by study and inclination a Neo-Platonist; he combined dialectical accuracy with brilliancy of exposition, but, trusting too much to his genius in his bold and original speculations, he brought upon himself the anger of his contemporaries as well as the censures of the Church. But the seed was sown and produced its fruit, whether good or bad, in due season.

The real origin of Scholasticism¹ dates from the middle of the eleventh century, and must be traced to the famous dispute between the Nominalists and Realists regarding the nature of Universals. This question was not, as is sometimes supposed, discussed by Aristotle himself. It was raised however by Porphyry in his Introduction to the Categories, but not answered till Boethius attempted a solution, tending however rather to the Nominalist than to the Realist view. In the eleventh century² the question for the first time began to assume a doctrinal importance. The arch-heretic Berengarius, who appealed to Scotus Erigena as his authority, accepting the Nominalist view of the essential and absolute unity of the individual body, and consequently the absolute impossibility of separating the substance from the accidents, denied the doctrine of Transubstantiation. Lanfranc refuted Berengarius, not only on authority as a positive theologian, but also by maintaining the distinction between substance and accident, which the other had ignored. Hitherto, however, the Nominalist doctrine

¹ A "Scholasticus" meant in Rome a teacher of a rhetorical school; in the middle ages it meant the head-master of a school of philosophy or theology: hence the name *Scholastic*.

² "Quo tempore verisimile est primum in Scholis monasteriorum auditas esse controversias Nominalium et Realium."—*Brucker*.

"Occasione vero numerice disputationum et altercationum Berengarianarum ortae sunt in Academia Parisiensi duae sectae philosophorum, Nominalistarum et Realistarum."—*Du Boulay*.

had not been formulated; but now the famous John Roscelin, canon of Compiègne, appears upon the scene, and declares that Universals have no objective reality, that they are mere words, *flatus vocis*, and boldly applying his principles even to the doctrine of the Trinity denied not the distinction of the Persons, but rather the unity of the Divine Essence: his system inevitably led him either to one or the other extreme. The discussion now waxed warm, the monastic schools were thrown into commotion, Roscelin was attacked from every quarter but stoutly defended himself, and even ventured to appeal in support of his opinion to the writings of Anselm, who was just then preparing to cross over into England in order to take possession of the See of Canterbury. Anselm, justly indignant at the audacity of Roscelin, emphatically disavowed the imputation, and wrote his famous treatise "De Fide Trinitatis" against the "blasphemies" of Roscelin, in which he clearly and effectively refutes the Nominalist view, leaning however, as some think, too much to the Realist opinions. Anselm's theory was approved of in the Council of Soissons held in 1092, and Roscelin was ordered to retreat. From this controversy many persons date the origin of Scholastic Philosophy and Theology. After the death¹ of Anselm, William of Champeaux, who is regarded as the first professor of the new theology in Paris, took up the gauntlet on the same side. But he went much further than St. Anselm, and maintained the objective existence of the Universals, quite independent of all the individuals which belong to the species. The Realists, absurd as it may now seem to us, appear to have been gaining ground in the Schools, when Peter Abelard came to the rescue of their opponents. He was a disciple first of Roscelin, and afterwards of William of Champeaux, so that he had the exceptional advantage of knowing the strong and weak points of both the contending parties. He was naturally a man of quick parts, both eloquent and keen witted, and he loved dialectics as he loved his own soul. He was never easy except when he was wrangling; and his foremost delight was to set up in opposition to his teachers and draw away their pupils. Abelard was a far abler metaphysician than either Roscelin or William of Champeaux. He attacked them in turn,

¹ Anselm as a philosopher preceded William of Champeaux by about twenty years. William died in 1121, Anselm in 1109, Lanfranc in 1089. Dupin dates the first period of Scholasticism from Anselm to Albert the Great.

although himself inclined to be a Nominalist, and, it must be confessed, utterly demolished them by a series of arguments which are admirable specimens of close and cogent reasoning, seasoned here and there with sarcasm, irony, and wit.

But Abelard was not content with his fame in metaphysics ; he must rashly venture into the domain of theology. He himself admits¹ that he was but little versed in Sacred Scripture and Patristic learning, and, as might naturally be expected from such a combination of pride and ignorance, he soon came to grief. He undertook to expound, in his "*Theologia Christiana*," the greatest of all mysteries—the mystery of the Holy Trinity—according to his own peculiar metaphysical principles. He was accused of introducing degrees, *gradus*, between the Persons of the Trinity, by limiting the Omnipotence of the Son, and denying the Consubstantiality of the Holy Ghost. His writings were carried to St. Bernard, who asked him to retract his errors. Abelard refused to admit himself in error, and challenged the Saint to a discussion in the Council of Sens in 1140. Saint Bernard was at first reluctant to engage with so renowned a disputant, yet yielding at length in the interests of truth, he went to the Council and demolished Abelard (who had not the courage to meet him), as completely as Abelard had demolished William of Champeaux. It was the final conflict between the Old and the New Schools ; St. Bernard was the last of the Fathers, and Abelard may be regarded as the first of the Schoolmen, of whose wordy wars the Saint speaks with anger and contempt. In a letter to Innocent II. he bitterly censures the presumption of Abelard, who from his boyhood, he says, trifled in dialectics, and now plays the fool in theology.² But when St. Bernard was laid in the vault of Clairvaux,

¹ He went to Laon to study theology under Anselm, a professor in that city, but he undertook while still, as he admits, "*lectionis expertus*" to teach it himself, and with so much success that he drew all the students from his master. Elsewhere he says, "pride, not ignorance, is the root of heresy." But although he led a somewhat erratic life, both in theory and practice, he was no heretic ; and we know from the Venerable Peter of Cluny, that he died a holy death in a convent of that Order. "It has not been my fortune," he said of Abelard, "to meet a more humble man than he." He died at Chalons, on the Saone, on the 21st April, 1142.

² "*Habemus nunc in Francia novum de veteri magistro theologum qui et ineunte aetate in arte dialectica lusit, et nunc in Scripturis Sacris insanit.*"—*Litterae ad Inno.*

the Old Theology was buried along with him, and the New School grew by degrees in strength and pride, trusting perhaps at times too much to reason and Aristotle, and too little to authority, but rich in the promise, which was not falsified, of a glorious future both for philosophy and theology.¹

Du Boulay, in his "History of the University of Paris," divides Scholasticism into three periods: the first from Lanfranc (or according to others from Abelard), to Albert the Great, the second from Albert the Great to Durandus, the third from Durandus to the Renaissance; which three periods respectively correspond to its rise, glory, and decline. During the first period, from the beginning of the twelfth to the middle of the thirteenth century, Peter Lombard, Bishop of Paris, the famous Master of the Sentences, was the central figure. And yet the Master of Scholastics can hardly be regarded as a Scholastic himself. He did a great and necessary work indeed, but it was the work of a theologian of the old Positive School. He saw the errors into which many of the earlier Scholastics—Roscelin, Abelard, Gillebert de la Parrée, as well as many others—had fallen. He saw strife and disunion in the Schools, strange opinions put forward, new subtleties invented, and, fearing lest the doctrines of the Church might suffer in those dangerous times of intellectual revolution, he resolved to collect a body of authentic decisions regarding the more important questions at issue. These decisions were for the most part "sentences," or passages quoted from Sacred Scripture and from the Latin Fathers, especially from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine. Hence this great work was called the "Book of the Sentences," and its author was known as the "Master of the Sentences." It became the Gospel of the Scholastics, they never questioned its authority; and every great teacher undertook to explain its obscurities, or supplement its deficiencies. It is said that four thousand commentaries have been written on the Master of the Sentences: certainly a greater number than any

¹ "Tunc ergo, ut philosophorum, ita et theologorum plures erant sectae. Una veterum qui fidei dogmata S. Scripturae et SS. Patrum auctoritatibus et argumentis confirmari contenti erant. Altera modernorum (qui et Scholastici dicebantur) et illis regulis Aristotelicis et dialecticis, nimis fortasse plus quam theologos decuisset, confisi plurimas propositiones curiosas et inutiles et ad errorem potius quam ad veritatem inducentes dictitabant et conscribebant."—*Buleus, His. Univ. Paris. ii.*

other book except the Bible has had. Hardly a single theologian of eminence can be named in those days, who did not write his "Commentary on the Books of the Sentences;" the huge and dusty tomes still burden the shelves of all our great libraries. Such was the estimation in which Lombard was held, after the publication of this great work, that Philip, Archdeacon of Paris, the son and brother of a king, although elected by the Chapter of Paris to the bishopric of that city, resigned his place to the friendless stranger whose only claim was his learning. His death on the 20th of July, 1164, marks an epoch in the history of theology.

Another noteworthy fact is the scant acquaintance with Aristotle enjoyed by those early Scholastics. They were acquainted, through wretched Latin translations, with portions of the "Organon," or logical writings of Aristotle; but they knew nothing of his physics or metaphysics. We have on this point the express testimony of Abelard,¹ who says that in his time there were in all only seven treatises on logic in the Schools, and these written in Latin: two of Aristotle, "The Categories," and the treatise *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* Porphyry's "Introduction," and four of Boethius—"De Divisione," "De Differentiis Topicis," "De Syllogismo Categorico," and "De Hypothetico." It was with these scanty materials the early Scholastics constructed their ingenious theories. Abelard himself knew Greek; in his letters to Heloise, he exhorts her and her nuns to the study of both Greek and Hebrew, which may be regarded as a sufficient proof of his own acquaintance with these languages. But hitherto they had no Greek copies of any portion of Aristotle's works in the Schools of the West; and hence even the few persons then acquainted with Greek had no opportunity of consulting the original works of the "Philosopher." But that defect was soon to be remedied.

The thirteenth century, perhaps the most interesting in the history of the human mind, as it certainly is in the history of the Church, the century of great Popes, great Orders, great theologians, and great cathedrals, opens with three remarkable events, the incorporation of the University of Paris,

¹ "Septem codicibus omnis in hac arte eloquentia Latina armatur. Aristotelis enim duos tantum *Praedicamentorum* scil. et *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας* libros usus adhuc Latinorum cognovit; Porphyrii vero unum Boethii autem quatuor, vid. *Divisionum et Topicorum*. Cum Syllogismis tam Categoricis quam Hypotheticis."—*Œuvres Inédites*, fol. 132.

the foundation of the two Orders of Dominicans and Franciscans, and the introduction into Western Europe of the principal works of Aristotle. Each of these events gave a new impulse to the literary activity of the age.

It was in the year 1200 that Philip Augustus formally constituted the great school of Paris a "*Studium Generale*;" and bestowed so many franchises and privileges on both masters and scholars, that this University in a short time included sixty-eight colleges, and became the seminary for all European nations.

In 1204 Constantinople was taken by the Latins, and a Latin Kingdom established at Jerusalem. The frequent intercourse thus established between the East and West contributed much to the literary culture of the latter. The victorious Crusaders, amongst other literary treasures, brought home copies of the *Physics* and the *Metaphysics* of Aristotle. About the same time they received better Latin translations, and fuller commentaries on most of the writings of the Stagirite from another source. The Arabians, under the dynasty of the Abbassides, had acquired a great taste for the arts and sciences; through the Nestorian Christians, whom they patronized, they became acquainted with the works of Aristotle. Avicenna (1036) in Bagdad, and later on (1198) Averrhoes, in the beautiful city of Cordova, promoted the study of the Aristotelian philosophy by free translations into Arabic of the principal writings of the Stagirite. These were re-translated into Latin, and through the agency of Spanish Christians, and Jewish merchants from Montpellier and other cities, they were soon carried into the great university cities of Paris, Oxford, and Cologne.

Masters and scholars perused them with the greatest avidity. Heretofore the Stagirite was an authority; now he became an oracle. The bishops were alarmed; the *Physics* of Aristotle especially contained many errors, and they feared the doctrine taught by these new lights. Councils were convened, and many stringent prohibitions against the reading of the *Physics* and *Metaphysics* were issued. In 1209, a Council held in Paris ordered the *Metaphysics* to be burnt, because they caused heresy in the past, and were likely to do so in the future also. In 1215, the legate of the large minded Innocent III. forbade the study of the *Physics* or *Metaphysics* under penalty of excommunication; and even so late as 1231, Gregory IX. prohibited the reading of the *Physics* until they were purged

of their errors.¹ Yet all these severe enactments were in vain, and we find both saints and scholars writing commentaries and making new translations of the forbidden books.

It was just at this very time, when the leaven of the Aristotelian philosophy was fermenting in the intellect of the Schools, that the two new Orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were founded. They had both established themselves at Paris so early as the year 1218, and at once came to the front in the University. To teach and preach was the primary duty of the sons of St. Dominick, and the Minors were their rivals in the discharge of that high duty. In 1221 Albert the Great joined the Friars Preachers in Paris; the next year Alexander De Hales, a no less distinguished theologian, entered the Order of St. Francis in the same city. Thus, from the very beginning, the two new Orders entered into a silent and holy rivalry in the cause of sacred science. Albertus was the teacher of St. Thomas, and although it is not expressly stated, we may fairly assume that Bonaventure was a pupil of his great rival, Alexander De Hales, the Irrefragable Doctor. It has been said by many writers, that Scotus, too, studied under the same master; but, as Luke Wadding remarks, the facts of chronology cannot be reconciled with this statement. De Hales had died at Paris in 1245, some years before Scotus was born. But the history of the times naturally led up to a rivalry in theology between the two great Orders, and this rivalry was productive of the very greatest advantage for the cultivation of the sacred sciences.

We now find the two Schools face to face in the university cities towards the close of the 13th century: St. Thomas being the leader of the Dominicans, and Scotus the head of the Franciscans. Here we may observe that it is impossible to understand Scotus without a knowledge of St. Thomas, and impossible to understand St. Thomas, if we knew nothing of Aristotle. He was the common master of both; both were familiar with his philosophy in all its branches, and wrote extensive commentaries on the works of Aristotle.

These works, as we have already intimated, may for our purposes be sub-divided into four classes. First, we have the "Logical Treatises," including under the general name of the "Organon" in the "Categories," the treatise on

¹ See Lanouius "*De varia Aristotelis in Academia Parisiensi fortuna.*" Tom. iv. cap. i.

propositions called *Περὶ Ἑρμηνείας*, the four books of the "First and Second Analytics," the eight books on the "Topics," or sources of probable knowledge, and lastly the treatise on "Sophisms." With these Aristotelian works, the Scholastics from the beginning were all perfectly familiar.

The second class includes Aristotle's treatises on speculative philosophy, namely his "Physics" in eight books, to which may be referred his smaller works, "On Heaven," "On Production and Destruction," "On Meteorology," "On the Universe," and "On the Soul."

The "Metaphysics," in fourteen books, treats of all those great questions which are now generally included under the term, and are too well known to need recapitulation here.

The "Mathematics" regard the two attributes of matter, quantity and extension; and contain some of Aristotle's peculiar views relative to the laws of motion. This treatise was not much studied in the Middle Ages.

The third class includes three treatises on practical philosophy: the "Ethics," in ten books, with some smaller treatises on the same subject; the "Politics," in eight books; and the "Oeconomics," in two books, of which the second is considered spurious.

Leaving out of consideration Aristotle's "Rhetoric" and "Poetics," the immense treatises on natural history, and his numerous miscellaneous writings, it will be seen that the Scholastics had a sufficiently large field of labour in the investigation of all the problems raised by the mighty mind of the Stagirite. Of the twenty-one folio volumes which contain the works of Albert the Great in the Lyons edition of 1651, the first six are devoted to commentaries on the logical and physical writings of Aristotle. From his master, Albert, St. Thomas inherited the greatest admiration for the Peripatetic philosophy in all its branches. Aristotle had given a *rationale* of the whole natural world, a complete and scientific exposition of every branch of human knowledge. St. Thomas had a mind framed in a similar mould, he loved order, he traced it in all things, and he grouped the branches of supernatural knowledge into one harmonious whole. On the lines traced out by the genius of the Greek philosopher, he built up in his *Summa*, with materials furnished by reason and revelation, the noblest and most enduring scientific edifice ever constructed by the mind of man. The works of St. Thomas are contained in

seventeen volumes folio ; of these, as in the case of his master, Albert, the first five contain his commentaries on Aristotle, certainly the best and most exhaustive hitherto written. Besides, with the aid of the monk William of Moerbeek, he prepared a new Latin translation of most of the writings of the "Philosopher" after the Greek originals. This is known as the *Vetus Translatio*, and its admitted accuracy in the most minute particulars places it on a level with the very best original MSS. in the estimation of critics.

Of course Scotus too followed the example of those who had gone before him, and wrote his commentaries on Aristotle, and an exposition of the Master of the Sentences. He simply wrote what he had taught in his lectures at Oxford and Paris, and that course of lectures included all the philosophy and theology then read in the Schools. His first treatise is what he calls a "Grammatica Speculativa seu de Modis Significandi," and was published at Venice in 1499. By some writers this work is attributed to Albert of Saxony ; unjustly, however, for it bears unmistakable signs of the acute genius of Scotus. It is a treatise preparatory to the study of logic, in which he undertakes to explain the "genuinam vim verborum, et veram sermonis proprietatem, et veram vocum etymologiam, quae adhiberi solent in logica et metaphysica."

This was preparatory to his treatises on Logic, Physics, and Metaphysics. After these we have the "Meteora," a work in which the author expounds, along with some new views of his own, the Mathematics, Astrology, and Optics of Aristotle. He discusses, in a fashion which would considerably astonish our modern physicists, the nature of the sun and moon, of the tides, of rain, hail, and snow, of thunder, lightning, and earthquakes, those questions which ancient Philosophy so longed and tried in vain to solve :—

"Me vero primum dulces ante omnia Musae
Quarum sacra fero ingenti percussus amore
Accipiant, coelique vias et sidera monstrent,
Unde tremor terris ; qua vi maria alta tumescant,
Objicibus ruptis, rursusque in se ipsa resident,
Quid tantum oceano properent se tingere soles
Hiberni, vel quae tardis mora noctibus obstet."—*Virg., Georg.*

In the treatises "De Rerum Principio" et "De Primo Principio," we have his cosmology, and the foundation of his peculiar metaphysical system. Lastly, we have his commentary in twelve books on the Aristotelian Meta-

physics, in which he goes over all the ground covered by St. Thomas and by Aristotle, submitting every statement made by either to the keen analysis of a mind that in subtlety, at least, is almost universally admitted to be superior to either. It is in this work that he lays down those metaphysical principles of his own, which profoundly modified both the philosophy and theology of the Middle Ages.

In theology proper he wrote two distinct commentaries on the Master of the Sentences, the first at Oxford, which is the fullest and best of the commentaries on Peter Lombard, if we except St. Thomas alone. The authenticity of the second treatise, usually called the "Reportata," has been called in question. It is probably a recast of the larger work, with additions by a disciple of Scotus, unduly attributed to the master himself. Besides the *Questiones Quodlibetales*, of which we have spoken in our previous paper on Scotus, he also wrote several smaller theological works, considerable commentaries on the Gospels and Epistles of Saint Paul, as well as a collection of sermons on many of the Saints and Feasts of the Church. The entire writings of Scotus, with commentaries by Lychettus, were published at Lyons in twelve folio volumes by Luke Wadding in the year 1639. Portions of his writings, too, have been separately published at various times and in various places.

For the present we must pause here; in our next number we hope to examine the leading principles of the Scotus philosophy and theology.

J. H.

CATHOLIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE BIBLE INTO ENGLISH, AND EDITIONS OF THEM.

AS the partial coincidence of the invention of printing with Martin Luther's new doctrine of the private interpretation of Scripture, produced his German Bible, so also on the part of the innovators in England it produced various translations and versions in the English language which were printed here and on the Continent. The principal of those were by Tyndale, Coverdale, Matthews, and that, known as Cranmer's, or the Bishop's Bible. There were others besides

these, but one and all were falsely and corruptly translated, heedlessly and carelessly printed, so as to give, to several of the editions, by-names derived from the printers' errors in them. It is true that in 1541 a Bible was printed in London by Grafton, which is stated to have been "*oversene by Cuthbert (Tunstall) Bishop of Duresm, and Nicholas (Heath) Bishop of Rochester,*" Catholic Bishops in the time of Henry. Of its quality we do not know anything. It soon disappeared amid the increasing number of editions, all favouring the growing heresy and the popular outcry of the time. Some half dozen copies of it may still be found in the great national libraries. But the others continued to pour out a flood of corrupted text, false doctrine, and familiarly irreverent treatment of the Sacred Word.

Such was the state of this matter when Elizabeth succeeded to the throne, when the Universities were closed against those who held true to the Catholic faith, and when William Allen, afterwards Cardinal Allen, was inspired to try to preserve the priesthood and the faith in England. He sought to do this by gathering around him some of the learned men who had been expelled from the Universities, and by founding a college or seminary at Douay in Flanders for the perpetuation of the priesthood in England.

Amongst the subjects which would engross their attention at such a time, it is natural that this, the vernacular edition of the Scriptures, should be foremost, and that they should be anxious that the Catholics, who were surrounded by these corrupted versions, should have a faithful translation of the authentic Vulgate, accompanied with such notes for their guidance in the understanding of the text as would give them the teaching of the Catholic Church, and preserve them from the errors and wanderings of those who were misled by the corrupted versions and the prevailing teachings of the day.

This is the origin of the translation known as "*The Rheims Testament*" and "*The Douay Bible.*"

The uncertainties of life and of possession which prevailed in those troublous and perilous times, have left but little record of the deeds of the Catholics, and of the men who did them. Their great works in the mighty struggle are written fully in the Book of Life, but they are only scantily written here. The period at which the translation was made is itself an uncertainty. I shall endeavour to throw some light upon this, to give some information about its little known authors, and also a list of the principal

editions of it, and of other Catholic translations, which have been issued to the present time.

The first publication was of the New Testament, in the year 1582, whilst the college was resident at Rheims. It has a preface to it, the opening words of which are these:—

“The Holy Bible, long since translated by us into English, and the Old Testament, lying by us for lacke of good means to publish the whole in such sort as a work of so great charge and importance requireth, we have yet through God’s goodness at length fully finished for thee (most Christian reader) all the NEW TESTAMENT, which is the principal, most profitable, and comfortable piece of Holy Writ.”

A question might be raised as to the time in which this translation was made. The preface states that, at the date of its publication in 1582, it had been “long since” made. A marginal note in the Douay Diary, date, October, 1578, says, “October 16, or thereabouts, the licentiate Martin began (auspicatus est) the version of the Bible into the English language” . . . , and “that our president, Dr. Allen, and our master, D. Bristow, diligently revise (perlegunt) it.” This is only four years before publication.

It appears from this that Martin had been long engaged upon the translation, probably before he left England—whilst first at Douay, and afterwards whilst at Rome, and that it was after his return from Rome in 1578, that he, along with Allen and Bristow, began the revision of his work, preparatory to its publication in 1582.

A few words about the translators may not be out of place here. They are but little known in these days, and their work but inadequately prized.

Gregory Martin, who is here given as the translator, was one of the most accomplished and perfect scholars of his day; a man in all ways fitted for the work which, in his zeal for God and truth, he undertook. He was the especial friend, and had been the fellow-student, of Father Campion, the martyr. They took their degree of Master of Arts together in the year 1564, as students of St. John’s College, Oxford. Gregory Martin sometime afterwards entered the family of Thomas, “the mighty Duke of Norfolk,” as tutor to his son Philip, the Earl of Surrey. Such was the esteem that he was held in by his college, that when it was visited by the Duke of Norfolk, and, according to the manner of the time, a Latin speech of congratulation was delivered by one of the college

before him, the speaker said, in reference to Martin and his position in the Duke's household, "*Habes, illustrissime Dux, Hebraeum nostrum, Graecum nostrum, Poetam nostrum, Decus et Gloriam nostram.*"

When, in order to propitiate the rising wrath of Queen Elizabeth, and in the vain hope of averting the fate which soon afterwards befel him, the Duke permitted prayers to be read by a Protestant minister in his household, Martin withdrew, and retired to the Continent. He soon went to Douay and entered on the study of theology, of which he became licentiate in 1575. On the 9th November, 1576, he went to Rome, and returned in May or June, 1578, to Rheims, where he recommenced those lectures in Hebrew and Greek which had been discontinued by his visit to Rome. As it is in the October of this year that he is said to have begun the English version of the Scripture, it is quite legitimate to infer, from these dates and employments, that the great work of translating the Sacred Scripture had been carried on by him during all those years, and that when he settled down at Rheims in 1578, he, along with Allen, Bristow, and Rainolds or Reynolds, began to prepare his work for the Press, so that when the New Testament was published four years after, in 1582, it was truly said that "*the Holy Bible was long since translated by us into English.*"

Richard Bristow was an eminent scholar, theologian and controvertist even whilst a Protestant in Exeter College. Becoming convinced of the error of Protestantism, he left England in 1567, and went to Louvain, where he met with Dr. Allen. He was made the first Prefect of Studies at Douay. His name is the first entered in the diary of that college. He was ordained priest along with Gregory Martin in March, 1573. He is the reputed author of the celebrated "*Rhemish Notes*" to the New Testament, the trenchant arguments of which have given so much uneasiness to Protestants.

Of Dr. William Allen, afterwards Cardinal Allen, the founder and president of Douay, the preserver, under God, of the faith and priesthood of England, nothing beyond his name need be said. His life, his learning, and his labour are well known.

William Rainolds, or Reynolds, a native of Exeter, and a minister eminently skilled in philosophy and disputation, earnest and zealous for the Protestant cause, became convinced of the error of Protestantism, through translating

Bishop Jewell's Book into Latin, "but before he had passed half over he found such stuff as made him greatly mistake of the whole religion, and so he, leaving his hopes and commodities in England, went over the sea; and in the last year of Jubilee, to wit, 1575, he came to Rome. . . . He returned to Flanders, and there lived many years, with singular edification, for his rare virtue, learning, &c." He was ordained priest in 1580.

The task of carrying the New Testament through the Press was assigned mainly to him.

But see the uncertainty of life. Richard Bristow died 14th October, 1581, the year before his long-famed notes were published.

In April of 1582, the year in which the New Testament was being conducted through the Press by Reynolds, Gregory Martin, borne down by pulmonary disease, went to Paris in hope of some recovery. On September 24th he returned to Rheims, and on October 28th, in the same year, probably before the last sheets of the first portion of his great work were struck off, he departed to his reward.

Reynolds lived until 24th August, 1594, and Cardinal Allen until 16th October in the same year.

The death of Cardinal Allen was a severe affliction to the suffering English Catholic Church at that time. It is but a tribute to his memory to quote the words of his contemporary, Pitsaens, in his Book "*De Illustribus Angliae Scriptoribus*," "Hujus Praestantissimi viri obitum, quotquot fidei causa persecutionem patimur, adhuc lugemus, et tanquam orphani, periisse nobis communem parentem, magis ac magis in dies experimur," or, as given in the *Historical Introduction* to the Douay Diary, "All we who suffer persecution for the faith still mourn the death of this most excellent man, and, as orphans, we feel more and more every day that we have lost our common father."

It may be stated here that the notes to the Old Testament, 1609, are by Dr. Thomas Worthington.

The text and notes of the Old and New Testaments remained unaltered until 1750, when Bishop Challoner issued a new version, in which many words that had become obsolete were replaced, but in which much of the original strength, terseness and beauty of expression in the language was sacrificed to more modern form.

From that date Dr. Challoner's version has been usually printed. In some instances other improvements have been introduced.

SUBJOINED IS A LIST OF THE PRINCIPAL EDITIONS OF THE
CATHOLIC TRANSLATIONS OF THE OLD AND NEW
TESTAMENTS INTO ENGLISH.

- Date.
1582. The New Testament, translated by Gregory Martin, aided and annotated by Allen, Bristow and Reynolds. Published by the English College, then at Rhemes. Printed at Rhemes by John Fogny ... 4to.
1600. The New Testament as above. Printed at Antwerp by Daniel Veruliet ... 4to.
1601. The Text of the New Testament, translated out of the Vulgar Latin (the Rhemes Translation) with the translation in use, *at that time*, in the Church of England, in parallel columns. This is Dr. Fulke's publication issued at the end of nineteen years to controvert Dr. Bristow's notes. London: Impensis G. B. *Folio.*
1609. The Old Testament, translated, &c., as above, but now published by "the English College of Doway," in two volumes. Printed at Doway by Laurence Kellam, *at the signe of the holie Lamb* ... 4to.
- The translator, Gregory Martin, had died on October 28th, 1582, and this part of his work had lain unpublished until this date. "*The cause of delay in setting forth this English Bible*" is thus accounted for in the opening of the preface in the first volume:—
- "TO THE RIGHT WELL BELOVED ENGLISH READER, GRACE AND GLORIE IN JESUS CHRIST EVERLASTING."
- "At last, through God's goodness (most dearly beloved), we send you here the greater part of the Old Testament; as long since you received the New; faithfully translated into English. The residue is in hand to be finished, and your desire thereof shall not now (God prospering our intention) be long frustrate. As for the impediments which have hitherto hindered this worke, they al proceded (as manie do know) of one general cause, our poor estate in banishment."
- 1617 and 1618. In these years there were three editions of the New Testament published in London by Fulke and Cartwright, Protestants, for the purpose of criticism and censure.
1618. New Testament printed at Rhemes. Printer's name not known. A copy said to be in the Baptist Mission at Bristol ... 8vo.
1621. New Testament. Rhemes translation. Printed at Antwerp by James Seldenslach ... 12mo.
1630. New Testament. Antwerp, by James Seldenslach; probably a re-issue of that of 1621 ... 12mo.

1633. New Testament. Rhemes translation. "Enriched with pictures." Printed (place not given on the title page) by John Cousturier; he was a printer at Rouen 4to.
1635. Old Testament, Douay translation, 2 vols. Printed at Rouen by John Cousturier ... 4to.
1718. New Testament translated from the Latin Vulgate by C. N. (Cornelius Nary). He was P.P. of St. Michan's, Dublin. No printer's name or place given; supposed to be Dublin ... 8vo.
1719. The same; probably a re-issue with new date on title 8vo.
1730. New Testament translated from the Latin Vulgate by R. Witham, with annotations, two volumes. No printer's name or place, probably Douay, as he was president of that college, and died there in 1737. The second volume is dated 1733 ... 8vo.
1738. New Testament. Rhemes translation. Printed at London by W. Rayner ... Folio.
The Rev. J. Barnard, in his life of Bishop Challoner, says in page 154, that this edition was published by him in conjunction with the Reverend Mr. F. Blyth. He describes it as "a fine edition, in folio, with annotations and proofs of the doctrines of the Catholic Church."
It is called the fifth edition, and the first in folio.
1749. New Testament, newly revised according to the Clementine Edition, 2 vols. This is the first edition of Bishop Challoner's New Testament, very rarely seen now 12mo.
1750. New Testament; a revised issue of the last ... 12mo.
1750. The Holy Bible, "translated from the Latin Vulgate; first published by the English College at Doway, Anno 1609; newly revised and corrected according to the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures;" four volumes. No printer's name or place. This is Bishop Challoner's edition, generally so called. The title page is rubricated 12mo.
1752. New Testament, translated out of the Latin Vulgate; first published by the English College at Rhemes, &c. No name or place. In two volumes, generally bound in one. The title page is rubricated. This also is Bishop Challoner's edition ... 12mo.
1764. Holy Bible and New Testament; another edition of Bishop Challoner's, five volumes ... 12mo.
1772. New Testament; Rhemes translation. Bishop Challoner's version. London. No printer's name. A copy said to be in the Bodleian ... 8vo.
1783. The New Testament. Rhemes translation, revised and corrected anew, by the Reverend Bernard MacMahon, with the approbation of Right Rev. Dr. Carpenter, Archbishop of Dublin. Dublin ... 12mo.

1788. The New Testament. This edition contains the original Rhemes translation, and the full notes of the edition of 1582. It is styled "the sixth edition," and the second in folio, "adorned with cuts." Liverpool: Printed and sold by R. Ferguson, Bookseller, in Dale-street ... *Folio.*
1791. Holy Bible; Old and New Testaments: Printed by Hugh Fitzpatrick for Richard Cross, 28, Bridge-street, Dublin. This is a revision by Rev. Bernard MacMahon of his edition of 1783, with the approbation of Most Rev. Dr. Troy, Archbishop of Dublin ... *4to.*
1793. The Holy Bible, "translated from the Latin Vulgate, and first published by the English College at Doway, Anno 1609." Manchester: Printed by J. Radford in Hanover-street ... *Folio.*
The preface of the New Testament of 1582 is prefixed to the Old Testament. In this edition the notes and treatises of the edition of 1609 are given at length. Many of the changes in the text which were made by Bishop Challoner are inserted in this text.
1794. The Holy Bible, Old and New Testament, another edition of that of 1791. By Rev. Bernard MacMahon, with Archbishop Troy's approbation. James Reilly, 9, Aston's-quay, Dublin ... *Folio.*
1796. The Holy Bible, translated from the Vulgate and first published in Douay, Anno 1609; four volumes. This is known as Bishop Hay's edition. Dr Gordon's Journal and Appendix to the Scotichronicon contains, at page 288, some very interesting details connected with it. It was printed by John Moir, Paterson's-court, Edinburgh. A most accurate copy of Dr. Challoner's edition of 1750. 3,000 copies were printed ... *12mo.*
1797. The New Testament. An edition similar to that of 1796 was printed by Moir, Edinburgh ... *12mo.*
Of this edition "the two English Bishops took 1,350 copies; the Rev. Thomas Eyre of Crook Hall took 100; and 'Honest Coghlan the Bookseller,' 100."
1803. The New Testament. The Rev. Bernard MacMahon's version. Dublin ... *12mo.*
1805. The Holy Bible; Old and New Testaments. John Moir, Edinburgh. Probably a re-issue of the editions 1796 and 1797, with new title page and date ... *12mo.*
1810. The New Testament. Rev. B. MacMahon's version, with Archbishop Troy's approbation. Dublin ... *12mo.*
1811. The Holy Bible. The "remainders" or unsold copies of Moir's Bible were issued with new title page in Dublin *12mo.*
- 1811-14. Holy Bible; Old and New Testaments; by George Leo Haydock; two volumes. Printed by T. Haydock, Manchester ... *Folio.*

1812. New Testament. Edited by Rev. John Worswick, Newcastle-on-Tyne 12mo.
1813. Old Testament of 1609 and New Testament of 1582; one vol Printed by Oswald Syers, Manchester ... *Folio*.
1815. New Testament, with valuable and copious Notes, Errata of the Protestant Bible, and Epitome of Ecclesiastical History, &c.; edited by James A. MacNamara, with Archbishop Troy's approbation. R. Coyne, Dublin, Publisher 4to.
1815. New Testament, according to the edition of 1749 (Bishop Challoner's), London. Known as Bishop Poynter's edition. 1,250 copies only of each size were struck off. It was reprinted by Coyne in 1826. Large paper 8vo.
1816. Holy Bible; Old and New Testaments; one volume. Printed by Nattall, Fisher and Dixon, Caxton Press, Liverpool. With Bishop Gibson's approbation *Folio*.
1817. New Testament. Belfast. The "Belfast Press" has issued many editions since this 12mo.
1818. New Testament. Rhemes translation. Edited by M. Sidney, and carefully revised by Rev. R. Horrabin. London: printed by P. and F. Hack, and sold by P. Fagan, Virginia-street, Wellclose-square. 12mo.
1818. The Holy Bible; printed for the proprietor J. A. MacNamara, by Healy, Cork 4to.
1820. New Testament, without notes. Dublin. One of Coyne's many editions 12mo.
1822. The Holy Bible. Fisher, Dixon & Co., London *Folio*.
The Caxton Press at Liverpool, which issued the folio edition in 1816, was burned down in January, 1821; the business was transferred to London, where this edition was issued, still with the approbation of Bishop Gibson, V.A., of the Northern District, on the title page.
1823. New Testament. Rhemes translation. Dr. Challoner's version. London: S. Bagster. "Remainders" of Dr. Poynter's edition of 1815, with new title page 8vo.
1824. The New Testament, translated from the Latin Vulgate, first published by the English College at Rheims, A.D. 1582, newly revised and corrected from the Latin Vulgate. Dublin: Printed by William Pickering & Sons for Thomas Haydock, David Wogan, John Coyne, and for James Lynch, Liverpool 8vo.
1825. The New Testament. Another edition of Dr. Poynter's Testament of 1815 8vo.
1825. The Doway Bible and Rhemish New Testament. R. Coyne, Dublin. This is Coyne's first stereotyped edition, issued with the approbation of Archbishop Murray ... 8vo.
1825. New Testament with annotations. Belfast: J. Smith. The text of this edition is said to approach that of the "Authorized Version" more than is found in others. 12mo.

1826. New Testament. A stereotyped edition of Dr. Poynter's of 1815, published at the expense of the Commissioners of Irish Education, with the approbation of the four Archbishops of Ireland. Dublin ... 12mo.
1829. The Holy Bible. Another edition of the transferred Caxton Press of 1816-1822, with the approbation of Bishop Bramston, V.A. London District. London ... *Folio*.
1833. The Doway Bible and Rhemish New Testament. Coyne, Dublin. Another issue of the edition of 1825, but on larger paper ... 4to.
1834. The New Testament, professing to be an exact copy of the Rhemes edition, 1582, issued by a Protestant editor, in New York, with the same design with which Fulke and Cartwright issued theirs in England, 1601, 1617, 1618. New York.
- The Holy Bible. Old Testament of 1609 and New Testament of 1582. Glasgow, Denis Kennedy, Printer to the Catholic Bishops and Clergy in Scotland *Imp. 8vo*.
There is no date to this edition. It has the approbation of the four Bishops in Scotland and the four in England. As one of these, Bishop Briggs, was consecrated on June 29, 1833, and another, Bishop Penswick, died January 28, 1836, it is just to infer its date to be about 1834-5.
1835. The Holy Bible. Coyne, Dublin ... *Imp. 8vo*.
The approbation of Archbishop Murray which is printed in this edition is dated 2nd September, 1829, though the edition of 1825 is said to have had that approbation.
1835. A new version of the Four Gospels; with notes critical and explanatory; by a Catholic (Dr. Lingard). London: Joseph Booker ... 8vo.
- 1845-8. The Holy Bible. A reprint of Haydock's text and notes. Edinburgh and London ... 4to.
1852. The Holy Bible; published with the approbation of Archbishop Crolly. Belfast ... *Royal 8vo*.
1856. The Holy Bible; Doway and Rhemes version, With the approbation of Archbishop Hughes. New York 4to.
1861. The Books of the Old and New Testaments, translated from the Latin Vulgate, &c. By Francis Patrick Kenrick, Archbishop of Baltimore. Five volumes. Baltimore: Kelly, Hedian & Piet *Royal 8vo*.
1863. The Holy Bible; the Doway and Rhemes versions, with annotations and references. Boston, N.E. ... 8vo.
Besides these there are many other American editions as Dunegan's, 1852; Sadleir's, 1859, &c.
1853. The Holy Bible. Haydock's text, the notes abridged by Very Rev. Dr. Husenbeth ... 4to.

1871. The Book of Psalms. "Translated from the Vulgate, being a revised edition of the Douay Version," principally by the late Cardinal Wiseman, with the approbation of Archbishop, now Cardinal Manning. Burns, Oates & Co., London 12mo.

— The splendid edition, text and notes, recently edited by the late Canon Oakeley and Rev. T. Law, London 4to.

The many editions and reissues recently published in Dublin, Belfast, Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London need not be specified, they are in the memory of all.

1872. The Vulgate New Testament with the Doway version of 1582, in parallel columns. London: Bagster and Sons.

The preface to this edition, which is from a non-Catholic publisher, is very free in its use of the designations "popish" and "papist." It contains some account of the work of Fulke and Cartwright, in the editions referred to in this list under the dates 1617 and 1618. It professes also to give a summary of the preface to the original edition of 1582 4to.

L. T.

GERALD BARRY, THE ARCHDEACON OF BRECKNOCK, AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—II.

ONE of the most important topics treated of by Gerald Barry, which Mr. Brewer notices, is beyond question the non-celibacy of priests in Britain. Archdeacon Gerald was throughout a vigorous denouncer of this offence, which he repeatedly tells us disgraced the Church of Wales, and which he in one passage assures us was general in England. Indeed, nothing is better known about him than the remarkable testimony he bears to the extraordinary purity of the Irish clergy, which produced on him all the striking effect of contrast. Mr. Brewer treating, in his first preface, of Barry's description of the Welsh priests, writes as follows:—

"Among other irregularities of the Welsh clergy was their marriage and its inevitable consequence in those times, the conversion of ecclesiastical benefices into hereditary property. 'The churches,' says Giraldus, 'have almost as many incumbents and partners (*personae et participes*) as there are principal men in the parish. The sons at the death of their fathers succeed to the living by inheritance, not by election, and so pollute the sanctuary.'"

And in his preface to the second volume of *Cambrensis*, Mr. Brewer points out plainly that the non-celibacy of Welsh priests must have scandalized the faithful of their own time and country. He remarks:—

“Of course no marriage rites could be celebrated between the parties in the face of the Church. Though ecclesiastical authority winked at, it would not openly sanction the practice. It is not necessary to point out the evils that ensued; it is needless to show how the clergy who pronounced the blessing of the Church on the marriage of the laity were in this respect of lower account than the laity over whom they were placed. The injurious reproofs levelled against such clandestine connexions by the Canons lost nothing of their effect on the minds of the laity.”

All this appears clear enough. The latter passage is indeed introduced by some inexact observations about the Eastern Church, which Mr. Brewer's self-confidence makes him venture on, but which need not concern us here. The really important point appears plain, that priests' marriages were held to be unlawful amongst *Cambrensis*'s countrymen, that those who lived as priests' wives were not, and were not considered real wives.

After this we are not surprised to read further on in the same preface, that our Archdeacon “holds up to contempt and ridicule the clergy who burthened themselves with the society of a woman;” and that “Giraldus will not vouchsafe her the name of wife.” It seems most natural. On the other hand, it would appear to require the most extraordinary assurance for Mr. Brewer to inform us suddenly, by accident as it were, not in any preface, but in a footnote to a passage in a later volume, that the unions of the British priests of Gerald's time were real marriages, and that Gerald himself admits that it was only through party spirit he denied it. Yet this is what we find Mr. Brewer actually doing at page 129 of the next volume, the third of his edition of *Cambrensis*.

He is there editing his author's dialogue, “*De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*.” In the text, Barry makes the Inquirer ask why there is such anxiety to have a Welshman made Bishop of Menevia, while the Menevian Church is a mixed one of both nations, Welsh and English, and while it is well known that the French and English are superior as well in morality as in education? To this Barry's Answerer replies, that almost all the canons of Menevia, but especially the Welsh ones, are non-celibates, and keep up family succession in benefices, that they know their con-

duct is abominable and detestable in the eyes of good and learned men, and therefore desire to have prelates of their own nation who will not be opposed either to family succession in benefices, or to ordinary immorality amongst both laity and clergy. On this painful text Wharton wrote a remarkable note in his *Anglia Sacra*, and Mr. Brewer reproduces it approvingly, with an additional very startling observation of his own.

Wharton first quotes Giraldus to show that it was the custom in England, just as in Wales, for secular priests to live openly with women as their consorts, "more sacerdotum parochialium Angliae fere cunctorum¹ damnabili quidem et detestabili." Then after referring to a particular case related by Gerald, Wharton says it is quite clear that the union between the woman mentioned there and a priest was really matrimonial, that such was the common union of priests in Wales, and that though Gerald will not allow that there was any proper marriage of priests at all, and uses "invisum concubinarum nomen," yet that must be attributed to party spirit. Mr. Brewer after quoting this, assents to it virtually, and confirms it by adding the following words and nothing more: "In fact Giraldus admits this. See Opera, ii. 248."

The question here raised appears to us far too important to be so easily dismissed. It is of great moment to know whether Mr. Brewer is right, when in his preface he represents the priestly unions in question as known to be crimes, or when in his foot-note to the Menevian Dialogue, he tells us it was only party spirit, according to Giraldus himself, that gave them a bad name. We shall have to say something first about Giraldus's text, and secondly about Wharton's commentary, and last of all about Mr. Brewer's note.

We are half tempted to suspect that Wharton did not interpret the sense of the text quite accurately. We are half tempted to suspect he thought that when the Inquirer said French and English were superior to the Welsh in morality

¹ We surely need not remind our readers that Archdeacon Gerald could not know *fere cuncti sacerdotes parochiales* in Wales, and certainly much less in England. The word *fere* shows that even in his limited circle of acquaintance, he found exceptions to his general rule. Moreover, nobody will deny that he could easily exaggerate. How far he was capable of pure invention is a question that will give us some trouble later. At present we have to deal rather with his editor than himself, and examine not so much his statements in themselves, as what Mr. Brewer makes out of them, and adds to them.

he meant to speak of French and English clergymen, as opposed to those of Wales. We think it not unlikely that it was with this idea before him, that Wharton brought up Giraldus's own testimony with regard to English churchmen. But Gerald's Inquirer speaks of two nations, *duobus populis*, namely the Welsh and English, and later on again of two nations, French and English, without any limiting of his observations to ecclesiastics. In the Answerer's speech, as we have already seen, it is declared that prelates were desired who would not be opposed to immorality amongst both laity and clergy; "fornicationis in populo fere toto sicut et in clero crimen." A moment afterwards there is further explanation about this *populus*; "apud quem nempe spurii et nothi et contra legem nati ac geniti, sicut et legitimi, hereditatem consequuntur." And a little further on in the same speech there is a pointed allusion to marriages between cousins within prohibited degrees. Very nearly the same exact words occur in Cambrensis's work, entitled the "Description of Cambria," and they are there followed by the long passage from the thirteenth Psalm, which St. Paul introduces in his Epistle to the Romans, to describe the depravity of men.

In the chapter of the "Description of Cambria" or Wales, where all this is found, we are told that the people high and low marry cousins, their relatives in the fourth and fifth degree, as a matter of ordinary usage; and even in the third degree very generally, that is, even second cousins. We give Gerald's words:—

"Crimen autem incestus adeo apud omnes tam minores in populo quam etiam majores enormiter invaluit, quod in quarto gradu et quinto passim, in tertio quoque plerumque, quia non est timor Dei ante oculos eorum, consanguineas ducere nec verecundantur nec verentur."

Gerald adds, what is still graver, that the Welsh were wont to marry upon trial, paying money to their wives' parents, and being bound to pay still more if they sent them back to them on finding that they did not suit. These things are in the sixth chapter of the second book of his "Description." The subject of that second book is the dispraise of Wales, while the subject of the first book is its praise. But even in the first book, in its tenth chapter, the famous one on Welsh hospitality, there occurs an observation which though put forward in a complimentary form we can scarcely look upon as praise of Wales. Barry

remarks that while no nation has more of the vice of jealousy than the Irish, no nation has less of it than the Welsh.

We are satisfied that it is to such national features in social life as we have just quoted, that allusion is made in the already noticed statement of the Inquirer; namely, that English and French are better than the Welsh in morality as well as education.

It is very true that Gerald tells us expressly that an extreme immorality was unknown in his days in Wales; and in his *Descriptio Belluæ Multiformis*, he tells us such wickedness was peculiarly Norman, and even called Norman crime. We suspect that when Lord Lytton in *Zanoni* compared the Normans to the ancient Greeks, he scarcely knew how far the comparison might be pushed. With regard to any monstrous excesses, no doubt, the Welsh are described by Barry as far less guilty than the Normans, nay, as innocent, while the others are criminals. But in the statement of the Inquirer there is not question of the extraordinary crimes of individuals of any race. The subject to which he refers is the moral and social state of the generality in different nations, and in that point of view he finds both French and English generally superior to the Welsh, with their marriages on trial and almost universal disregard of certain prohibitions of wedlock between cousins. With regard to morality, however, it is only in the strictest sense of the word, as explained above, that Barry finds the social condition of the English better than that of the Welsh. The English are of course for him the Anglo-Saxons, as the French are the Norman settlers. And while, as already mentioned, in extravagant individual excesses he finds the Normans beyond comparison worse than the Welsh; at the same time in ordinary respectability of life, apart from purity, in those good qualities which present prejudice ascribes to the Anglo-Saxon Englishman, he sets the Englishmen, the Anglo-Saxons of his time, below all other nations, as well as most expressly below the Welsh. The explanation of the proverb, *Untrue Sax*, "Untrue faithless Saxon," is given at length and applied to Englishmen by Barry in the first book of his *Invectives*, at the same time that he speaks of them as employed in the most menial work in Wales. Wharton did not know that book, he is rather put out when he finds Barry, later on in the *De Jure*, speaking very contemptuously of the English, and he writes a long helpless uncertain

note. Mr. Brewer published the first book of the *Invectives* in the same volume with the *De Jure*; but far from making any use of it to throw light upon the passage which puzzled Wharton, he simply republished poor Wharton's undecided note.

Oddly enough, it is in reply to the same unlucky man against whom Gerald made his joke about Defecit and Mirabilia, that we find him not satisfied with the joke, passing on immediately after it to abuse the poor Englishman's nationality in the following very earnest way:—

"Sed qua fronte genti nostrae Britannicae gentem Anglicanam praeferre ausus est vel et conferre, puta nationum omnium quae sub coelo sunt villissimam, a Normannis quippe subactam et in servitutem perpetuam belli jure redactam, attestante quoque Merlini nostri vaticinio, etc., etc. In terra sua Normannorum servi sunt Anglici, et servi vilissimi. In terra nostra bubulcos, opiliones, sutores, pelliparios, mechanicos, artifices canicularum nostrorum quoque, ne cloacarum dicamus purgatores, praeter Anglicos¹ non habemus. Taceo quod proditores Britonum ab initio fuerunt ad stipendia vocati, nec fidem unquam nec foedera respicientes, quod prae aliis gentibus adhuc quoque proditiionibus dati clandestinorum scelerum et caedium auctores extant cruentissimi; unde et in Teutonico regno quotiens enormiter quis delinquere videtur, de natione quacunque, quasi proverbialiter in suo vulgari dici solet: *Untrive Sax*, hoc est 'infidelis Saxo.'"

So much for Gerald's views of the nationalities in England. Now for Wharton's observations about the clergy.

It is of course no contradiction of the foregoing to say that the clergy lived like married men in England, no less than Wales. What Wharton quotes to that effect from Gerald's other work, is in no way opposed to what Gerald puts forward in the speech of his Inquirer. Perhaps, indeed, Wharton did not mean it to be regarded as any real

¹ "Haec satis conjectari possum quid sibi velit Giraldus, Anglos magis quam Wallos ad servitutem natos asserens. Puto illum subinuere Anglos pariter ac Wallos (Angliae jamdudum subactos) communi regi magis servili conditione subdi, quam suis olim principibus Walli subdebantur. Vel forsitan collimat ad servitutis consuetudinem a Normannis in Angliam introductam atque illo adhuc tempore retentam, qualis apud Walliam non obtinuit. De servorum Anglorum conditione ista habet Gervasius Tilberiensis in libro MS. de Scaccario nigro paulo ante haec tempora conscripto, cap. 36. *Jam cohabitantes Anglicis et Normannis et alterutrum uxores ducentibus, sic permixtae sunt nationes, ut vix discerni possit hodie (de liberis loquor), quis Anglicus quis Normannus sit genere; exceptis duntaxat ascriptitiis, qui villani dicuntur, quibus non est liberum obstantibus dominis suis a sui status conditione discedere.*"—Wharton (564 in *Anglia Sacra*, vol. ii.), apud Brewer, vol. ii., 222, 223.

contradiction. It is possible he brought it forward merely and solely to show that the state of things was the same in both Wales and England with regard to the secular clergy, to argue that it was thought lawful in England, and to argue from what was thought lawful in England to what was considered so in Wales.

Wharton certainly tries to set up such an argument, but is quite unable to establish even the first necessary proposition, namely, that any union with a priest was held in England to be a marriage. He quotes in an abridged form a story from Gerald's *Speculum Ecclesiae*, and says that from that it is perfectly clear that a certain English priest was united to a woman in marriage. He cries out "*clarissime constat.*" We need only observe that there is nothing whatever in the story to show it, unless people believe that there can be no fidelity outside marriage, and that fidelity consequently proves wedlock. Fidelity is the only thing the story proves, and *that*, in a case where Gerald expressly states that marriage did not exist!¹

¹ No good argument for or against the marriage can be deduced from the circumstances of the story. But it seems to us that what Wharton refers to as proof of the affirmative, could be used much more plausibly to maintain the negative. Fidelity was shown and that demonstrates that there was no marriage. For fidelity was shown because an effort was made to secure infidelity under most unpromising circumstances, and no such effort would have been made under such circumstances had the real marriage tie existed. We think this little piece of sophistry of ours a great deal more conclusive than Wharton's "*clarissime constat.*" We are sorry, very sorry, to have to go into such matters. But if what Wharton, the author of the once famous Treatise on Celibacy, wrote two centuries ago, is reprinted under the auspices of the Master of the Rolls, we really must be allowed to say something on the subject.

We must add that a very different man from Mr. Brewer, Mr. (we believe it is not usual to say Dr.) Freeman seems to us to have been to some extent, like Wharton, led strangely astray by his admiration of fidelity. We allude to his valuable articles on St. Thomas Becket against Mr. Froude, and the passage in them that here concerns us is a note in the June number for 1878 of the *Contemporary Review*. Surely "a woman who altogether shrank from unfaithfulness to her husband" has been sometimes known, in our own times, when she believed him dead, to enter into a connection most certainly not tolerated. How can the fact of her having been faithful to her husband while she believed him alive, prove that every connection she entered into afterwards was "tolerated"? Mr. Freeman, however, does not by any means, like Wharton, think the marriage of a mediæval priest the simplest thing in life, and cry out "*clarissime constat.*" The learned historian calls it irregular, and applies to it, with the word "tolerated," a very severe name.

We come now to Mr. Brewer. Instead of setting the former commentator right where he is evidently puzzled by Gerald's contempt for the English, instead of throwing light on the old text, with the help of the new documents, (documents in fact discovered during Mr. Brewer's editorship), and showing that the English here are the despised Anglo-Saxons in contradistinction to the Normans, he simply catches up here the charge about church-discipline made by the commentator, a charge which he himself had discountenanced in his first preface, and endeavours to support it by a peculiar argument.

Mr. Brewer, as we have seen, declared that Gerald admits he only refuses the name of marriage out of a kind of party spirit. To prove this Mr. Brewer, like Wharton, jauntily indicates an argument, and Mr. Brewer's indicated argument certainly vies in assurance with Wharton's "*clarissime constat.*"

We proceed to examine it. Wharton had quoted, as we have already remarked, from the *Speculum Ecclesiae*, that great book or libel written by Gerald against religious orders, of which, as Mr. Brewer tells us, "there never existed more than one copy, and that was the author's own." Mr. Brewer quotes from Gerald's *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, the book which the author wrote as a guide for the secular clergy, and refers to a story in it about a man who is said to have been married, but is not said to have been a priest at all. Mr. Brewer, however, no doubt assumed that this man is the same as the priest spoken of in the other work, and considers that he thus finds Gerald practically admitting that a priest might fairly be described as truly married. To this we must demur. We have grave doubts as to the assumed premiss of the identity of the two persons. We have no hesitation in any case about rejecting the conclusion.

In the first place, with regard to the identity necessarily supposed in order to establish any argument, though there is a striking similarity of circumstances in the middle of the two stories there is a very striking difference in the two endings. In one case the cry raised is Thieves, *Fures*, and the would-be evil-doer runs away, to all appearance as impenitent as ever. In the other a dignified warning is addressed to him, "*Errastis, pater;*" and he takes the warning to heart upon the spot and exclaims humbly and bitterly "*Erravi,*" and thenceforward is a real penitent. It requires certainly some confidence in his own sagacity on mediæval

subjects for Mr. Brewer without more ado to treat these two stories as one.

But even if the actors in them were really the same, it would not follow that Gerald thought the priest was really married. Even when speaking of unions that are null and void marriages, we use sometimes for the sake of brevity or other reasons, the terms wife and husband, without binding ourselves to any opinion on the matter. Mr. Brewer is himself a case in point. In his preface already noticed to Volume II., the volume containing the "*Gemma Ecclesiastica*," where the story to which he alludes occurs, he himself, dealing with the question of the marriage of Welsh priests, in two consecutive sentences describes the same state as "married" and as "uncanonical concubinage." Here follow his own words (pp. xlii, xliii.)

"Though in his earlier days Giraldus had signalized his youthful ardour for ecclesiastical reformation by removing from his charge a married [*sic*] archdeacon, he never appears to have visited any of his inferior clergy with similar degradation, or even to have threatened it. Yet we learn from his own explicit declaration, that a number of them lived in this uncanonical concubinage [*sic*]."

It would be hard we believe to charge Mr. Brewer with admitting that he uses the latter painful words from mere party spirit, because he happens to have called the archdeacon "married." But it is very hard to find Mr. Brewer who writes this way himself, maintaining this very charge against Gerald on no stronger grounds. To do so was indeed in him a master-piece of assurance, a brilliant example of that strange self-confidence with which men of the refined and accomplished nineteenth century conceive they may treat the writers of the middle ages. The fact is, of course, that Gerald does not even lay himself so much open as Mr. Brewer to Mr. Brewer's own accusation. When Gerald speaks of a man as married, he does not, like Mr. Brewer, tell us at the same time that the man was a clergyman. If the man in question really was a priest, it is plain enough and will soon be plainer, that for a moment, for the sake of point and brevity, Gerald chose to sink that important circumstance, and consequently also to omit every statement about the union being no real marriage. On the contrary, when he describes the man as a priest, he is careful to protest in the energetic language which Wharton quotes, that the man was not really married.

But the truth is, we need only measure the length of the two stories. If the two refer really to the same persons,

the one to which Mr. Brewer refers is clearly an abridgment of the fuller statement which Wharton quotes. In the case to which Mr. Brewer refers us, the story takes up only eighteen lines of his volumes, while what Wharton refers to occupies no less than forty-eight.

To torture what should seem at most an innocent effort to be brief, into an admission on Gerald's part, that it was only party spirit that made him refuse a priest the name of husband, and to tell us so while it must remain uncertain whether the man who is called married was actually a priest at all, is something for which we fancy Mr. Brewer will not be easily forgotten.

J. J. O'C.

(*To be continued.*)

THE ADVENT FAST IN THE IRISH CHURCH.

[We publish with much pleasure the following interesting paper on a question started in the last number of the RECORD.]

With reference to the apparent diversity between his quotation and the text of the *Leahbar Breac*, Father Malone says, "the difficulty arises from the contractions which had to be expanded, and for which no type is available with the printer. Besides that difficulty, there is another from the occurrence (and it is not a rare one, as even in the page referred to it occurs six times) of what is familiar to readers of Irish MSS. It is known by the names of *ceann fa eite* (head under the wing), or *cor fa chosan*, i.e. turn under the path. The effect of this is, that after reading a line, instead of coming down, one has to read the upper line, or rather part of it marked by a *ceann fa eite* (as it never occurs at the beginning of a line), and then come down to the third line. This occurs in the quotation given by me, which consists of two lines and a part of a third."

It is almost unnecessary to add, that between Father Malone's view regarding the very ancient observance of some Advent fast in the Irish Church, and the view put forward in the last number of the RECORD regarding the recent introduction of the present form of the Advent fast, there is no real opposition.

Having thus taken the liberty of curtailing Father Malone's paper to some extent, we now present to our readers his statements in favour of this ancient Advent fast, which was observed in Ireland as well as in other parts of the Church.—ED. I. E. R.]

He says :—

In my hurried note to the RECORD, I alluded to two references as indicating the lines on which an argument might be constructed in proof of Advent fasts prevailing from the beginning in the Irish Church, and I now hasten to open up these lines, and complete the argument.

St. Adamnan, born in the year 620, in warning the Irish people of the visitations which in vision he saw impending over them because of neglect of religious duties, recommends, among other remedies, the observance of a *Triduum* four times a year. The first *Triduum* was to take place on the first Wednesday of the Winter Lent, the second on the first Wednesday of the Spring Lent.¹ In the first place here there is question, I contend, of the Advent fast. Irish writers, when explaining the fasts of the year, state that there may be a "relaxation on the eves of the principal festivals of the year, to wit, Christmas and the two Easters."² The second Easter was to take place in summer. Its date was thus fixed: "The 17th of the month of July takes place, and the Sunday next in succession to it is the Summer Pasch."³ Now as we learn that among other reasons for Lent one was in order "to prepare for the reception of the Body of our Lord,"⁴ we may clearly infer then, as the Spring and Summer Paschs had fasts preceding them, that Christmas, classed as the third fundamental solemnity of the year, also had its Lent. Hence the relaxation of the fast on the eve of Christmas. Because if the fast had not been of unusual duration there would not be need of relaxation, and because otherwise the fast preceding it, though one of the three chief ones of the year, would not equal the fasts that preceded minor feasts.

The relaxation at the end of the Winter Lent or Advent above referred to is only an application of a general Canon. An Irish writer, after speaking of various kinds of fasts, of the besetting temptations attendant on them, and of the other weapons to be used by Christians in the spiritual

¹ *Leabhar Breac*, p. 259, col. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 90.

³ *Ibid.* p. 9, col. 2.

⁴ *Ibid.* p. 48, col. 1.

warfare, goes on to speak of a *tempered fast*.¹ "A tempered fast is one which grants release at the endings of high celebrations, or noble solemnities, or on grand festivities, or Sundays." Surely if any solemnities had noble endings it was Advent—the eve of one of these three festivals declared to be the most fundamental in the Calendar.

Nor need we be surprised at the term Winter Lent; for there was even the Summer Lent. The venerable *Leabhar Breac*, after speaking of Ascension-Thursday and Pentecost, which was preceded by fasts, says, "the Sunday next following the 25th of June is the Sunday on which begins the Summer Lent."² *Quadrages* or Lent was the term applied to the fast of Advent, Easter, and Summer, indifferently, and its peculiarly distinctive meaning was determined by the adjunct specifying the season at which the Lent occurred.

That this designation of Advent was not peculiar to the Irish Church is made abundantly evident. Almost contemporaneously with its use in the ancient *Vision* of St. Adamnan we find Advent referred to, as in Irish manuscripts, so also in the annals of the Continental Church. For instance, there was question of seeking a relaxation of the observance of Advent, for which a fine had to be paid. Thus a diploma, dated 735, required forty *Lucii* (coins) from the monks of Nomantula for the *Lent* of St. Martin. Martene assures us that by this was understood the Advent.³ And St. Peter Damian, who lived in the 11th century, speaks of "the *Quadrages* or Lent which was usually observed by the faithful before the birthday of our Lord."⁴ If then in other churches Advent was understood as designated by the name of St. Martin's Lent, surely there can be no difficulty in understanding what Irish manuscripts meant by the Winter Lent.

Now that we are certain of the existence of the Advent fast from the earliest ages in the Irish Church, our inquiry shall be as to its duration. At present it is of uniform length through the Church, but it was not so in earlier times. It lasted for a month here, for six weeks elsewhere, and in some places extended to nearly two months, beginning on the first of November. In looking

¹ *Leabhar Breac*, p. 258, col. 1.

² *Ibid.* p. 90. "xxv. epc i uin in domnach iŕ neppom iŕe domnach inic chongair rampao.

³ *De Antiq. Ecclesiae Discip.*, cap. 10. n. 5.

⁴ *De Reformatione Canonorum Veliterni*.

into a ninth century Missal, the Irish *Corpus* Missal, all we learn from it is that there was a Mass for the first Sunday of Advent, thus implying that there was at least a second Sunday. The Epistle is the same as we have now for the first Sunday of Advent, but this should not lead us to pronounce that its duration then was the same as now : for the Gospel is that of our present third or fourth Sunday. But in looking into the Festology of Aengus, Cele De, the question is at once settled. Under the 13th of November, I read :—

“ On the Ides (of November) the death of Eutaic, a martyr was he whom you praise near Christmas, high and all prayerful festival, at the appearance of the beginning of Lent.”¹

This entry puts beyond question the fact that the Advent fast *had* a place among the observances of the Irish Church. Its duration then was nearly commensurate with that in the Ambrosian Liturgy.

And while the Festology written before the end of the 8th century gives a very high antiquity to the Advent fast, a still older date may be vindicated for it by the *Vision* of St. Adamnan already referred to. The Saint, in warning the people of Erin against impending woes, prescribes the fasts of the Tridua during the Winter and Spring Lents, and in doing so, says that he only urges on them the observance of the “covenants left them by God and St. Patrick.”² Here we have the authority of a Saint and Irishman for tracing the Advent fast to the days of St. Patrick. Those who witnessed the death of St. Patrick could have lived to see the birth of St. Adamnan. Such testimony must render quite improbable the opinion of Martene³ and Benedict XIV.,⁴ which attributes the origin of the Advent fast in the sixth century to St. Gregory.

The opinion then which attributes the institution of the Advent fast to St. Martin of Tours in the fifth century, derives some countenance from its introduction by his nephew, our national Apostle, and from the tenacity with which the Irish Church adhered to its observance till after the Reformation.

Notwithstanding the mention of the Advent fast in connexion with the Ides of November, there is reason for judging that it did not begin invariably on the thirteenth

¹ ʃorpo etreacht eu ʒaic mar-ʒur ba impororair penoolais aipio aipʒair
oo ʒne mit chorʒair.

² *Leabhar Breac*, p. 259, col. 1. ³ *Antiq. Eccles. Discip.* cap. 10, n. 6.

⁴ *Instit.* xi. n. 7.

of the month, but on the following Sunday : for the other Lents began on Sunday. We have seen already a rule laid down for finding the Sunday on which the Summer Lent began : the Easter Lent began also on Sunday. This we can infer from the rules for the Triduum in the *Vision* of Adamnan, which prescribed the second Triduum on the first Wednesday of Lent. Now, if the Lent began on Wednesday, as at present, the writer would have spoken of the first of Lent, rather than of the first Wednesday in Lent.

Besides, we know as a matter of fact, that the present four days' fast before *Quadragesima* was not usual before the middle of the ninth century. If the Summer and Easter Lents began on Sunday, it is inferrible that the Advent Lent also began on a Sunday.

Now, if we suppose, as there is reason for doing, that each day in Advent was a fast day, it would consist, abating the six Sundays, of an average of thirty-four fasting days. In my calculation I presume that the Advent did not begin till the Sunday following the 13th of November ; because the entry in the Festology states that the fast did not begin, but that its commencement appeared or approached, on the Ides of November ; and because it was on a Sunday Advent began in other churches.

The duration of the Summer Lent could not have been more than three weeks ; because it began on the Sunday next succeeding the 25th June, and the Summer Pasch began on the next Sunday following the 17th July : now as the Spring Lent ended on Easter Sunday, so should we conclude that the Summer Lent closed on the Sunday of the Summer Pasch. Its length then, was, by this calculation, half that of the Spring Lent.¹

It is quite certain that the length of the ancient Advent dwindled down to that of the Advent at present before the Reformation. For the Sarum *Use* and, what is more to the point, a Breviary written in the closing years of the 15th century, by a Killaloe priest, give only four Sundays to Advent.

As in regard to the length, so too in regard to the character of the Advent fast, there was a variety of practices in different countries. In some places the Advent preparation consisted of abstinence, in others fasting formed a part of it ; and some of those who fasted confined their fast to special days in the week.

¹ Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 90.

The Irish Church, which yielded to none in Christendom in the strictness of its fasts, in all probability extended the fast to the entire six weeks of Advent.

We must bear in mind that the three Lents in the Irish Church were designated by the common name *Corgais* or *Quadragesima*. Whenever an adjunct followed the word it was in order to determine its duration, and the season in which it took place.¹ Therefore, by an acknowledged canon in the use of language and that of common sense, it is only reasonable to attribute, without notice to the contrary, the same meaning to the common word *Lent* when used by the same writers and applied to the same matter. On that account we are to infer that the character of the Lent was the same in each of the three Lents.

This view of the matter is confirmed by those writers who spoke of the fast on Christmas Eve: "thick milk and honey are mixed on the eve of the chief solemnities; to wit, at Christmas, and the two Easters."² The greatness of the solemnity led to the above indulgence, which supposed a fast like the Easter and Summer fast, but different from the mere three days' fast of the Triduum.

I remarked before that a distinction had been kept up between the several Lents not merely as belonging to different seasons, but as qualified by the intervening festivals. Thus during the Easter Lent, in which occurred St. Patrick's festival, rather liberal fare was allowed on his festival, unless it fell on Friday.³ But with the exception caused by the accompanying festivals, all the Lents were treated as of the same character.

There is, it must be admitted, a distinction sometimes made between the food allowable in Lent and out of it. The expounder of the law on Lent says "that fleshmeats may be used in the great Lent;"⁴ but this distinction of the great from the other Lent does not establish a difference in the ordinary character: for the writer assigns a reason for the distinction, because then "other things are scarce."

¹ At the end of the fourteenth century, the *Leabhar Breac* twice in page 48, col. 1, in page 45, col. 2, in page 47, col. 2, speaks of the *Corgais cesta*, Crucifixion Lent, as opposed to the other Lents; and at the end of the fifteenth century a rule is laid down for determining the annual occurrence of the *Corgais samrae*, the Summer Lent. Vid. *Leabhar Breac*, p. 90.

² *Leabhar Breac*, p. 9, col. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *bicil na feola hi corgar marintan bir in tere mapille.*

The writer takes care to assign the reason of the indulgence in the great Lent: because other necessities, milk, honey, vegetables, were more scarce then than during the other Lents.

But in general the same character was assigned to the various Lents. Hence in the very next line it is stated that "on the high festivals which fall on Thursday or Tuesday during the *Lents* half selanns" are given.¹ Here the same character and treatment are given of the several Lents.

The Advent fast did not, as stated in a reference to *Ferraris*, fall into disuse in the twelfth century. It lingered on not only in Ireland but in other countries. Alexander III., writing in the thirteenth century, says, that "the fast is observed by us during the Advent of the Lord."²

The Advent fast which prevailed in the Church through most of the Middle Ages fell into disuse in the fourteenth century. The custom of fasting fell into desuetude now in one country, and by-and-by in another; but it was only in the year 1370 that it may be said to have been repealed by Pope Urban V., at Avignon.³

And though not generally binding, the fast, however, was subsequently observed in some countries; but in no country was it more warmly cherished than in Ireland. That Irish Church which was among the first to receive it, was the last to give up the Advent fast. On that account we find the distinction kept between the various Lents to the end of the Middle Ages. Nothing is so common to writers of the fifteenth century in Ireland as the use of the Crucifixion Lent, or Easter Lent as contradistinguished from the Winter and Summer Lents. Hence writers in the fifteenth century lay down rules for determining the recurrence of the latter.

The same reverence for Advent fasts made the Irish Church cling to their observance as to the observance of holidays, even when retrenched. This is so certain that Dr. French, Bishop of Elphin, writing in 1803 to Dr. Moylan, states that the feasts of the Purification, Nativity, and Conception were kept holidays of obligation, though not so in other dioceses, because the Church of Elphin, in

¹ *féil fíochta* coimreítear fíor dárdaí na máire fíia'coimreítear.—*Leabhar Breac*, p. 9, col. 10.

² *Cap. Concilium de Observatione Jejunii.*

³ Raynaldus, *Annals*, sub. an. 1370, n. 21.

previous years, did not avail itself of the Indult extended to the rest of the Church.¹

Hence, too, when Clement VIII. issued an Indult in the year 1598, exempting the Irish from abstinence, they did not avail themselves of its privileges. The bishops of the Dublin Province met at Kilkenny in 1614 and promulgated anew the Indult. Even then the faithful did not avail themselves of it. And in sixty years subsequently,² Clement X. had to issue another Rescript, and another synod had to promulgate it, in order to convince the people that the fasts thitherto binding were relaxed by the Papal Indult. Even this did not prevent the faithful from observing the fasts.

After sending my hurried note to the *REGORD*, I took an opportunity of looking the *O'Renehan Collections* through, and failed to see in them a proof against the existence of Advent fasts in our Irish Church. On the contrary, I found an allusion, and only once, in them to Advent in connexion with fasts. The passage runs thus:—

“Besides on all Fridays of the year, as on the Vigils of the Nativity, Conception, and Annunciation, and likewise of the Purification of the B. V. M., a fast is observed by the more devout³ everywhere] (as some fast even in the Advent season), which is set down by others to devotion rather than to a strict obligation; but whether the custom arises from mere devotion or strict obligation, the Vigil of the Purification is transferred by a Decree of the Synod of Armagh in favor of St. Bridget.”

Now this entry would rather prove than otherwise the existence of the Advent fast in Ireland before the year 1778. It is a statement made out in the year 1649 of a representative meeting of the priests of the Province of Armagh, which took place in the year 1614.

The fast on the Vigil of the Purification was set down by some to mere devotion; but the provincial synod judged it unsafe to deny the existence of a strict obligation, and therefore transferred the Vigil fast.

The parenthetic clause, asserting the Advent fast, is not spoken of either as observed by the devout merely, or as of

¹ *O'Renehan Collections*, p. 319.

² Dr. Moran, *Archbishops of Dublin*, p. 271.

³ “Necnon et Purificationis B. M. Virginis jejunatur passim a devotioribus (prout a quibusdam etiam tempore Adventus jejunatur), quod ab aliis tribuitur devotionis magis quam obligationis esse; quodcumque autem fuerit illa consuetudo sive obligationis sive devotionis ex decreto synodi Ardmachana: transfertur Vigilia, &c.”—*Collections*, p. 132

doubtful, obligation. The synod had no idea of qualifying that clause by what follows, as it did not contemplate legislating for the Advent fast as for the Vigil fast; nor did the synodal statement, on the observance of the Vigil fast by the rather devout, affect the Advent fast in the succeeding parenthesis—as *some fast even in Advent time*—because the agents in fasting in the latter case are different from those in the former. It is not said *jejunatur a devotioribus* (*prout jejunatur etiam tempore Adventus*); but the form given, *jejunatur a devotioribus* (*prout a quibusdam jejunatur tempore Adventus*), shows that the Advent fast spoken of as observed is implied to have been of obligation.

For those who observed the doubtfully binding fast of the Vigil are not the same as those who observed the Advent fast, the former were the devout, the latter were different; and we all know it is only a penitential observance of obligation that is respected by the indevout. On that account we may fairly infer the fast of Advent in the seventeenth century to have been regarded as the continuation of an immemorial custom of obligation. And even granted the Advent *then* to have been of mere devotion, still it militates for my contention.

But though the authority of the Synod at Drogheda is unexceptionable as vouching for the existence of the Advent fast, its conduct in regard to legislation on the holidays is more open to exception. It appears to have acted on its own responsibility in transferring Vigils, specially composed as it was of only the second order of the clergy, and thus practically to have recognised condemned principles of the famous Synod of Pistoia in 1786.¹ However their loyalty is unquestionable.

I may observe that though there is no general law by which the Advent fasts prevail through the Church, yet they are more general than is commonly believed.

There is scarcely a country, to my knowledge, in which they do not obtain. The Supreme Pontiffs took an opportunity, in issuing Rescripts as to the suppression of Vigils and fasts, to restore the old discipline of the Church. Not only in Europe but even in America where no Indult was required, because there had been no suppression of feasts, a fast of one or two days in Advent prevails.

¹ Prop. lxxiv. "Quatenus adstruit Episcopo fas esse jure proprio transferre dies ab Ecclesia praescriptos pro jejuniis celebrandis," *falsa*, Concil. Gener. et Summorum Pontificum laesiva, scandalosa, schismati favens. Bull. Auctorem fidei, 28 August. 1794.

Each theologian, imagining that the Indult in regard to the Advent fast was peculiar to his own country, and it may no doubt be subject to special conditions, did not think it well to discuss its nature on principles of universal application. But the absence of allusion to the fast in the text of theological treatises is no proof that it does not prevail in the country of their writers.

For instance, I refer to Scavini¹ who, though a canon of the Church of Novara, omits all allusion to Advent in his text, but in a note quotes the Indult of Pius VII., which made the same concessions under like conditions to Savoy as to Ireland.

Notwithstanding the various incidental points touched on, the principal aim of this article has been, as well to supplement the few remarks in my last note, as to evolve the suppressed premiss of an enthymeme. On the former occasion I glanced at the existence of several Lents in the Irish Church, and on the present have shewn, at least to my own satisfaction, that these Lents were of different durations, and as such were expressed by the common word *corgais*, forty.²

I therefore feel entitled to repeat as an unquestionable fact now what was only an assertion a while ago, at the close of a short note, when my argument had been incomplete, that *corgais* supplies a remarkable instance of the conventional signification of a word becoming not only different from, but essentially contradictory to, its etymological and original meaning.

S. M.

¹ Tom. i. tract ii., disp. cap. 11.

² From the same root comes, I suppose, the French word *carême* = *carême*.

NOTES ON THE RETRENCHED HOLIDAYS OF OBLIGATION IN IRELAND.

In a recent number of the RECORD, I took occasion to note that the fast of Advent as now obligatory in Ireland—as indeed very generally throughout the Church—is barely of a hundred years' standing. As regards Ireland, it was established in 1778, by Pope Pius VI., as a compensation, or commutation, when he removed the obligation of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile work on a number of holidays of obligation (22), the Vigils of several (8) of which had been fast days.

As a short statement of the discipline of the Irish Church since the beginning of the last century, in regard to holidays of obligation and their retrenchment, may not be without interest to some readers of the RECORD, I may venture to transcribe for publication in these pages a few extracts from some works of authority, which I find I had, some time ago, set down in one of my note-books, intending to turn them to some account in my work as Professor of Moral Theology.

1. In the first place, relying on the kind permission of the learned and venerated Editor, I shall transcribe from the erudite work, to which I referred in the last number of the RECORD—Dr. Renehan's *Collections on Irish Church History*¹—the document which records the introduction into Ireland of our Advent fast:—

“*Ex audientia SS^{mi} habita die 29 Martii, 1778. Illustrissimus Dominus noster Pius Divina Providentia P. Pius VI., me infra scripto sac. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide referente, attentis peculiaribus circumstantiis Catholicorum in Hiberniæ regno degentium, eos benigne dispensavit a præcepto audiendi sacrum, et abstinendi ab operibus servilibus per dies festos cujuslibet anni, exceptis tamen Dominicis et . . .* [here follows an enumeration of the holidays of obligation at present in force, with three others, which have, as we shall see, been abrogated since the date of this document—Easter Monday, Pentecost Monday, and St. John's Day, the 24th of June]. . . .

“*Vigilias autem festis ut super dispensatis adnexas Sanctitas sua mandavit transferri in 4^{am} et 6^{am} feriam uniuscujusque heb-*

¹ *Collections on Irish Church History*, from the MSS. of the late Very Rev. Laurence F. Renehan, D.D., President of Maynooth College, edited by the Rev. Daniel M'Carthy [now the Bishop of Kerry]. Vol. I. Irish Archbishops. Dublin, 1861.

domadae Adventus, in quibus jejunium idem servandum erit quod in Quadragesima et quatuor Temporibus anni servari debet.

"Quoad vero ecclesiastica officia, Sanctitas sua declaravit ea sicut antea retineri oportere tam in Missae celebratione, quam in horis canonicis recitandis.

"Datum Romae ex aedibus S. Cong. de Propaganda Fide, die et anno praedictis.

"STEPHANUS BORGIA,

"Sac Cong. de Prop. Fide Secretarius."

2. That we may fully appreciate the extent of the modification thus introduced, as regards the removal of the obligation previously in force, it may be well to set forth, as in the following Table, a list of the holidays from which the obligation was thus removed. The same Table will furnish the most convenient means of representing the various modifications that have taken place since the year 1755, in regard to this important branch of ecclesiastical discipline.

TABLE OF HOLIDAYS OF OBLIGATION,
EXHIBITING THE VARIOUS CHANGES THAT HAVE TAKEN
PLACE IN REGARD TO THEM, IN THE DISCIPLINE OF
THE IRISH CHURCH, SINCE 1755.

The following Table sets forth :—

A. The full list of holidays of obligation as laid down in the Canon Law. This is the list drawn up by Urban VIII. (CONST. *Universa*, 13 Sept., 1642), with the addition of the feast of the Immaculate Conception of the Blessed Virgin, instituted by Clement XI. in 1708. The holidays thus enumerated are 35 in number. I have of course included in the list the feast of St. Patrick, as holding in Ireland the place of the "festum unius ex principalioribus Patronis in unoquoque Regno sive Provincia," mentioned by Urban VIII. in the constitution of 1642.

B. The modification introduced by Benedict XIV. in 1755, when the obligation of abstaining from servile work was removed as regards 18 of those feasts—the obligation of hearing Mass remaining, however, as before.

C. The further modifications introduced by Pius VI. in 1778, when the number of holidays was reduced to 13—the retrenchment thus extending to four days not included by Benedict XIV. On this occasion the obligation of hearing Mass was removed, as well as the obligation of abstaining from servile works.

D. The subsequent changes in 1829 and 1831, when the list of retrenched holidays was still further increased by 3—thus reducing the remaining number of days of obligation to 10.

	List of Holidays as laid down in Canon Law.	As modified in 1755 by Benedict XIV.	As modified in 1778 by Pius VI.	Subsequent modifications in 1829 and 1831.
1	CIRCUMCISION ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
2	EPIPHANY ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
3	<i>Purification of B. V. M.</i> ..	Full obligation	Abrogated	
4	St. Matthias, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
5	St. Patrick ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
6	St. Joseph ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
7	<i>Annunciation</i> ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
8	Easter Monday ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	Abrogated (1829)
9	" Tuesday ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
10	SS. Philip & James, App. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
11	Finding of Holy Cross ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
12	ASCENSION ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
13	Pentecost Monday ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	Abrogated (1829)
14	" Tuesday ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
15	CORPUS CHRISTI ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
16	St. John Baptist ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	Abrogated (1831)
17	SS. Peter & Paul, App. ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
18	St. James, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
19	St. Anne ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
20	St. Lawrence, Mart. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
21	<i>Assumption of B. V. M.</i> ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
22	St. Bartholomew, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
23	<i>Nativity of B. V. M.</i> ..	Full obligation	Abrogated	
24	St. Matthew, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
25	St. Michael ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
26	SS. Simon & Jude, App. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
27	All Saints ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
28	St. Andrew, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
29	<i>Immac. Concep. of B. V. M.</i> ..	Full obligation	Abrogated	
30	St. Thomas, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
31	CHRISTMAS DAY ..	Full obligation	Full obligation	
32	St. Stephen ..	Full obligation	Abrogated	
33	St. John, Ap. ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
34	Holy Innocents ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	
35	St. Sylvester ..	Mass ..	Abrogated	

NOTES ON THE PRECEDING TABLE.

1. The modification introduced by Benedict XIV. in 1755, was of a character then very usual. The later volumes of the Bullarium, especially during the Pontificate of Pius VI., contain numerous documents in which similar modifications—removing the obligation of abstaining from servile work, without affecting the obligation of hearing Mass—were granted for various dioceses and districts.

2. In cases where the modification was of the more extensive kind, as in that granted to Ireland by Pius VI. in 1778, it was usual to transfer the obligation of fasting on the Vigils of the suppressed holidays to some other days. Most frequently the Wednesdays and Fridays of Advent were the days to which the transfer was thus made. Sometimes, however, the obligation of fasting was altogether removed, no substitute being imposed for the Vigil fasts thus abrogated. Thus, for instance, we find in the *Bullarium* of Pius VI., a reference to a concession of this extensive nature, which had been granted to the dioceses of Lombardy in 1786. But the more usual form of the concession was that in which it was granted to the Irish Bishops.

3. It is hardly necessary to add that, in the case of many of the twenty-two holidays abrogated, as regards Ireland, in 1778, no obligation had existed of fasting on the Vigil. I may mention, for instance, the Vigils of the feasts of the Immaculate Conception, of the Nativity, and of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin. Ferraris, in his article *VIGILIA*, gives, as usual, a lucid statement of the extant information on the subject. The number of those Vigils to which the obligation of fasting had been attached, was in fact but *eight*—these being the Vigils of the feast of St. Laurence the Martyr (August 9th), and of *seven* of the *nine*¹ suppressed feasts of the Apostles. No fast, it may be observed, had been prescribed on the Vigils of the other two Apostles' feasts, that is to say, on the Vigil of St. John's feast (December 26th), or on that of the feast of SS. Philip and James (30th April). The former was exempted on account of its occurrence during the festive season of Christmas, the latter on account of its occurrence in Paschal time.

4. Some curious details are mentioned by the learned editor of Dr. Renehan's *Collections*, in one of the many interesting notes with which he has enriched that valuable work. Thus, for instance, we learn that the dispensation granted by Pius VI. was not universally acted upon throughout Ireland. "In parts of the south and west particularly, the

¹ The total number of Apostles' feast days in the Calendar is *ten*. Of the *thirteen* Apostles—including of course St. Matthias and St. Paul—thus venerated, the feasts of SS. Peter and Paul are celebrated on the same day (June 29th); so also the feasts of SS. Philip and James (May 1st); and those of SS. Simon and Jude (October 28th). Thus the number of distinct feast days is but *ten*. Of these, but *one*, the 29th of June, is now of obligation in Ireland; the remaining *nine* were abrogated, as above stated, in 1778.

old usage prevailed for many years after. In 1826 the late Bishop of Kerry found it necessary to apply again for the same privilege to the Holy See, because the feasts of the Purification, Nativity, and Conception, continued to be observed as before by the faithful of that diocese. The reply, declaring the people free from all obligation of hearing Mass or abstaining from servile work, is dated 24th June, 1826."

5. In the same note, a letter is quoted which was written in 1803 by Dr. French, the Bishop of Elphin, and from which we learn that at that time in Elphin, not only "the three retrenched Lady-days, viz., the Purification of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Nativity, and the Conception," but also "the two days immediately after Christmas, St. Stephen's and St. John's Day," were observed as days of strict obligation. "When the abrogation of the above feasts took place, my worthy predecessor," says the Bishop, "signified to the Holy See his reason for not availing himself of the discretionary indulgence; first, as to the Lady-days, because the diocese was dedicated to the Blessed Virgin; and secondly, as to the days after Christmas, in honour of that great festival, which fell in the dead part of the year, when no labour was being carried on."

6. Full details concerning the suppression of the three holidays—Easter Monday, Pentecost Monday, and St. John's Day (24th June)—suppressed since 1829, are to be found in the same work. In answer to a petition from the Irish Bishops for the concession of this relaxation of the law, Pius VIII., in 1829, granted the relaxation as regards the two Mondays; as regards St. John's Day he declined to remove the obligation of hearing Mass, but granted the dispensation as regards servile work, provided, however, that the Irish Bishops were *unanimously* in favour of the change. A subsequent petition presented in 1830 was not more successful. In 1831, however, the concession was made by Gregory XVI. Since then no further changes have taken place in Ireland in regard to this important branch of ecclesiastical discipline.

W. J. W.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS ANSWERED.

Decrees relating to the public veneration of our Lady of Lourdes and of la Salette.

REV. SIR—Am I justified in erecting in my church a statue of our Lady of Lourdes for the public veneration of the people? There is a difference of opinion on this point among my clerical brethren in this immediate neighbourhood.

C.C.

You are justified in erecting this statue, provided you acquaint your bishop of your intention and obtain his sanction for what you are about to do. The Congregation has decided the point:

“An possit ab ordinariis permitti vel saltem tolerari ut ad publicam fidelium venerationem exponantur in ecclesiis imagines seu simulacra B. M. V. sub titulo de Lourdes et de la Salette, nec non Immaculatae Conceptionis lucis radios e manibus emittentis.”

S. R. C. resp. *Affirmative*, servatis tamen cautelis, praesertim Decreto Sacrosanctae Tridentinae Synodi de invocatione, veneratione, et reliquis Sanctorum et sacris Imaginibus (sess. xxv.) praescriptis et sa. mem. Urbani VIII. Constitutione “Sacrosancta Tridentina Synodus” diei 13 Maii 1642 confirmatis.”

12, May, 1877 (5692).

The Sacred Congregation has issued other decrees relating to Lourdes and la Salette, to which it may be useful to invite attention in this place.

1. In reply to a question, the Congregation has answered that the Apostolic See has neither approved nor condemned these apparitions or revelations, but only allowed them to be believed as objects of human faith, on the veracity of those persons who have testified to their reality.

Bishops are reminded to deal with these topics after the example of the Holy See; and, moreover, in case any books should be written about them, to require that the declaration or protestation spoken of in the decree of Urban VIII. should be printed in the beginning of the book.

2. Bishops are allowed to sanction the erection of sodalities in honour of our Lady of la Salette; but the full title of the sodality must be that adopted in the Church of the Holy Redeemer at Rome, namely, “the Confraternity of the Blessed Virgin Mary, the Reconciler of Sinners, commonly called ‘de la Salette.’”

3. A feast and Mass of the Blessed Virgin under this

title, and celebrated as a double of the first class, with an octave, are forbidden, except by a special and express concession of the Holy See.

4. Special Litanies of our Lady of la Salette are forbidden.

The following are the decrees referred to :—

“ Num ab Apostolica Sede approbatæ fuerint apparitiones, seu revelationes, quæ contigisse perhibentur, quæque cultui B. M. V. sub memoratis titulis causam præbuerunt?”

“ An pium sodalitiū B. M. V. *de la Salette* dictatum ab Ordinario dioecesano admitti valeat?”

“ An Festum B. M. V. sub eodem titulo cum Missa et ritu duplici primæ classis cum Octava ibidem celebrari possit?”

“ An Litiariæ speciales Apparitionis B. M. V. *de la Salette* ibi recitari valeant?”

Resp. S. R. C. Ad I. “ Ejusmodi apparitiones seu revelationes neque approbatas neque damnatas ab Apostolica Sede fuisse, sed tantum permissas tanquam pie credendas fide solum humana juxta traditionem quam ferunt, idoneis etiam testimoniis ac monumentis confirmatam. Nihil proinde obstare quin Ordinarii pari ratione se gerant : facta desuper (si de opere typis vulgando agatur) in eodem sensu opportuna declaratione seu protestatione, ad tramitem Decretorum prælaudati Urbani Papæ VIII.

Ad II. “ Affirmative ; sed in admissione dicti sodalitiū stetur, quoad titulum, praxi adhibitæ in approbatione ejusmodi Confraternitatis Romæ erectæ in Ecclesia Sancti Salvatoris in Thermis, nimirum, ‘ B. M. Virginis, Reconciliatricis peccatorum, vulgo *de la Salette*.’ ”

Ad III. “ Negative ; nisi de speciali et expressa Apostolica facultate.”

Ad IV. “ Negative.”

12 May, 1877 (5692).

“ Quaeritur utrum Episcopus Maurianen. permittere possit ut in sua dioecesi erigantur Confraternitates, Altaria, Oratoria, tam publica tam privata, sub nomine Dominae Nostræ vulgo *de la Salette* expresso hoc nomine.”

Resp. S. R. C. “ Affirmative ; sed in approbatione Confraternitatum sub titulo B. M. V., vulgo *de la Salette*, servetur conditio expressa in superiore decreto, 12 May, 1877 (5692).”

7 July, 1877 (5698).

R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR.—The Clergy of this Diocese wish to know, whether the “pitiful Appeal by the Irish Nation” to Pope John XXII., A.D. 1317-18, does not furnish a conclusive proof that the Bull of Pope Adrian IV. is spurious? The petitioners were Donald O'Neill, King of Ulster, and lawful heir to the throne of Ireland; the nobles and great men, with all the people of Ireland. In their Petition they remind His Holiness, that “his predecessor, Pope Adrian IV., transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry King of England, under whom, and perhaps by whom, St. Thomas of Canterbury had been murdered for his zeal in defending the interests of the Church; instead of punishing this prince, as his crime merited, and depriving him of his own crown, the kind Pontiff has torn ours from us to gratify his countryman Henry II.” Now, it is an historical fact that Pope Adrian IV. had died twelve years before the murder of St. Thomas. And unless His Holiness had risen from the grave, he could not have transferred the sovereignty of Ireland to Henry II., at the date assigned to his Bull by the Irish Nation. Yours respectfully,

✠ VALLISPRATENSIS.

[A contributor who takes a special interest in Irish historical questions has kindly furnished the following reply.—ED. I. E. R.]

The above communication, from the respected Bishop and Clergy of the Diocese of Grass Valley, California, in the ecclesiastical province of San Francisco, with which we are honoured, at once proposes a *question* and states an *argument*.

1. In reply to the *question*, and with reference to the appeal of Donald O'Neill and the Irish princes to John XXII. (1316-24), it may with much reason be asserted that this Appeal, so far from being a conclusive proof of the spuriousness of the so-called Bull of Adrian IV., supplies an argument in support of the authenticity of that instrument.

2. Touching the *argument*, it is to be observed, that the historical fact referred to, with a certain air of triumph, cannot be interpreted in a sense subversive of the alleged genuineness of Adrian's Rescript, if other historical facts, bearing on the question, are to be taken into account.

True, that Adrian died several years before the martyrdom of St. Thomas à Becket. It is also true that the invasion of Ireland, by Henry II. in person, was subsequent to the martyrdom. And yet His Holiness, Pope Adrian IV., had no occasion to rise from his grave to confer the so-called

grant of Ireland upon the English King. And why not ? Because, before he passed away he had already given, by the instrument in question, a power to Henry to enter Ireland for certain purposes and under certain conditions. Henry did not at once use that power: for English and Norman politics kept him fully engaged, and prevented him from immediately entering upon his mission to Ireland. Thus will they argue, who hold Adrian's Rescript to be a genuine document.

DOCUMENTS.

[Although these Resolutions will be familiar to our readers before the present number of the RECORD reaches them, still for the sake of future reference we deem it necessary to preserve, by inserting in our pages, a Document of such national importance.

For the same reason we hope to be able to publish, in our next number, the Letter of His Holiness Leo XIII. to the Archbishop of Dublin on the present position of Irish affairs, together with the reply sent by the Bishops recently assembled at Maynooth to that Letter.—ED. I. E. R.]

DECLARATION OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE LAND QUESTION.

At the Meeting of the Bishops of Ireland, called to transact business connected with the College of Maynooth, the following resolutions, in reference to the Land Question, were unanimously adopted by the Prelates present:—

“1. That inasmuch as we are charged by Almighty God, not only with the guardianship of the faith and morals of our flocks, but also with the care of the poor and oppressed members of our fold, we feel constrained, by a solemn sense of our obligations, to declare once more, that the present state of the Land Code in Ireland is intrinsically dangerous to the peace and happiness of our people; and that mutual confidence between the various orders of society can never be firmly established till our Land Code shall have undergone a searching and thorough reform.”

“2. That being thus convinced of the necessity of such reform, we earnestly deprecate all faltering legislation on this vital question; and we hereby record our conviction that such legislation, no matter how well intentioned, so far from allaying the universal discontent, will intensify existing evils and lead to a prolonged and angry agitation.”

"3. That our confidence in the good sense and generous feelings of our flocks being unshaken, we are persuaded that the immediate introduction into Parliament of a Land Bill, framed on principles of justice to all existing rights, would be the signal to call back peace, and a sense of security, to all classes; and that we cannot refrain from giving expression to the fears entertained by many, that should order seem to reign by the power of coercion, the branch of legislature, which is regarded as unfavorable to popular rights, may either totally reject or substantially nullify any measure of practical utility submitted to its consideration; a result which we cannot contemplate without serious alarm.

"✠ EDWARD, Archbishop of Dublin, *Chairman*."

"College, Maynooth, Jan. 25th, 1881."

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

New Views on Ireland, by CHARLES RUSSELL, Q.C., M.P.
Dublin: M. H. GILL, and Co.

ALTHOUGH the RECORD has no politics of its own, we think it right to notice Mr. Charles Russell's "New Views on Ireland." The writer modestly observes that it was not himself, but the Editor of the *Daily Telegraph*, who prefixed that title to his letters. The title, at any rate, is a most appropriate one; these letters do furnish "new views" of the relations between landlords and tenants in Ireland—views that are not only clear, definite, and striking, but proven to be just. The Irish tenants certainly owe a great debt of gratitude to Mr. Russell for educating the English mind on the fairness of their claims; and that debt of gratitude is enhanced by giving the "views" a permanent form in the present volume, as well as by the author's eloquent advocacy of the tenants' cause on a recent noteworthy occasion on the floor of the House of Commons. We venture to call the special attention of our readers to Mr. Russell's admirable sketch of the "Remedial Measures," that in his opinion are most likely to bring that peace and prosperity to the country which she sorely needs. Mr. Russell speaks with the authority of a judge, not with the partiality of an advocate. He ranks amongst the first men at the English bar; he has no personal interest to serve. Great lawyers are naturally conservative, and thus his opinions are entitled to all the weight that knowledge, high place, and perfect impartiality can give. His principles are sound, his reasoning just, and, we venture to think, his conclusions, if carried out, are as likely to prove beneficial to the landlords as to the tenants. We commend the perusal of the book to the Irish clergy who, we feel certain, as a body, are proud that the nephew of the late venerated President of Maynooth is the foremost champion of the Irish tenants before the Senate and people of England.

Erin, Verses Irish and Catholic. By the Rev. M. RUSSELL, S.J.
Dublin: Gill and Son.

YET another volume of poems from Father Russell! and one, too, that is certain to be eagerly welcomed by all who are familiar with "Emmanuel" and the "Madonna." What is more, we venture to predict that on closer acquaintance the welcome will ripen very soon into love. Hitherto we have known Father Russell chiefly as a sacred poet; in the present volume he appears in a more homely, and perhaps in a more lovable, because more human, character. There are, indeed, very many beautiful sacred poems in this volume too, but we confess that it is those more homely, and scarcely less holy, effusions of his muse that pleased us most. We learn that, after all, this austere Jesuit has human nature like ourselves, a heart that is warm and tender, genial and kind, and brightly humorous. As he himself says of the skylark, in that "Prose Idyl," which is poetry without rhyme, "these songs are not a triumphant burst, or agonizing spasm, but gushes of love and gratitude, musical, fresh, and meekly joyous." The first poem is "The Irish Farmer's Sunday Morning," which at once suggests favourable comparison with the "Cotter's Saturday Night;" for even if the Irish *Soggarth* were not the poet he is, he has the advantage of a loftier theme and holier inspiration. It is wonderfully true to nature, overflowing with humor, yet touching and graceful. We have also a rare poetic gem, "In Memoriam C. W. R." whose "ripened wisdom" and "reverend form" so long adorned the College of Maynooth. In "Yarra-Yarra Unvisited," the reader will find feats of rhyme unequalled since poor Clarence Mangan went boating down the Bosphorus of this world. We may well say to Father Russell, what he himself says to T. D. Sullivan—

"The birds for whom thou pleadest have no such gift of song,
As God has lent thee, poet, O be not silent long!"

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES—

The Life of Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball. By HENRY JAMES COLERIDGE, S.J.

The Standpoint of Ritualism. By FRANCIS HERBERT NASH, A.M.

From WILLIAM RIDGWAY—

Ireland: Portions of a Letter on the Land Question addressed to Earl GREY in 1868. By Cardinal MANNING.

Bodington: On the Deep-seated Causes of Irish Adversity.

From ELLIOT STOCK—

The Antiquary. A Magazine devoted to the Study of the Past.

From PUSTET—

Praelectiones Dogmaticae de Deo Uno. By FERDINANDUS ALOIS STENTRUP, S.J. Ratisbonae, 1880.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

MARCH, 1881.

THE PRINCIPLES OF '89

I.—INTRODUCTORY.

HISTORY has its epochs, and one of the most memorable of them is that which witnessed the outbreak of the Great French Revolution. Never, perhaps, did any human event work such astounding changes within an equally brief period; and we may scarcely name another whose influence has been more widely felt, or is likely to prove more enduring. Its name and its results have been so long familiar to us, that we have almost come to regard it as a portion of Ancient History; and yet there are many men still living who were born before Robespierre and Danton, Marat and Siéyès had been summoned to another world, to answer for their appalling crimes in this.¹ Ninety years have gone by since, like some terrific volcano, it poured out its desolating lava-tide over Europe, sweeping away in its fiery course landmarks that had stood for centuries, and institutions that seemed imperishable; and, though the crater has long since abated its activity, rumbling noises are still heard, which show that the fire within is not wholly extinct, and make us tremble lest we witness in our day a renewal of the terrible visitation. The social upheavings, the maddening orgies, the wholesale confiscations, the hellish murders, the legalised atheism, the apotheosis of lust, the titanic wars, the infamies and outrages innumerable, which accompanied the rise and progress of the French Revolution are, indeed, things of the past; but the Principles which

¹Siéyès did not die until 1836. The others perished in the "Reign of Terror."

gave them birth survive, and, unfortunately, have been consecrated by the approval of modern society.

In truth, the Principles of '89 are the Evangel of the nineteenth century. Turn where we will, we find these Principles shaping the political philosophy of modern Europe, and we hear zealous apostles preaching "the Rights of Man," "Liberty," "Équality," "Fraternity," "the Sovereignty of the People," "Progress," and other like doctrines which constitute the symbol of the popular creed. Fine phrases these, no doubt: they read well, and they sound pleasantly in the ears of those day-dreamers, who are satisfied with mere sound. But how many of those who hear them or speak them lightly, have ever thought them over with sober, earnest purpose; or have inquired into the circumstances to which they owe their birth and popularity; or have probed their meaning thoroughly, to discover how much solid gold may lie beneath the glittering surface; or have calculated the consequences to which they must lead, when applied as the masses have applied them in the past, and are sure to apply them again in the possible occurrence of similar circumstances? There *are* popular leaders, indeed, who are thoroughly acquainted with the full significance of these phrases, and who, regardless of the public weal, employ them to work upon popular prejudices, and to rouse the passions of the people, laying hold of popular wrongs to advance their own private interests, under the alluring mask of patriotism and humanity. But the majority applaud these principles without really understanding them, until they learn, all too late, that specious names may be availed of to trick out the most revolting doctrines, and to consecrate the most atrocious crimes. Mainly in the popular ignorance, then, lies the secret of the hold which the Principles of '89 have gained upon modern society: they need but to be thoroughly known to become comparatively harmless. And here I must remark that I would not be understood as pronouncing a sentence of universal condemnation on those principles; or as asserting that all of them, equally, are false and mischievous. On the contrary, some of them are mere truisms, while others are capable of receiving an interpretation in strict conformity with the teaching of the Catholic Church. But herein lies their chief danger—that truth is mixed up with falsehood; that most of them may bear two meanings; and that the interpretation usually put forward by the so-called guides

and leaders of popular thought, is both false in itself, and pernicious in its application to the wants of society. I propose, then, with the kind permission of the Editor of the *RECORD*, to examine, in a series of papers, the leading principles of '89; to seek out their meaning with the aid of history and of the ordinary canons of criticism; to estimate their rational value; and, above all, to inquire how far they are in accordance with Catholic doctrine, and to what extent they may be adopted by Catholics, in dealing with the momentous social and political questions which agitate society in this age in which we live.

But where shall we find an authoritative statement of the Principles of '89? We are naturally led to seek it in the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," voted by the National Assembly in August, 1789, and prefixed to the New French Constitution of September, 1791. In this document we find, either stated explicitly, or deducible as necessary corollaries, those doctrines commonly received as "the Immortal Principles of '89;" and for this reason I shall make it, as it were, the text on which my future papers on this subject shall be based. The Declaration itself shall be given later on; but as it would be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to grasp the full meaning of that Document without understanding the spirit and the circumstances which produced it, I shall devote the present paper to a rapid, and necessarily meagre, sketch of the chief causes which led up to the Great French Revolution, and the formal promulgation of the Principles of '89.

If we would trace the Principles which are identified with the French Revolution to their very source, we must go back to the Protestant Reformation; for in Wittemberg was cradled, in the sixteenth century, the new philosophy, which eventually produced the Reign of Terror in Paris, at the close of the eighteenth. "*L'esprit nouveau*," writes Cousin, "*a fait son apparition dans le monde vers le XVI siècle; son but final est de substituer au moyen âge une société nouvelle. De là la nécessité que la première révolution moderne fut une révolution religieuse . . . C'est l'Allemagne, c'est Luther, qui l'ont véritablement produit, et qui lui ont donné leur nom.*"¹ And, in truth, the Principles which modern society has inherited directly from the French Revolution, are but legitimate conclusions drawn

¹ Cousin, "*Cour de l'Histoire de la Philos.*," page 7. Paris: 1841.

from the fundamental doctrine on which the entire system of Protestantism is based. It is an utter absurdity to pretend that the religious rebellion of the sixteenth century was merely a revolt against a few doctrines or practices of the Catholic Church. It was something far more than all this. It was the uprising of human pride, claiming absolute independence for individual human reason, and protesting solemnly against control, in whatsoever manner and from whatsoever source. This protest did not confine itself to religious matters; it extended to politics, to philosophy, to all that concerns the social relations of man. It was, as its panegyrists vauntingly love to call it, "The Emancipation of the human mind," whereby each individual might boldly claim for his every word and thought absolute independence from control both of God and man, and emblazon on his banner the blasphemous watchword of modern Rationalism—" *Labia nostra a nobis sunt : quis noster Dominus est ?* "

In its inception, the Protestant movement of the sixteenth century aimed merely at setting aside authority in matters of belief; but its very fundamental principle bore within it, also, the germ of democratic upheaval; and not many years had passed until it had shattered European society into a thousand fragments, and had produced a war of creeds and classes in every country in Europe. On the 10th of December, 1520, Luther burned the Bull of Pope Leo at Wittenberg; and within five years, the German peasants, already maddened by the new doctrine, arose to overturn the civil power, and to claim for themselves in temporal affairs that licence which they already enjoyed in matters spiritual. The contagion spread rapidly; and for the greater part of nearly two centuries afterwards, revolutions and civil wars devastated Germany, France, England, Scotland, Holland, Denmark, and Sweden. Factions usurped the place of government, and torrents of blood drenched the scaffold and the battlefield. Yet in all these civil commotions the name of religion was respected, at least outwardly, and in terms; while, for a variety of reasons, which it would be outside the present subject to mention, monarchical institutions were apparently rather strengthened than weakened in the final issue. But seed, nevertheless, had been sown, which was fast ripening into fruit, and the time was rapidly approaching when avowed infidelity would supplant belief; when anti-social ideas would undermine civil authority; and the fiery spectre of Democracy would set its heel upon

the necks of kings. This was, after all, but the logical development of the premises laid down by the Reformers; for once we establish the supremacy of human reason in doctrinal matters, men will glide naturally, and by easy stages, into unbelief; once we recognise the claims of individuals to insist upon their abstract rights, society must necessarily plunge headlong into the abyss of anarchy.

This new philosophy, born of the Reformation, first saw the light in England. The stirring events which took place in that country, during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, directed men's thoughts to the study of religious and social questions; and, in many instances, their thoughts took a materialistic and infidel turn. Lord Herbert of Cherbury and Hobbes, Matthew Tindal and Toland, Collins and Chubb, Shaftesbury and Bolingbroke, not to mention others of less note, were the men who laid the foundation of that system of irreligion to which the finishing touch was subsequently given by Voltaire and his compeers. These men had learned to subject everything to the ultimate analysis of reason; until, at length, almighty analysis led them imperceptibly, but naturally, into universal scepticism.

From England the new doctrines passed over to the Continent, where, indeed, they could already reckon not a few adherents, but where they were soon to attain the dignity of a recognised school of philosophy. To ensure their complete success, in a society already torn by conflicting sects, and partially disgusted with all forms of positive religion, there was needed but a man skilful enough to weave into some system the tangled skein of irreligious ideas, that already lay scattered in the works of the free-thinkers who had preceded him, and to present them to the world in an attractive dress. Such a one was Peter Bayle, whose celebrated "*Historical and Critical Dictionary*" became the armoury whence the philosophers of the eighteenth century fetched their weapons to attack revealed truth; and, from the publication of this work, in 1679, we may date the solemn inauguration of "free-thought" as a recognised philosophical school in Europe.

The Dictionary of Bayle was received with immense applause, and was eagerly read in every part of the Continent, but nowhere with more avidity than in France. Indeed, society in that country had long been prepared for the reception of the new ideas. Etienne de la Boétie and Ramus, Rabelais and Montaigne had already paved the

way for the more systematic infidelity that was to follow, and, even before the reign of Louis XIV., the upper classes in France were not only pagan in morals, but to a large degree sceptics in matters of belief. The publication of Bayle's work, however, gave an immense impulse to the new doctrines, and diffused them among classes that had hitherto escaped their blighting influence. During the long reign of the "Grand Monarque," these ideas were held in abeyance; for, whatever may have been his personal faults in the earlier portion of his reign, Louis was, withal, a sincere Catholic, and would not connive at any attacks upon religion; while his pronounced absolutism in political matters was a sufficient guarantee that he would not tolerate any theories subversive of the civil power. Nevertheless, the new philosophy contrived to keep its ground all the while; and, though avowed infidelity dared not parade herself, the cancer was secretly eating away the heart of French society, even while Louis "Le Grand" was king. Louis died on the 1st September, 1715, and thenceforth the philosophers threw off the mask, and openly preached doctrines subversive alike of the altar and the throne. During the regency of Philip, Duke of Orleans, and the reign of Louis XV., France was deluged with moral corruption. The most unblushing profligacy characterised the court, the nobles, the literati, and the monied classes; while a regular system of irreligion had been established, which was industriously propagated throughout the country by means of a literature, polished, indeed, and brilliant, but audacious, impious, and anti-social, to a degree hitherto unapproached in the history of the human mind. It was the carnival of obscenity, blasphemy, and unbelief.

The apostles of irreligion were divided into two well-defined classes. The first aimed solely at the destruction of the altar and the throne; the second laboured in the insane endeavour to evolve a substitute for them from the mazes of their foolish philosophy. Voltaire was the recognised leader of the first; Jean Jacques Rousseau marshalled the ranks of the second.

Voltaire could not construct anything, but he was mighty to destroy. Animated by a demoniac hatred of Christianity, the efforts of his life-time were directed towards its destruction, and "écraser l'infame" was the favourite watchword by which he rallied his followers round his standard. But he did not stop here: he spared nothing that was venerable or respectable upon earth, and

he would even wipe out the very name of the Creator from the language of men. The weapon which he chiefly used was one likely to prove effective with Frenchmen; for he was a master of ridicule, and his bitter raillery, like some deadly poison, blighted whatsoever it touched. "He venerated nothing. Neither in the masterpieces of art, nor in the purest examples of virtue; neither in the Great First Cause, nor in the awful enigma of the grave, could he see anything but subjects for drollery. The more solemn and august the theme, the more monkey-like was his grimacing and chattering."¹

He had a whole host of imitators. Diderot and D'Alembert started the famous *Encyclopædia*, in which natural philosophy and grammar, literature and science, metaphysics and poetry, theology and politics, were all jumbled together in one confused mass, distinguishable only by the alphabetical arrangement of the subjects; while, through the entire work, there ran the one steady purpose of employing every branch of knowledge for the destruction of Revelation, and the establishment of pure rationalism and materialism in the hearts of men. The success of this work was marvellous. Thenceforth, Continental Europe went mad with the new philosophy, and could think, or speak, or rave of nothing else. "Everything gave way to the zeal and activity of the new reformers. In France, every man distinguished in letters was found in their ranks. Every year gave birth to works in which the fundamental principles of the Church were attacked with argument, invective, and ridicule . . . Orthodoxy soon became a synonyme for ignorance and stupidity. It was as necessary to the character of an accomplished man that he should despise the religion of his country, as that he should know his letters."²

Simultaneously with the attack upon religion, the philosophers proceeded systematically to undermine the civil power. D'Holbach and Helvetius, who gathered nightly to their *petits soupers* the chief spirits of the new school, and the most abandoned women of the capital—those most active agents in all revolutionary schemes—poured out a tide of the most fierce invective against all monarchical institutions; and Diderot, in a moment of

¹ Macaulay; "Essay on the Life and Writings of Addison." *Essays*, p. 725.

² Macaulay; "Essay on Ranke's History of the Popes." *Essays*, p. 567.

prophetic inspiration, foretold of the Model French Freeman, whom he and his compeers were labouring to create, and to educate in the principles of "free thought" and "the rights of man," that—

"Ses mains ourderaient les entrailles du prêtre,
Au défaut d'un cordon, pour étrangler les rois."

Indeed, it needed no sybil to forecast the inevitable result of the doctrines that were being sown broadcast by the philosophers. Voltaire saw it at a glance, and wrote in a spirit of fiendish glee, "a revolution will infallibly come, and I shall not have the pleasure of seeing it."

Amidst the ruin and devastation which Voltaire and his school were spreading everywhere, the more thoughtful of the philosophers felt the necessity of laying the foundation of some system of positive doctrine, and Jean Jacques Rousseau was the man to whose lot it fell to formulate the new creed. As violent as Voltaire in his hostility to Christianity, he would still admit the existence of God, and the immortality of the soul; while, as the embodiment of his theories of government, he gave to the world, as Carlyle says in one of his most sneering moods, "his new Evangel of a *Contrat Social*, explaining the whole mystery of government, and how it is contracted and bargained for to universal satisfaction."

Visionary as the famous *Contrat Social* of Rousseau undoubtedly is, his book exercised a wonderful influence upon the men of his time, and that influence is even still felt moulding the theories of modern revolutionists. The very first chapter of the work opens with the statement, "man is born free, and he is everywhere in bondage."¹ In this sentence we have the key-note to all that follows. We see Jean Jacques approaching the task he had proposed to himself, not in the calm spirit of the statesman and the philosopher, but armed with the torch of the incendiary, ready to set the world on fire with his revolutionary ideas, by appealing to man's pride—the most powerful of all human passions. To emancipate mankind, Rousseau proposes to himself this problem: "to find a form of association which shall defend and protect with all the common strength the person and property of each associate, and by which each one, being united to all, shall, nevertheless, obey

¹ "French Revolution," vol. i. chap. vii.

² "L'homme est né libre et il est partout dans les fers."—*Contrat Social*, chap. i.

only himself, and remain as free as before." To solve this singular and self-contradictory problem, the philosopher of Geneva proceeds as follows. He starts with the hypothesis that man's natural state is that of a wild animal in the forest, and that, were he so minded, he might elect to live, during the entire term of his existence, as a "wild man of the woods." Instead of doing so, however, man, by the free exercise of his individual will, prefers to unite with other members of his species, and thus society is formed *by contract*. A government is necessary to the existence of this society; but this government rests on mere arbitrary convention. The sum of the individual wills of the associates makes up the general will of the society, and this general will is the only true law. Whence it follows, that the individual or individuals who hold the supreme authority in any state are, in reality, merely the servants of the people; that a *legitimate* monarchy is nothing else than a republic;¹ that the real sovereign is the people; and that, since law and government derive their validity solely from the expression of the popular will, both can be made and unmade, changed or set aside capriciously, as often as it shall seem good to the dominant faction among "the sovereign people."²

Such was the theory of government and social order evolved by Jean Jacques from the depths of his philosophic soul; and all France believed in it, for it was not only flattering to human pride, and soothing to human passions, but it was, moreover, presented to them in a brilliant dress, by one who was skilled in the art of sophistry, and was a finished master of style. Little did delirious France then dream of the terrible conclusions that were soon to be drawn, by legitimate logical inference, from the wild theories of Rousseau. Jean Jacques philosophised; and Robespierre,

¹ "Alors la monarchie elle-même est république."—*Contrat Social*, liv. ii. chap. vi.

² "De ces éclaircissements il résulte que les dépositaires de la puissance exécutive ne sont pas les maîtres du peuple, mais ces officiers; qu'il n'est point pour eux question de contracter, mais d'obéir, et qu'en se chargeant des fonctions que l'Etat leur impose, ils ne font que remplir leur devoir de citoyens, sans avoir en aucune sorte le droit de disputer sur les conditions.

"Quand donc il arrive que le peuple institue un gouvernement héréditaire, soit monarchique dans une famille, soit aristocratique dans un ordre de citoyens, ce n'est point un engagement qu'il prend; c'est une forme provisionnelle qu'il donne à l'administration, jusqu'à ce qu'il lui plaise d'en ordonner autrement."—*Contrat Social*, liv. iii. chap. xviii.

his avowed disciple and admirer, reduced his principles to practice during the fearful days of the Reign of Terror, when "the Sovereign People," returning to that primitive state of savage freedom so much admired by Rousseau, drank deep and deep again of human blood, till it was madly drunk; yet still craved further draughts to allay its unslakable thirst, reminding one of Lucan's lines:—

" Utque ferae tigres numquam posuere furorem ;
Sic nullus semel ore receptus
Pollutas patitur sanguis mansuescere fauces."

The influence of Rousseau upon the future of France and of modern society, was decidedly greater than that of any of the other philosophers of the eighteenth century. For the *Contrat Social* supplied, as it were, the text-book from which were drawn the Principles of '89; and the hallucinations of such men as Barbès, Louis Blanc, Proudhon, Ledru Rollin, as well as of the Socialists and Communists of our own day, may be surely traced to the wild theories of government popularised by Rousseau, and handed down from sire to son by his irreligious and visionary disciples.

But here the reader will naturally ask, what of the Church of France all this while? Was she, the divinely-commissioned guardian of Faith and morals, powerless to stem the torrent of infidelity and anarchy which inundated France, and threatened the entire world? Alas! the Church of France had lost much of her ancient glory, and was shorn, to a great extent, of her former power. No Bossuet was there to raise his mitred head among the ranks of the clergy, and crush the sophists who were sapping the foundations of the altar and the throne. No Fenelon opened his angel lips to point out man's duties as well as his rights, and show how authority in the ruler might be combined with the truest liberty and most perfect happiness of the subject. The dissolute court of Louis XV., far from encouraging, banned ecclesiastical learning, and bestowed its favours, instead, on the promoters of the new philosophy. The once mighty Sorbonne was mute; its lights were gone out; and in the hour of the Church's distress, it sat soulless and voiceless, a chained slave at the feet of court Absolutism. Moreover, the bond of union with Rome having become weakened by the pretensions of Gallicanism,

¹ Lucan, "Pharsalia," i. l. 327-32.

Ecclesiastical discipline had become relaxed. High birth and interest were of more avail than piety and learning in opening the path to preferment; and thus it came to pass that, in the ranks of the clergy, were to be found men who were neither irreproachable in morals, nor orthodox in belief.¹ Add to all this, that the forces of the Church were weakened and divided by the formidable and long-continued attacks of Jansenism; and some of the keenest intellects in France were more busily occupied with the controversies of Port Royal, than with the atheistic principles of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. There was, indeed, one Order of men in whom the Church might still have placed hope. Tried and trusted veterans were they, whose faces were seamed with the scars of many a desperate conflict; men who had ever been in the forefront of the Church's battles, and the very terror of whose name was in itself worth whole hosts of inferior combatants. Had it been possible for man to have saved France from the Philosophers, the *Jesuits* would have done it. This the enemies of religion knew well; and, by intrigue and calumny, they brought about the suppression of that noble Order—more glorious even by the devotion and splendid discipline displayed in calmly receiving the sentence of its doom, than ever it had been in the flush of its most brilliant victories.

Not only had the French Church lost much of her prestige, but her power was also diminished. The suspension of representative institutions during the reign of Louis XIV., and subsequently, had weakened the influence of the clergy; and even the exercise of their spiritual jurisdiction was hampered by the action of the Parliaments, and more especially of that of Paris, which was

¹ The statement in the text must be taken as applying only to a comparatively small minority among the French clergy. As Edmund Burke bears eloquent witness in his celebrated "Reflections on the Revolution in France," the majority of the French Ecclesiastics were men of blameless lives, and thoroughly devoted to the Church. Were confirmation of this wanted, it might be found in the fact that, out of 135 Bishops, only four betrayed their trust by taking the so-called "Constitutional" oath; and of the inferior clergy but a comparatively small number followed their example, while whole thousands braved confiscation, imprisonment, and exile (not a few even suffered death), rather than incur the guilt of schism. In truth, in one respect, the Revolution unwittingly served the French Church, by winnowing the chaff from the sound grain, breaking the power of Gallicanism, and drawing closer the bonds of union with Rome, "the Mother of all the Churches."

deeply tinged with Jansenism, and often worried the Church by wanton acts of tyranny. Thus it was that a variety of causes, acting some from within and others from without, co-operated to render the Church of France, in the eighteenth century, feeble to resist the anti-social and irreligious Revolution, which was daily growing and gathering strength beneath her very eyes.

Hitherto I have alluded solely to the moral and religious causes, which were preparing the way for the solemn promulgation of the Principles of '89; but there were also grave political causes at work, which hurried on the fatal catastrophe. The space at my disposal does not permit me to bestow on these more than a passing glance.

It would be folly to deny that the political situation of France, in the eighteenth century, was deplorably bad. This was not the result of the French Constitution as by law established; for, as Edmund Burke remarks and proves, the French, under their old monarchy, possessed "the elements of a constitution very nearly as good as could be wished." This constitution, however, had been partially suspended, and a system of Absolutism substituted for it, from the time of Richelieu and Louis XIV. The new system exercised a baneful influence upon all classes in the state. We have already seen how it affected the Church; it acted no less injuriously upon the Nobility. By the indefinite suspension of the States-General and the partial suppression of the States-Provincial, the nobles were deprived of all political power and local influence, whereby they were induced to abandon their estates, and take up their residence in the vicinity of the court, where they gave themselves up to lives of indolence and sensuality. In this manner, not only were the natural duties imposed by property neglected, but the Order of nobility itself became the object of hatred and contempt; and thus a serious blow was aimed at the true liberties of France. For in every state, the nobility constitute a strong bulwark of national freedom, acting, on the one hand, as a check on the abuse of the royal prerogative, while, on the other, they become a guarantee for the maintenance of social order against the turbulent spirit of Democracy.

As to the *third estate*, or commonalty, the same causes which impaired the influence of the clergy and of the nobles, produced disaffection among them. Deprived of any share in the government of the state, by the suspension

of the Constitution, they became estranged from the other two orders; and utterly devoid of political experience, they fell an easy prey to active and crafty demagogues. The members of this third estate—lawyers, physicians, men of letters, manufacturers and traders—were peculiarly circumstanced. Possessed of wealth and culture, they were nevertheless utterly despised by the nobles, who looked down upon them as beings of quite an inferior order; while, at the same time, they were forced to bear heavy taxation, from which the privileged classes were exempt. One would suppose that, under such circumstances, the “*Bourgeoisie*,” as they were contemptuously styled, must have made common cause with the masses of the population beneath them. But it was otherwise. They had not the slightest sympathy with the bulk of the community, whom they despised and insulted when opportunity offered; forming by themselves a separate “*caste*”—powerful, rich, haughty, irreligious, discontented, desperately ambitious, and craving for any change that would throw the control of public affairs into their own hands.

And how fared it with the masses—the millions in France? Nothing could well surpass the utter wretchedness of their condition. The agricultural classes were ground down by heavy, vexatious, and unequal taxation; while, in addition to the severe burdens imposed upon them by the state, they had, likewise, to meet the exorbitant demands of absentee landlords, who squandered in riotous debauchery at Versailles enormous sums, squeezed out of a peasantry well-nigh bordering on starvation. It is true that peasant proprietary prevailed largely in France—even more so then than now—and that in some districts, especially in the north, farms were held under long leases. In these districts the people were comparatively happy: yet even here the evil of unequal taxation pressed heavily, and the peasants were subjected to a thousand vexatious annoyances, which made them fret and chafe under the tyranny of absentee lords—all the more so, probably, because their condition made them more sensitive and independent than their less fortunate countrymen in other districts. But in by far the greater portion of France the agricultural classes were sorely tried, being weighed down by terrible rack-rents, so that their condition was only one degree removed from actual starvation. These were the districts which afterwards furnished the half-naked, famished, ferocious soldiery, who wreaked a fearful

vengeance on the persons and property of the great lords, to, whom they attributed all their previous sufferings and wrongs. As regards the population of the towns, their condition was, if possible, still more deplorable. Herding together in the great centres of population were dense multitudes of human beings, steeped in poverty, ignorance, immorality and unbelief; sullen and discontented; regarding all those who were placed above them in the social scale as their natural enemies; and burning with a savage longing for the moment when they could break loose, and realise in fact those maddening theories of *Liberty* and *Equality*, which the philosophers had so long, and so systematically, been instilling into their diseased minds.

Such, in brief, was the pitiable state to which France was reduced at the outbreak of the great Revolution. Society was broken up into discontented factions, which, so far from co-operating to promote the common weal, were animated with feelings of hatred and distrust towards one another. Add to this atheism rampant, the principle of authority undermined, an impoverished treasury, and twenty-five millions of starving people, and we find little difficulty in accounting for the Reign of Terror, which had long been foreseen by thoughtful men. It does not concern us to trace the history of the French Revolution; we shall merely, in a few sentences, record the chief events which led up to the celebrated Declaration of the Rights or Man, with which we propose to deal in subsequent papers.

Although the social condition of France, at the close of the eighteenth century, did not need a violent Revolution to remedy its disorders, it certainly did call imperatively for measures of reform, and reform of a thorough and sweeping character. Louis XVI., a really good but weak monarch, who had to suffer for the sins of his predecessors, felt this; and, after a lapse of more than 170 years, once again summoned the States-General to deliberate upon the affairs of the nation. The King's chief minister, Necker, wished that the Estates should occupy themselves principally with matters of finance, in devising means to replenish an exhausted treasury; but it had been decided that the general affairs of the nation were also to be brought under their notice, and steps taken to repair the previous injuries which Cæsarism of the very worst type had inflicted on the liberties of the people, during a period of nearly two centuries. In the royal mandate convoking the States-General a concession had been made to the

members of the third Estate, which was intended merely to conciliate that body, but which resulted, contrary to all expectation, in throwing into their hands the entire power of the Assembly. Their number was increased from three to six hundred; nor were any fears entertained that this would impart a democratic character to the States-General. For it was intended that, according to ancient precedent, the votes in the Assembly should be reckoned, not by the number of *individuals*, but by the number of *Orders*, voting for any measure. It was, not unreasonably, presumed that the nobles and the clergy would coalesce in supporting the measures of the Crown; and as there would thus be two Orders against one, the commons, no matter how numerous, would be powerless to carry any bill without the assistance of either the nobility or the clergy. This well-devised scheme proved an utter failure, as subsequent events showed that the commons were determined not to permit their voice to be stifled in this summary fashion.

The States-General assembled at Versailles on the 5th May, 1789. It was a magnificent sight—the king welcoming the 1,200 deputies who represented the three Estates of his kingdom; and the late Thomas Carlyle has left us a glowing word-painting of the scene, in a brilliant chapter which will repay perusal.¹ Before proceeding to business, the preliminary question had to be decided as to the manner of voting. The commons, resolved not to be reduced to mere cyphers, proposed that while the three Orders should deliberate apart, the votes on any question should not be given, as heretofore, by Orders, but by heads; and that the majority of voices in the *collective* Assembly of all the Orders should be final and decisive on any question. The nobles and clergy were resolutely opposed to this arrangement, which would make their united votes barely equal to those of the commons; and, in the case of the slightest defection from their own ranks (a contingency which seemed by no means improbable), would render the commons all-powerful in the Assembly. This critical question formed the subject of angry debate for several weeks, each side adhering to its own views with a dogged obstinacy which seemed to forbid the possibility of compromise. At length, on the 17th of June, the commons took a bold and decisive step, which sealed the future

¹ "The French Revolution," book iv. chap iv.

destinies of France. Strengthened by the accession to their ranks of some liberal nobles, as well as of many of the inferior clergy, they resolved practically to ignore the existence of the other two Orders; boldly proclaimed themselves "The National Assembly of France;" and announced their determination "to begin the work of national regeneration." Three days later (June 20th), finding the hall of assembly closed against them by order of the Court party, they met in an old tennis court at Versailles, and there swore a solemn oath, "that they would never separate until they had set the Constitution on a sure foundation."

Such was the origin of that most revolutionary Parliament, which under the several successive names of *National Assembly*, *Constituent Assembly*, *Legislative Assembly*, and *National Convention*, wrought incalculable evil to France and to Europe. It would be entirely outside the scope of this paper to record those stirring events—the insurrection in Paris, the mutiny in the army, the storming of the Bastille, the rising in the provinces, the flight of the nobles—which followed, almost immediately, on the high-handed action of the commons. We come down at once to the month of August, 1789, when the Assembly resolved to frame a new Constitution for France; and, instead of devoting itself to practical measures, began its labours by putting before the world, as the ground-work of future legislation, the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen," which has ever since been regarded as the authoritative embodiment of those doctrines commonly received as "the Immortal Principles of '89."

The following is the full text of this important document, to which we shall have occasion constantly to refer in our future papers on this subject.¹

DÉCLARATION DES DROITS DE L'HOMME ET DU CITOYEN, VOTÉE EN 1789.

Les représentants du peuple français constitués en Assemblée nationale, considérant que l'ignorance, l'oubli ou le mépris des droits de l'homme sont les seules causes des malheurs publics et de

¹ That none of the force and precision of the Declaration may, possibly, be lost in translation, it has been judged expedient to present it to the reader, in the first instance, in the original French. Such extracts as we shall have occasion to make in future papers shall be rendered into English.

la corruption des gouvernements, ont résolu d'exposer, dans une Déclaration Solennelle, les droits naturels, inaliénables et sacrés de l'homme, afin que cette Déclaration, constamment présente à tous les membres du corps social, leur rappelle sans cesse leurs droits et leurs devoirs; afin que les actes du pouvoir législatif et ceux du pouvoir exécutif, pouvant être à chaque instant comparés avec le but de toute institution politique, en soient plus respectés; afin que les réclamations des citoyens, fondées désormais sur des principes simples et incontestables, tournent toujours au maintien de la constitution et au bonheur de tous.

“ En conséquence, l'Assemblée nationale reconnaît et déclare, en présence et sous les auspices de l'Etre Suprême, les droits suivants de l'homme et du citoyen :

“ ART. 1. Les hommes naissent et demeurent libres et égaux en droits. Les distinctions sociales ne peuvent être fondées que sur l'utilité commune.

“ ART. 2. Le but de toute association politique est la conservation des droits naturels et imprescriptibles de l'homme. Ces droits sont la liberté, la sûreté et la résistance à l'oppression.

“ ART. 3. Le principe de toute souveraineté réside essentiellement dans la nation; nul corps, nul individu, ne peut exercer d'autorité qui n'en émane expressément.

“ ART. 4. La liberté consiste à pouvoir faire tout ce qui ne nuit pas à autrui.

“ ART. 5. La loi n'a le droit de défendre que les actions nuisibles à la société. Tout ce qui n'est pas défendu par la loi ne peut être empêché, et nul ne peut être contraint à faire ce qu'elle n'ordonne pas.

“ ART. 6. La loi est l'expression de la volonté générale. Tous les citoyens ont droit de concourir personnellement ou par leurs représentants à sa formation. Elle doit être la même pour tous, soit qu'elle protège, soit qu'elle punisse. Tous les citoyens, étant égaux à ses yeux, sont également admissibles à toute dignité, place et emplois publics, selon leur capacité et sans autre distinction que celle de leurs vertus et de leurs talents.

“ ART. 7. Nul homme ne peut être accusé, arrêté ni détenu que dans les cas déterminés par la loi, et selon les formes qu'elle a prescrites. Ceux qui sollicitent, expédient, exécutent ou font exécuter des ordres arbitraires, doivent être punis; mais tout citoyen appelé ou saisi en vertu de la loi doit obéir à l'instant; il se rend coupable par la résistance.

“ ART. 8. La loi ne doit établir que des peines strictement et évidemment nécessaires, et nul ne peut être puni qu'en vertu d'une loi établie et promulguée antérieurement au délit et légalement appliquée.

“ ART. 9. Tout homme étant présumé innocent jusqu'à ce qu'il ait été déclaré coupable, s'il est jugé indispensable de l'arrêter, toute

rigueur qui ne serait pas nécessaire pour s'assurer de sa personne doit être severement réprimée par la loi.

"ART. 10. Nul ne doit être inquiété pour ses opinions, même religieuses, pourvu que leur manifestation ne trouble pas l'ordre public établi par la loi.

"ART. 11. La libre communication des pensées et des opinions est un des droits les plus précieux de l'homme ; tout citoyen peut donc parler, écrire, imprimer librement, sauf à répondre de l'abus de cette liberté dans les cas déterminés par la loi.

"ART. 12. La garantie des droits de l'homme et du citoyen nécessite une force publique ; cette force est donc instituée pour l'avantage de tous, et non pour l'utilité particulière de ceux auxquels elle est confiée.

"ART. 13. Pour l'entretien de la force publique et pour les dépenses d'administration, une contribution commune est indispensable ; elle doit être également répartie entre tous les citoyens en raison de leur facultés.

"ART. 14. Tous les citoyens ont le droit de constater, par eux-mêmes ou par leurs représentants, la nécessité de la contribution publique, de la consentir librement, d'en suivre l'emploi, d'en déterminer la quotité, l'assiette, le recouvrement et la durée.

"ART. 15. La société a le droit de demander compte à tout agent public de son administration.

"ART. 16. Toute société dans laquelle la garantie des droits n'est pas assurée, ni la séparation des pouvoirs déterminée, n'a point de constitution.

"ART. 17. Toute propriété étant un droit inviolable et sacré, nul ne peut en être privé si ce n'est lorsque la nécessité publique l'exige évidemment, et sous la condition d'une juste et préalable indemnité."

Such is the full text of the famous Declaration of '89, and it needs but a glance to see that it raises up a number of questions, which possess a deep interest in the present state of society. The discussion of these questions, however, we must reserve for future numbers of the RECORD.

W. H.

THE CECILIAN MOVEMENT IN IRELAND.

"And now, Ireland, Catholic Ireland, the ancient home of song, hears with welcoming ears the revival of the pure chant of the Church in her temples. Even as our fathers, fifteen hundred years ago, received with joy the Ambrosian melody from our glorious Apostle, so in our day their children will accept with equal gladness the grand old sacred music of the Church at the hands of the Cecilian Society, under the blessing and approbation of the Bishops and Pastors of Ireland's holy Catholic Church."¹

SUCH were the words in which the great Irish Dominican proclaimed the full meaning of the late Cecilian Festival in Dublin, and in which he gave expression to the enthusiasm and emotion of all, Bishops, priests, and laity, who then heard the silence of long centuries broken by that first great outburst of jubilant Catholic song. But, indeed, no eloquent words were needed to point out the interest to all Irish Catholics of that Cecilian Festival. The sanctuary and church of Westland-row spoke plainly and eloquently enough. It was no ordinary occasion that brought together into that sanctuary two Archbishops, seven Bishops, with the Canons and Dignitaries of the diocese; or that thronged that church with priests from all parts of Ireland, and with a lay congregation, including not only all the leading Catholics of Dublin, but also many from far distant cities, and several well-known Protestant musicians. It was, indeed, a great national meeting, and we felt that what the preacher so eloquently said was true; that we were listening to our national Catholic song, and that the *Te Deum*, that burst from the hearts and voices of that great choir, was the thanksgiving song of our people that "the winter is passed, and the voice of the turtle is heard in our land."

It may interest the readers of the *RECORD* to know something more of the Irish Cecilian Society, and how far this reform, so welcomed by the Irish Bishops, and so successful in one diocese at least, is likely to spread through the land, and work in Ireland the change it has wrought, within the last few years, in other countries of Europe. In this, and a subsequent paper, it is hoped that some explanation of the scope of the Society's work may be given, and some further inducement to co-operation with a reform that has begun under the blessing of Pope

¹ The remarkable sermon from which this passage is taken may be found fully reported in the current "*Lyra Ecclesiastica*."

and Bishops, and that, in its earliest effort, has awakened national interest, and achieved a national success.

Two great abuses called for Cecilian reform; or rather, a disuse, and an abuse. The disuse of the Plain or Gregorian Chant, the proper Church song: the abuse of harmonized, or, as it is sometimes called, figured music.

The grand chant of Ambrose, which had flooded with tears the eyes of Augustine, and so won the heart of Patrick, that he brought it to Erin, to win her bards and music-loving people to the faith of which it sung; "the old chant, grave and musical, with which Augustine greeted Ethelbert in the free air upon the Kentish strand;" the chant with the power and sweetness of Christianity, winning the nations, and, developed and enriched, binding together, in one great unison song, people with people and age with age: the chant that had so entered the Irish hearts, taught as it was in every school, from the times of St. Patrick, that their joys and sorrows came to be expressed in the strains of the Church, and the voice of Ambrose and Gregory to be heard in the melodies of the Irish bards: that chant, so potent and precious in Ireland and in the Church, had fallen, and died away in our land, leaving but a feeble echo in one or two religious choirs; or worse than death, found a hideous parody of life in the mumbled droning which was understood to be the Catholic Solemn Requiem song for the dead. Reformers are prone to overstatements. But it is no exaggeration to say that, despite the efforts of a gifted few, Gregorian Chant was dead in Ireland, or, if heard at all, was as the voice of

"Worse than worst

Of those, that lawless and incertain thoughts
Imagine howling!"

To restore that song of prayer to life, beauty, and power, is the first work of Cecilian reform; to make it known and loved as it was by our fathers, not sung by those that hate it, and hated by those that hear it. In the centuries that have passed since it drew tears from St. Augustine, Plain Chant has gained rather than lost its power of moving Christian hearts; and, with God's blessing, many an Irishman may yet be able to add his testimony to the touching words of our Dominican orator. "It has been the song of my life since the days of early youth. I have listened to it and joined in it daily for many years, and in

¹ Newman, "Second Spring."

many lands; and now, in the evening of my life, I can say, with truth, that I love it more dearly than ever, and that it unfolds to my mind, day by day, new graces of depth and of beauty."

The second object of Cecilian reform is to correct the abuse of harmonized or figured music, by silencing what has been composed independently of, and is now sung in opposition to, the spirit and ruling of the Church, and by replacing it by harmonized music, equally rich and glorious, equally the work of master minds, but far more suited to Catholic worship of prayer and sacrifice, and far less closely allied with the melodies of the theatre and ball-room.

While the Irish Church was being persecuted, and her song silenced, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, a great abuse had crept into the music of the Church. At the time that her vestments got into the hands, and were made to suit the tastes, of French milliners, and her altars and churches had been delivered over to worldly decorators and upholsterers, her music was taken in hand by children that knew her not, nor loved her; children of the world, writers of operas, with the tastes, genius, and education of the theatre. They established a school of so called ecclesiastical music, and wrote masses which, when Ireland emerged from her trial, were taken by her as the modern and fashionable substitute for the music she had lost. This music was an outrage on taste. Schlegel has called architecture "frozen music," and if we would see this church-opera music "fixed and frozen to permanence," let us visit the Continental churches, for instance, St. Stephen's at Vienna, or the Cathedral at Amiens, and see there the gaudy pagan-looking altars, the nude figures, and sensuous colouring, the painted clouds and tinsel sunbeams, which, regardless of Gothic arch or glorious window, disfigure and disgrace the noblest churches in the world. There, in stone, and wood, and paint, the eye sees what in sound the ear may hear, the worldly, flimsy, and voluptuous, taking the place of what was Catholic, grave, and pure; the abomination standing in the holy place, as, until quite lately, the Archbishop of Dublin himself confessed, it stood in the holy places of the Irish Capital.

But such music violates the decrees and ruling of the Church, no less than the canons of taste. Benedict XIV. forbids the introduction into the sacred services of music "profane, worldly, or theatrical;" and long before Pope Benedict, and often since his death, the Church, by Bishop,

Pope, and Council, has declared that the light and worldly music, that has so often dared to enter her churches, and mix in her sacred liturgy, is not there by her bidding, but against her will, a profane intruder, "alien to her rites, and not without offence to the Divine Majesty, and scandal to the faithful."¹ It is directly against abuses such as these that the Synod of Maynooth, following in the lines of the Synod of Thurles, which in this matter but enforced the decree of the Council of Trent, declares that nothing shall be sung in the sacred offices, save what is "grave ecclesiastical song." It is to aid in conforming to the spirit of the Church, to condemn what she condemns, to expel from her sanctuary what she declares unholy there; it is to carry out these decrees of the Bishops and Councils of the Church, that there has been formed in this country, as elsewhere, a great national organisation, embracing Bishops, priests, and people, and fitted by its rules to provide for the services of the grandest Cathedrals, as well as of the simplest country churches of the land.

The fountain-head of all ecclesiastical reform is, of course, Rome. The present Pope, just before Christmas, in an audience granted to the President of the Irish Cecilian Society, gave it his special praise and benediction, and by his close inquiries into the aim and working of the rules, and the music sung, showed that the Cecilian reform was no new subject to him, but one that had long engaged his study, and received his warm support. The Bishops, the natural leaders of all ecclesiastical reform, have without exception become the patrons of the Cecilian Society. Their attendance in such numbers at the festival and meeting, and the letters of those who could not come, though they would, together with the promises made by so many to take a leading part in the movement, all this points to an important fact, that their Lordships, recognising the necessity of this reform, and the strength of the Society that undertakes it, have determined to take up the matter themselves, and to let their clergy see that they are earnest in the work, and confident of its success. The priests of Ireland are the officers of this movement, and on the way they follow those that lead, and marshal, and encourage the forces under them, depend, almost entirely, the advance and triumph of our Society, and the realization of its hopes.

When Bishops and priests are seen united in this ecclesiastical movement, the laity will surely follow, glad

¹ Alexander VII.

as they always are in Ireland of such a lead. Organists with their choirs, school-teachers with their children, the great musicians of the country, and those of humbler capacities and attainments, all will join, and strive in their own spheres to carry out the work blessed and begun by their Bishops and their priests.

Nor must the fear be entertained that, as a rule, Cecilian music, Gregorian or other, is beyond the reach of country choirs. Of course difficult Cecilian music would be; though, when country choirs try, as is not unknown, to sing the masses of Mozart and Haydn, there is no reason anything should not be attempted. But simple music, really good, and by the greatest masters of Church song, is provided by the Society, and parts are to be had for choir use, at a very moderate cost. This is a great point; for a priest, though himself no musician, could immensely assist the Cecilian work in his parish by procuring easy music for the members of his choir, masses or benediction music in one, two, or three simple parts, and by asking that it should be well practised, and thus given a fair trial.

And Plain Chant could easily be sung, and well and devoutly sung, by many choirs, who would now shudder at the idea of it, and possibly make others shudder at their first attempt. We should remember that anyone that can read Latin well, with true accent and emphasis, can give the first and most important lesson in Plain Chant. Where is the priest that cannot do this? And where is the priest who, seeing the churches rising in the grace and beauty of revived art all over the land, would not gladly do anything in his power to revive also the sacred song that was once among the glories of the Irish Church, and that alone is worthy of those noble Irish temples to God?

In towns and cities of course much more is possible than in the country, and there great things may be expected. We have seen in Dublin an example of what can be done when Bishops, priests and laity unite to carry out the reform. By a single diocesan decree the unseemly, worldly music was for ever banished from Dublin Churches, where it had certainly been to many a scandal and a grief. Priests, led by one whose energy and abilities fitted him to be the founder and first President of the National Society, pushed on the work. In sitting after sitting, and with all care and discrimination, the Committee, at the command of the Archbishop, drew up the list of music fitting to be sung in Church, and in accordance with the synodal decrees.

Summer trips were organised to the Cecilian festivals of Germany, where the working of the Society was studied, and where sacred song was heard that can never cease to haunt the memories of those that heard it. Unless indeed it be driven thence by the later and almost more glorious festival song in Dublin: for there we have heard Church music as thrilling as any in the cities on the Rhine or Danube. The united choirs in Dublin, twenty in number, gave one hundred and forty voices to the great Festival choir, whose rendering of the sacred music has indisputably placed the Irish Capital in the front rank of European cities claiming to be the homes of true ecclesiastical song.

What union of action has done in Dublin, it can do elsewhere, and the success and credit of our diocese will soon be shared by the entire nation, if only the same means are, as far as possible, adopted in other parts of the country. We have musical forces enough in Ireland to carry any measure of revival and reform, were those forces only united and well led, and were their leaders to consult together, as the Society enables them to do, concerning the general plan of action. Our colleges, for example, are in themselves an immense power.

The colleges and higher schools of Ireland are the natural homes of this reform. Even listening to good music is an education, while it can scarcely be doubted that a sufficiency of barbarous sound, will go a long way towards rearing up barbarians. Since the interpretation of the sacred words is nearly the whole science of Church song, and since the sound to which those words are wedded, has been attuned to their spirit by the greatest saints and most gifted sons of the Church, it will be seen what a wide range, both of religious and intellectual training, is embraced in the study of Catholic Church music, and the high place in any education that goes beyond the mere down-cramming of "dead vocables," that must be taken by the classes for intelligent Church song.

It is most satisfactory to hear that the great Irish College is astir, and has already achieved success. Without that voice the Irish choir would be weak indeed, and its dissolution imminent. Far behind Maynooth in numbers and influence, but not so far behind in honest effort, other colleges, notably the diocesan seminaries of Dublin and Cashel, are joining in the movement, and giving fullest promise that in the next generation of Irish priests will be found taste not unworthy of their talent, and a knowledge that will fit them to carry into every part of the

country the work they are now learning to understand and to value in college.

In the convents of Ireland, we may soon hope to find powerful agents for the spread of the taste and training we require. Surely, our Bishops and priests may justly be indignant if the girls of this country, full of musical talent as they are, come back from their convent schools accustomed to, and therefore craving for, the silly singing that is too often the only Church music they hear, and, in consequence, unable and unwilling to help in the Cecilian parochial choir. If the good sisters only knew the vile sources from which much of the music published for their use is drawn, and could hear the words that originally inspired the airs now sung before Our Lord, they would for ever banish music so defiled from their chapels and their schools. They are capable of higher and better things. It was by Ursuline school-girls, that some of the most perfect Church song we ever heard in Germany was rendered: it was by eight members of a convent choir, that the visitors to the Augsburg Festival last summer were given the richest treat of Cecilian harmony; and, in a convent of Dominican nuns by the Boyne, we have listened to Plain Chant and Psalmody as perfect as any we ever heard by the Rhine or Danube. Great work is being already done in the convents of Ireland, and to them we look for powerful and persevering help, in training the girls under their charge in the principles and practice of good Church song.

Is it hoping for too much, then, to look forward to seeing all these musical forces working together towards the desired reform? We think not. We think that much will be soon done to unite all the choirs in each diocese, as is contemplated in the Cecilian plan, into one diocesan branch of the National Society. Isolation seems the greatest obstacle to the spread of this movement; once that disappears before the powers of organization, the road is clear that leads to final triumph. There are few dioceses in Ireland, if there are any, where there are not some priest to be found competent and willing to push on this reform. One such priest, chosen it might be by the Bishop, could soon find out the powers of the diocese; and every priest, musical or not, could help the work by carrying out the suggestions of those chosen to lead; while none certainly would be found to oppose a movement begun by their Bishop, and undertaken by their fellow-priests for the glory of God in the Irish Church.

A. R.

IRISH THEOLOGIANS.—No. III.

JOHN DUNS SCOTUS.—(CONTINUED).

ALTHOUGH Duns Scotus walked in the path of his predecessors, at least, as far as his method is concerned, he was in other respects by no means either a servile imitator or obsequious disciple. He had the courage of his opinions, and boldly attacked the fundamental principle both of St. Thomas and Aristotle, namely the doctrine of *primal matter* and *substantial forms*. He dared not, indeed, nor did he wish to reject this doctrine of matter and form, as a whole, but he maintained that their analysis was defective and unsatisfactory, and consequently inadequate to explain the nature of individual being. The Aristotelian system undertakes to furnish a *rationale* of the whole universe of mind and matter; its fundamental principle is this theory of matter and form, which St. Thomas carries into theology, applying it to the physical and moral world, to the natural and supernatural, to the Sacraments as well as to man and the visible universe. When Scotus attacked them in this principle, one can easily see how far reaching were the consequences of his assault against the very citadel of human knowledge. Aristotle began with external objects, he submits them one by one to observation and analysis, and he finds everywhere unity in variety. Earth becomes wood, wood becomes coal, coal becomes fire; plants become food, the food is changed into blood, the blood again into flesh and bone and sinew; the flesh in its turn moulders into clay to become new food for plants and animals. So the ever changing cycle rolls, nothing is created, nothing is lost. But in all these things there is an element that always remains, and an element that always changes. The former is the *ἕλη*, the *materia prima*, a passive element, an incomplete substance, in a state of mere potentiality, indifferent to all forms of being, capable of receiving any, and always necessarily united to some one in particular. This primal matter is essentially one and simple and incorruptible, incapable of generation, and, according to Aristotle, eternal; in which last point alone he was contradicted by St. Thomas.

On the other hand there is in all bodies an *εἶδος*, or *forma substantialis*, not therefore a mere accident or outward shape (*μόρφη*), but a formative principle, which gives to matter actuality (*ἐνεργεία*), determination, and the completeness of

perfect being (*ἐντελεχεία*). St. Thomas accepts this analysis as a complete explanation of the essence of beings both *in specie* and *in individuo*. Here it is precisely that Scotus joins issue, and declares that the principle of individuation cannot be found either in matter, or in form, or in both. Peter, he says, is not James; yet both Peter and James have specifically the same human nature, therefore the same matter and form of human nature, therefore they are not individuated by either matter or form, or by the union of both. Neither can any or all the accidental qualities in a man be the principle of his individuation, for they may be changed one and all, and in progress of time, indeed, are changed one and all, yet the individual remains the same: therefore the principle of his individuation and identity remains the same, and consequently does not consist in changing accidents, but like the matter and form must belong in some sense to the essence of the man. In what then does principle of individuation consist? The question was answered in many different ways. It is the form that gives individuality, said Abelard; it is the matter, said Albertus Magnus. St. Thomas placed it in the *materia signata*, which expression has been variously explained by his disciples. Henri de Gand declared it was a pure negation, the negation of actual union or the exigence of actual union with any other being. Scotus rejects all these solutions of the question, and says this principle of individuation or subsistence is a *modus substantialis* which he calls *haecceity*, superadded to both matter and form, making Peter an individual, a person, and differentiating him from James and from every other human being in existence. It is not our purpose to criticise but to endeavour to explain the characteristic principles of the Scotist doctrine, and this principle of *haecceitas* was undoubtedly the most important of them all in itself, and the most pregnant in its consequences.

We may incidentally observe, that although this doctrine of matter and form has been ridiculed and assailed by many philosophers, who know very little about it, and is now generally regarded as an altogether exploded system, yet it offers quite as satisfactory a solution of the nature of bodies, and one as much in accordance with the known facts of modern science, as any other theory formulated by Descartes, Leibnitz, Locke, or Huxley. For after all, what is this *primal matter* in the Scholastic philosophy? It is simply a convenient name for the aggregate of atoms, monads, or elements, of which chemical analysis goes to

prove that bodies are composed. And what is the *form* but the aggregate of the forces, the sum total of the energies of these atoms, which taken together, atoms and energies, make up material substances. Aristotle says that the form is the energizing principle, and *energy* is quite as good a word as *force*. We may add that the Scholastic idea of the essential unity of *matter*, is strongly borne out by the opinion of those scientists who hold that all bodies will, in ultimate analysis, be found to be composed of homogeneous atoms, if chemists can ever procure heat sufficiently intense to affect the resolution of those substances which are now considered simple elements.

That the opinion of Scotus on the principle of individuation was preferred by contemporary scholars to that of St. Thomas was shown in a very significant way. If, said Scotus, *materia signata* be the principle of individuation, how will disembodied spirits be individualized, when there is no matter to give determination to the form—the human soul? How are the angels to be individually distinguished, who have the same angelic nature, or will it become necessary to hold that no two angels can belong to the same species?—a proposition that seems to have been maintained by St. Thomas. At least his teaching on this point had, even during his lifetime, caused great excitement both at Oxford and Paris. The Franciscans were strong at Oxford, and pretended to be greatly scandalized at the assertion that each *species angelica* was composed of a single angel, the whole University was in commotion, the theological faculty assembled, and after a stormy discussion the proposition was condemned. The dispute was then revived in Paris; Ægidius Colonna was a strong and earnest Thomist, and defended the teaching of his master with vigour, still the proposition was condemned by the University and the Bishop of Paris in the year 1278.¹ It was maliciously added to the condemnation that it was “*contra fratrem Thomam*,” which shows the bitter spirit that inspired the victorious party. When, however, St. Thomas was canonized these words were expunged, but the condemnation was allowed to remain. These things, however, took place before Scotus became a master in the Schools, but decidedly influenced his opinions on

¹ “*Error est dicere quod, quia intelligentiæ non habent materiam, Deus non possit plures ejusdem speciei facere. Contra fratrem Thomam.*” Yet the proposition, at least in these words, is, as far as we could ascertain, not in St. Thomas.

this subject. It would far exceed our limits to trace the consequences of this fundamental disagreement between the two Schools. We hasten to note another principle of divergency, which is now very intimately connected with that to which we have already referred. St. Thomas and his entire School teach that there is no *real* distinction of any kind between the Divine essence and the Divine attributes, or between the Divine essence and relations in God. But Scotus, as he held that the principal of individuation or personality in intelligent beings is a *modus* superadded to the matter and form, so he also holds that a distinction which he calls *formalis*, and *formalis ex natura rei*, exists between the Divine nature and the Divine relations. He speaks, indeed, obscurely, for although he asserts that the distinction precedes every act of the created and uncreated intellect, he adds that it is not a real actual distinction in the ordinary sense, and that it may be also called "differentia rationis," and a "differentia virtualis." St. Thomas is, however, emphatic in asserting the identity of the Divine essence and Divine relations *secundum rem*, and that a distinction exists only "secundum intelligentiae rationem." The latter part of this statement formally contradicts the statement of Scotus, that the distinction precedes every act of the created or uncreated intelligence. Suarez, however, asserts that the doctrine of Scotus is sound in faith, and we may add that it has been accepted by many theologians not only of his own great School, but even by several theologians of name who belonged to neither Thomist nor Scotist School. This *distinctio formalis* seu *modalis* necessarily modified many other opinions of the Scotist School, both in philosophy and theology. The purpose of Scotus in laying down this distinction was to escape from the logical difficulties involved in the Thomist doctrine of the Holy Trinity—"Pater generat, Essentia non generat;" it is not easy to see how these two propositions can be both true, and also the third proposition, *Essentia est Pater*. Scotus then, by his formal distinction between the Paternitas and the Divine Essence, seemed to make the mystery more intelligible; if there were no logical difficulties in the way, there would be no mystery at all in the matter. The warmest discussions of the rival Schools centred round this point, and continued unabated down to the time of Suarez, who virtually declares that both opinions come to the same thing.

Another question raised by these ingenious Scholastics was : is it possible in the future life to have a vision of the Divine Essence, and yet not of the Persons, or to have the vision of one Divine Person, and not of another? St. Thomas declared it was absolutely impossible : but Scotus held, in accordance with his own principles, that it did not seem by any means to be absolutely impossible. I refer to this discussion only to show how the formal distinction necessarily gave rise to many other points of difference between the two great Schools, as well as the little practical importance of the questions that were sometimes agitated with great warmth between the contending parties.

We now return to the philosophical discussions between Thomists and Scotists.

Aristotle wrote a valuable treatise, "De Anima," which was in the hands of all the Scholastics. St. Thomas accepts his teaching in psychology without any important modification. Its fundamental principle is enunciated in the famous maxim : "*Nihil est in intellectu quod non prius fuerit in sensu.*" Even admitting that the axiom, in these words, is not to be found in St. Thomas, the doctrine which it enunciates is certainly there, and widely differs from the materialistic ideology of Locke and Condillac.

According to St. Thomas, the mind is originally a *tabula rasa*, a sheet of white paper ; by the agency of the external senses a *species sensibilis* is impressed on the "internal sense." Thereupon the *intellectus agens* comes into exercise, and *spiritualizes* the *species sensibilis* into a *species intelligibilis* ; this latter stimulates the *intellectus possibilis* to action ; the *intellectus possibilis* thus stimulated produces thought or conception. By a further process of abstraction and generalization we get the notions of *genus* and *species*, and thus arrive at science. This system, so severely attacked by the Cartesians, describes, at least as accurately as any modern system, the mental procedure in as far as we can clearly trace it. The image (*species impressa*), in the case of vision for instance, is not only drawn but *painted* on the retina of the eye, *sensus internus*. The optic nerve conveys the impression to the brain, and the brain thus stimulated spiritualizes this image into *species intelligibilis*, which in turn produces thought or ideas, from which ideas as before we arrive at the universal, the proper object of science.

Scotus, however, greatly modified, in accordance with his principles on matter and form, this mode of procedure.

St. Thomas held the mind to be a *tabula rasa*, not only destitute of ideas, but utterly incapable of acquiring them, except through the senses, and in virtue of the *phantasmata* supplied by the inward sense. How then, said Scotus, do angels, how can separated souls, acquire knowledge; or are these latter incapable of acquiring any new knowledge of things in a *natural* way? In their case there can be no *species impressa*, and, therefore, no idea, no knowledge. He holds, consequently, that the Aristotelian maxim must be modified, that the mind can, independently of all sensible impressions, and in virtue of its own intrinsic power, obtain ideas and acquire knowledge, that it does not *necessarily* need either the agency of the senses, or the stimulus of the *phantasmata* to call it into action. In other words, in the Thomist system a *medium* is necessarily required between the subject and object to stimulate the former to action, because the mind is a pure form, and as such necessarily incomplete; in the Scotist system no such medium is *necessarily* required, because the mind is not a pure form, and therefore not incomplete, but with a potentiality reducible to action, altogether independent of things external. St. Thomas seems to hold that the separated soul can acquire knowledge only in a quasi-angelic, and to it *super-natural*, manner; while Scotus holds that it can and does acquire knowledge in a natural way, because there is in the soul, although it is the form of the body, a *potentia et actus*, corresponding to matter and form in material things, which make it a substance sufficiently complete to acquire knowledge in a *natural* way. It is not difficult to see how many pregnant consequences in philosophy and theology follow from this fundamental difference in the ideology of the Thomists and Scotists.

We now come to the peculiar physical system of the Scholastics. It was admitted, as one of the fundamental principles of Scholastic physics, that there is an essential difference between the nature of *sublunary* and *celestial* bodies. The former are gross and corruptible, the latter are ethereal and incorruptible. The natural motion of the sublunary bodies is rectilinear; the natural motion of the celestial bodies on the other hand is curvilinear. On these two principles they built up their entire system of terrestrial and celestial physics.

It was contrary to the very nature of things, for instance, that the earth could move *round* the sun, seeing that its *natural* motion is rectilinear: it could only move in a

straight line if it moved at all. The sublunary world is, in their system, composed of four simple elements, fire, air, earth, and water; into these all sublunary bodies are resolvable. Two of them have a *natural* motion upwards, fire and air; and two have a *natural* motion downwards, earth and water. Hence the former have no weight, *summe levia sunt*¹, but the latter have necessarily weight, either in *summo gradu, ut octo*, as they said, or in *gradu inferiori*. To these four elements the four primary qualities correspond, the hot, the cold, the dry, the humid; the *humid* being the characteristic quality of air, and the *cold* belonging to water. In accordance with the *predominance* of any element and its characteristic quality, they divided men's temperaments into four kinds; the melancholic, in which the earthy element predominates; in the phlegmatic it is water; in the sanguineous it is air; while in the choleric, fire is the ruling element. In accordance with these principles, and by purely *a priori* reasoning, Scotus gives very ingenious, and to our notions very amusing, explanations of the various natural phenomena that take place in the world around us.

In the first place he makes a marked distinction between "vapours" and "exhalations." The "vapour" is reduced from water and other bodies of a *humid* nature by the heat of the sun, and by the virtue of the stars; and these vapours so generated produce clouds, rain, hail, snow, and dew. On the other hand, "exhalations" are derived from the earthy or dry bodies, by the same solar and stellar influence; and cause meteors, comets, winds, thunder and lightning. First he discusses the tides and currents of the sea. The sea, he says, is the natural abode of the water: hence it ought to be at rest, if strong external influences did not act upon it, and produce *violent* motion. Two causes produce a current from the north to the south: first, the greater elevation of the north, and water seeks the lowest place; this indeed can hardly be called a violent motion. Secondly, the north is naturally cold and humid, hence more water is produced there, while the south is hot and dry, and thus evaporates a greater quantity, leaving the vacuum to be filled by currents from the north.

With regard to the tides, he rejects the theory that they are caused by submarine gulfs, which at one time swallow up and afterwards eject vast quantities of water. With

¹ According to the Scholastics, a body is *light* by nature that has a natural tendency to fly from the centre (the earth), and the body is *heavy* that naturally flies to a centre.

the Bishop of Lincoln he holds that they are caused by the moon: when it is low in the horizon, its slanting rays are weak, and therefore able to raise, but not able to dissipate, the vapours of the sea. These vapours cause a swelling or boiling of the mass, and thus we have the flow of the tide. When, however, the moon reaches the meridian, its rays approach the perpendicular, and thus becoming stronger, are able to dissipate the vapours which they excite, causing thereby a lowering and reflux of the swollen element.¹ That the moon has an influence over the sea, which is a humid element, cannot be questioned, seeing that it exercises a similar sway over the brain, marrow, blood and humours of the human body, as experience, he adds, abundantly testifies.

In explaining the causes of earthquakes, he says that there are within the earth immense caverns whence rivers and fountains flow. The solar and stellar heat generates in these caverns great quantities of humid "vapour;" in cold weather the vapours are condensed; when more moisture gains admittance, with the returning heats, the new as well as the old moisture is converted into vapour of very high pressure. This vapour, in its efforts to escape, shakes the earth until at length it finds a safety valve by bursting violently through its prison walls.

Thunder, according to Scotus, is caused by "exhalations" which the solar heat educes from earthy and dry bodies. These exhalations being thus by nature dry and warm, seek the higher regions; in their upward course they meet with watery clouds, which being of an opposite nature surround and imprison them. In their efforts to escape the pressure of the clouds, they make loud rumblings, striking against the "sides" of the opposing clouds, until at length they break through with the loud explosion, or thunder clap, which resounds in our ears. The lightning is simply the flash of light generated by the high pressure and rapid motion of the escaping "exhalation;" it is only instantaneous, however, as the exhalation is at once diffused when the pressure is removed.² Comets are the same exhalations in still higher regions of the heavens, lit up by rapid motion and reflected light.

It is not at all a matter of surprise if these ingenious theories found ready acceptance in the minds of men, who

¹ *De Meteoris*, Lib. ii. quaest. ii. art. 2.

² *De Meteoris*. Lib. ii. quaest. 8.

unhesitatingly admitted as physical axioms the doctrine of the four elements, primary qualities, and natural motions on which they are founded.

We can only say very few words about the beautiful but unreal system of the heavens, which the Scholastics accepted from Aristotle and Ptolemy. We refer to it chiefly in order to point out in what respect Scotus and his School rejected and refuted the generally received doctrine of the Scholastics, and at the same time made the first step in the road that led to the brilliant discoveries of Copernicus, Newton, and Laplace.

This theory of Aristotle, and of the Scholastics generally, established the doctrine of an incorruptible heavens, a region of beauty, serenity, and repose. It was the most perfect work of God in the natural order, not like the sublunary world, a mixture of the baser elements in various proportions; it was exclusively composed of a fifth element, not indeed, immaterial, but pure, simple and unchanging, with a nature and a motion of its own, and by God's design expressing an influence of its own over all sublunary beings, animate and inanimate.¹ In one respect only, where faith compelled them, did the Scholastics disagree with Aristotle. He taught that, at least the upper orb, the first heaven, was eternal like God himself. He was the first *immovable mover*, but the heavens were the first *movable mover*, moved itself by God, and moving in turn the inferior universe, with which the principal and purely Spiritual Being could not be brought into immediate contact. The eternity of the heavens the Scholastics rejected, but its incorruptibility and influence over the inferior world they unanimously admitted. Hence the inevitable tendency of the age to judicial astrology,² to the admission of this all-pervading, but not always inevitable, influence exercised by the stars and planets over the tangled web of human destiny. It was not by any means the blind inevitable fate

¹ In answer to the question "Utrum stella comata significet mortem principum?" Scotus answers affirmatively from the authority of Albertus Magnus, and all astrologers, that is, all astronomers, and the reason is: "Stella comata signat universaliter mortalitates et epidemica omnium venientium super terram, potius dicitur signare mortem principum, quia magis notatur quam aliorum."—*Met. Lib. i. quaest. 19. art. 2.*

² "Verum est tamen quod corpus coeleste agit in voluntatem nostram quasdam inclinationes, mediantibus quibus facilitatur aut difficitatur in operando. Unde sapiens astrologus multa mala prohibere potest quae secundum stellas essent ventura et juvat opus stellarum sicut seminatio vires herbarum."—*De Meteor. Lib. i. quaest. 3. art. 3.*

of the ancients, superior to Jove himself, but a secondary causality, created by Divine power, the subject and the instrument of the designs of an all-ruling Providence. It was a beautiful, and, in what we should now call an unscientific age, a not unnatural theory. These nine encircling heavens encompassed the earth all round; they were the fountains of light and heat, of vegetable and of purely animal life; they affected the elements, and the elements affected the temperaments, the passions, and therefore, at least indirectly, the powers of the human will. It was impossible with their ideas, to look up at night to the expanding heavens with its brilliant stars, and Milky Way, and planets of uncertain course, and not feel their influence over the poor inferior world within their bosom. Were not these crystalline heavens always radiant with light? Were they not always pure and calm, swiftly and silently pursuing their eternal round? Where was there any trace of stain, or change, or death? Were they not the footstool of God himself, and the radiant mansions of the just made perfect?

It was Scotus who first ventured to throw a doubt on the physical reality of this enchanting picture. The question was asked by St. Thomas, as it is asked by Suarez, are the heavens, like the sublunary world, made up of matter and form; and is the matter of the same nature as the *materia prima* of this lower world of ours? The whole Thomistic School—in fact, all the Scholastics before Scotus—answered in the negative. But he said, yes; and thereby laid the axe to the root of the tree. He does not, and he dare not, in those days, deny the doctrine of an incorruptible heavens; but by asserting the identity of its primal matter with that of the corruptible world, he virtually denied it, and sapped the foundations of the unsubstantial fabric, leaving an easier task for Cusa, Kepler, and the rest, for whom it was reserved to prove with certainty the bold thesis which he first advanced. In this, as in other respects, Scotus directed the current of philosophic thought from its Aristotelian channel, and greatly influenced its future direction. For instance, Dante was the bard of Scholasticism, the poetic expression of its philosophy and theology, in as full and perfect a sense as St. Thomas and Scotus are its logical expression. It is impossible for any one who has even a slight acquaintance with the immortal Florentine not to feel this truth, which is indeed admitted by all his

profounder critics. He expresses, it is true, more than once his contempt for mere logic, and even makes the demon a logician;¹ but it is from the ethics² and physics of the Scholastics that his poetry gets life and inspiration. Yet, as M. Ozanam has pointed out in his able and eloquent critique on Dante, he always inclines to the Franciscan School, the School of Bonaventure and Scotus, rather than to the Thomist side. As Ptolemy and the Scholastics made nine heavens, so does Dante put nine circles in his *Inferno*, and makes nine sciences complete the cycle of human knowledge. He gives expression to a hesitating faith in astrology; and clothes, more than once, in poetic language the metaphysics of the primal matter and substantial forms. But it is, above all, in his conception and description of the heavens, that he gets his inspiration from the Scholastic theories.

As Tennyson has shown us what conceptions of beauty float around the revolving orbs of Copernicus, so Dante, in language of loftiest imagery, describes the Milky Way glowing with starry gems; and far beyond all material orbs, he places the highest empyreal heaven itself, describing it as radiant in light inaccessible, and like the gods of Epicurus, resting in serene repose:—

“Where never creeps a cloud, nor moves a wind,
Nor ever falls the least white star of snow,
Nor ever lowest roll of thunder moans,
Nor sound of human sorrow mounts to mar
Their sacred everlasting calm!”

In conclusion, although we certainly are not expected to accept the doctrines of the Scholastics in physical science, we venture to remind our readers of the language applied to Scholastic Theology by our present venerated Pontiff:—

“*Divino illius munere qui solus, dat spiritum scientiae et sapientiae et intellectus, quique ecclesiam suam per saeculorum aetates, prout opus est, novis beneficiis auget, inventa est a maioribus nostris, sapientissimis viris, Theologia Scholastica, quam duo potissimum gloriosi doctores, angelicus S. Thomas et seraphicus S. Bonaventura ornarunt, eamque optime dispositam multisque modis praeclare explicatam posteris tradiderunt.*”³

¹ “Forse

Tu non pensavi ch'io loico fossi.”—*Infer.* xxvii. 41.

² “Cessando la morale filosofia, le altre scienze sarebbero celate alcun tempo; e non sarebbe generalizione nè vita de felicità.”—*Convito*, ii. cap. 15. We may perhaps return to this subject hereafter.

³ See the Encyclical “*Aeterni Patris*.”

These words were first used by Sixtus V., and are now repeated by our present Pope, who then goes on to extol the wonderful benefits conferred on the Church by the teaching of St. Thomas, both in philosophy and theology. St. Thomas has, indeed, no equal in divine wisdom among the Scholastics, but certainly Scotus comes next to the Angelic Doctor. It must be borne in mind also that the teaching of St. Thomas is, in many respects, both in philosophy and theology, widely different from the doctrines of the Thomist School; and the Scotists, not altogether without reason, declare that in many points, in which the disciples differ widely, the masters themselves are quite in accord. The Thomist doctrine on grace is a case in point. For great theologians, who belong to neither school, maintain with good reason that St. Thomas never taught the doctrine of the *promotio physica*, which is so strenuously maintained by most of his disciples. At all events Ireland has good reason to be proud of her son; and we hope that the day will never come when the name of Duns Scotus will be forgotten in the halls of the *Alma Mater* of the Irish priesthood.

J. H.

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES.

THE LONDON FOG.

HAS the "gentle reader" ever had his gentleness sorely tried by a real London fog? Did he ever awake on a winter's morning in the great metropolis and find that opening the shutters and drawing up the blinds made scarcely any change, and that what he sarcastically calls the light of day is at best but darkness visible? Has he ventured out for a new sensation, and found the palpable yellow thing clinging to him and affecting every sense, so that he sees it—and scarcely any thing else—he tastes, he smells, he handles, and should he be rash enough to make the attempt, so thick become his words that it may be said, he talks it?

A thin coating of a nearly opaque yellow paint on the windows will give some idea of the aspect this special fog has, but not a complete one; for that will be wanting in depth,

if not in substance, and will hardly reveal the red lights which at times flash—no, struggle—through the darkness. Imagine such a fog as this, not overhanging but filling up the largest and busiest city in the world, stopping its traffic and paralyzing its very life, and this not for an hour or two, but for several successive days; and then we may easily understand why Londoners should resolve upon internecine war with their great enemy.

The fog, of course, is interesting from a scientific point of view; like the Colorado Beetle, the Influenza, and the Phylloxera. It is, like them, a subject for thorough investigation, and as such occupied many hours of Professor Tyndall's time in 1873, when he was making those important experiments on fog-signalling, which led to such unexpected and interesting results. But London looks upon its fog as the vinegrowers do upon the phylloxera, and is anxious only to get rid of it.

Every one knows what an important part smoke plays in the vile concoction, and so the first thought is to get rid of the smoke—but how? An act might be passed, say the hasty and irritable, to bid all chimneys to consume their own smoke. As well bid the householders to do so, common sense replies. They take it, it is true, in fog, but you might as easily compel them to take it unmixed, as to use a particular kind of grate, or burn a special sort of non-smoke-producing coal. Every man's house is his castle, and his domestic hearth is his palladium. So a sensible man, like Dr. Siemens, who is at once a philosopher, a manufacturer and a mechanic, devises a smokeless gas stove, which, unlike less perfect specimens of its kind, that are grim and cheerless, and apt to make their presence not only felt but smelt, will give a bright and companionable flame: a fire that can be kindled in a couple of minutes and extinguished in still less time, merely by turning off the gas.

We need not trouble our readers with a description of this excellent open grate, which is already coming into extensive use: enough if we record this new attempt against the common enemies, smoke and soot.

But, after all, an attack like this upon the ubiquitous foe is little more than random shooting; it may do, like skirmishing in the preliminary movement, but will avail nothing when the whole army is at hand: so Mr. Scott Moncrieff next comes forward with a far more important attack, which promises to secure a complete rout if it can be

carried out. The Londoner may refuse to adapt his open grates to Dr. Siemen's designs, and he may shake his head at anthracite coals, which he connects in his mind with factories and workshops, and not with the comforts of home; but Mr. Moncrieff will supply him with his old familiar coal, little changed in appearance, but happily robbed of its smoke-producing powers, which he may burn in his old fireplaces with as much warmth and brightness as ever. In short, the family will find nothing new but the unwonted absence of occasional inroads of smoke, which sudden gusts of wind used to produce, and the entire disappearance of that grim, murky personage, the sweep, whose regular visits have been marked by the removal, from the chimney to every article of furniture and decoration in the room, of the wasted coal which took the now banished form of soot.

This seems a wonderful devise, and not very difficult to be carried out, provided only the gas companies can be brought to co-operate.

Without going into details, we may briefly say that he proposes that *all* the coal to be consumed in London should be sent to the gas-works and be burned there. One third (about two millions of tons) of the present total consumption is manufactured into gas, the other four millions are burned in houses. Send the whole six millions to the Gas Companies, but allow them only to make from them the same quantity of gas as at present is made from the two millions. Thus the gas in the coals will be only partially extracted. The coals, in this condition, are to be supplied to the householders at, of course, a reduced price, and the fires kindled and fed by them will be smokeless! There are calculations made to show how everybody will save money by this arrangement, but, leaving that out of consideration, the plan seems feasible enough, and one which will interfere as little as possible with the much prized "liberty of the subject."

But will the old enemy, the fog, be destroyed when the smoke is got rid of? Certainly not, for that is but one ingredient in the foul combination. Much would certainly be done in the right direction when so powerful an element is eliminated, and so we wish all success to the contrivers; for fogs, if not so abominable as that of London, are not altogether unknown on this side the Channel; while smoky chimneys, blacks, and soot are domestic enemies from which most households suffer.

But apart from smoke which combines so readily and so effectively with it, what is fog?

An excellent and interesting answer to this question was given last December by Mr. John Aitkin, in a paper read by him to the Royal Society of Edinburgh, of which an abstract is given in *Nature*, Vol. 23, No. 583.

He treats of Dust, Fogs, and Clouds, and begins by showing that "Dust is the germ of which fogs and clouds are the developed phenomena." The experimental illustration is simple but very striking. He had two large glass receivers; the one filled with common air, the other with air which had been carefully passed into it through cotton wool, and thereby filtered of all dust. Upon admitting steam into the former, it mixed with the ordinary air, and gave the usual and well-known cloudy form of condensation, such as we observe when steam escapes into the open air, and we say that we see the steam, though steam as such is invisible. But when the steam entered the filtered air no cloudiness whatever appeared. The air remained supersaturated and perfectly transparent! Mr. Aitkin explains the difference in the behaviour of the steam in the two cases, by corresponding phenomena in freezing, melting and boiling. "It was shown that particles of water-vapour do not combine with each other to form a cloud-particle, but the vapour must have some solid or liquid body on which to condense. Vapour in pure air, therefore, remains uncondensed or supersaturated, while dust-particles in ordinary air form the nuclei on which the vapour condenses, and form fog or cloud-particles."

So then dust is the material out of which our fogs are made, or rather the minute particles, round each of which some little portion of vapour condenses and makes itself visible. Of course the effect will vary with the quantity of dust-particles present in the air; when there is much dust the vapour has to distribute itself over a greater number of individuals, and so each particle receives a smaller share, and can float more easily than when it is more heavily weighted in a less dusty atmosphere, and then sinks like rain.

The conclusions drawn are obvious enough, but none the less strange before the experiments are made.

1. Whenever water-vapour condenses in the atmosphere it always does so upon some solid nucleus.

2. Dust-particles in the air form the nuclei on which the vapour condenses.

3. If there was no dust there would be no fogs, no clouds, no mists, and probably no rain; and the super-saturated air would convert every object on the surface of the earth into a condenser on which it would deposit.

4. Our breath, when it becomes visible on a cold morning, and every puff of steam, as it escapes into the air, show the impure and dusty condition of our atmosphere.

This discovery throws light upon a hitherto obscure matter, namely, why snow-water is never clean, however pure the snow itself may appear to be. Evidently the discoloring of the water is due to the presence of these minute particles of dust around which the moisture accumulated ere it was frozen into snow, and which are sufficiently numerous to make themselves seen at least to this small extent of staining.

And now with regard to our old enemy the fog, what is the outcome of these experiments in his regard? Evidently it will not be enough to get rid of, or consume the smoke, for the air-dust will suffice to make a fog though not so opaque and offensive as that of London.

Get rid of the dust, exclaims a hasty reader, but that is not only a more difficult task than the other, it is simply impossible. To "kick up a dust" of this kind, it is enough to heat any substance and off flies the cloud, to generate fog when combined with steam. It is sufficient to heat the hundredth part of a grain of iron-wire, to send dust enough into the glass receiver to form a distinct cloudiness. We talk of the motes in the air which a ray of light reveals, as specimens of what is small, and Professor Tyndall has often burnt them, until the beam whose path they illuminated by their reflection becomes invisible, and the space is a black vacancy; but the burning of the motes only turned them into dust—ashes of motes—and that dust will raise a cloud. Thus we see how hopeless is the task of ridding the open atmosphere of its fog-compelling particles of dust.

So while science tells us what we can do in purifying our fogs, it renders no less valuable a service in pointing out the limit beyond which we cannot go. It is no small thing to learn how to economise our time.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS REGARDING THE LENTEN FAST.

I.—ON THE USE OF LARD AND DRIPPING DURING LENT, AND ON DAYS OF FAST AND ABSTINENCE.

The following questions have been raised in reference to the concession granted by the Holy See in 1877, in compliance with the petition of the Synod of Maynooth.

1. Is the concession granted by the Holy See, in 1877, which allows the use of lard, &c., during Lent, to be regarded as a dispensation granted directly to the faithful, or as an authorization granted to the Bishop of each diocese, enabling him to grant the dispensation if he should think fit to do so, or, in the contrary event, to withhold it?

2. For what days of Lent is the concession available? The petition of the Synod contains the clause, "*exceptis solemnioribus [jejunii diebus]*." How is this exception to be understood?

3. Does the concession of the Holy See regard days of fasting throughout the year, as well as during the time of Lent?

4. Does it regard days of abstinence, as well as days of fast? My reason for asking this last question is, that I have heard it stated very confidently that the concession is available for days of abstinence; whereas I observe that in the petition of the Maynooth Synod, by virtue of which this concession was made, only days of fasting are mentioned.

Before proceeding to answer the foregoing questions, —in which I have taken the liberty of embodying a number of *dubia* that have been forwarded for consideration—it may be well to set forth the principal Documents on which we shall have to depend in coming to a decision on the interesting points thus raised.

I.

The first of these is the *Postulatum* of the Irish Bishops, sent forward to Rome, in 1875, from the Synod of Maynooth, by his Eminence the late Cardinal Archbishop of Dublin. Among the *Postulata* was the following:—

POSTULATUM QUARTUM.

Episcopi Hiberniae in Synodo Maynutiana nuper congregati, cum animadverterent, propter peculiaria hujus regionis adjuncta, legem jejunii nunc in Hibernia vigentem observatu difficilem esse, statuerunt sequentes dispensationes a Sancta Sede petere.

1. . . . 2. . . . 3. . . .

4. Denique Episcopi petunt ut diebus jejunii, exceptis solemnioribus, usus laridi tanquam condimenti permittantur.

✠ PAULUS CARD. CULLEN, *Archiep. Dublin.*
Praeses Synodi ut Deleg. Apost.

II.

The answer to this Petition, dated 2nd May, 1877, is as follows:—

“ AD QUARTUM. 1. . . . 2. . . . 3. . . .

4. Quoad usum laridi et sagiminis supplicandum SS^{mo} pro extensione Indulti, dati die 20 Februarii 1853, Eminentissimo Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, ad omnes Hiberniae Dioeceses.

EADEM DIE AC FERIA, SS^{mas}, audita relatione, ut supra, benigne annuit pro gratia juxta DD. Emorum suffragia.

J. PELAMI,

S. Rom. et Univ. Inquis. Assessor.

III.

To ascertain the purport of this Rescript it is necessary to look back to the Indult of 1853, to which it refers. Although this Indult has been printed in our Irish *Ordo* or Directory for 1880, it will hardly be deemed superfluous to set it forth here in connexion with the foregoing Document for the interpretation of which it is plainly essential.

It is as follows:—

BEATISSIME PATER,

Paulus Cullen, Archiepiscopus Dublinensis ac Hiberniae Primas, ad pedes Beatitudinis Tuæ provolutus humillime exponit non parum incommodi experiri a Catholicis Hiberniae diebus abstinence et jejunii ecclesiastici, ab iis praesertim qui pauperioris conditionis sunt. Etenim cum oleum in Hibernia non habeatur nisi ab exteris pro divitum commoditate allatum, alio condimento uti non possunt nisi butyro, quod, cum plurimi valeat, vires pauperiorum nimis excedit. Quapropter Beatitudinem Tuam orator enixe orat, ut facultatem illi concedere digneris indulgendi fidelibus suae dioeceseos usum condimenti ex adipe vel pinguedine animalium confecti, diebus abstinence et jejunii quibus usus butyri ipsis permittatur. Quare, &c.

EX AUDIENTIA SS^{mi} habita die 20 Februarii, 1853, SS^{mus} Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia PP. IX., referente me infrascripto Sac. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide Secretario, benigne annuit pro gratia ad normam Indulti Emi. Urbis Vicarii pro currente anno 1853 et Tempore Quadragesimae.

Datum Romae ex Aed. dict. S. Congregationis die et anno ut supra.

Gratis sine ulla solutione quocunque titulo.

AL. BARNABO a Secretis.

IV.

Thus then, to ascertain the extent of the Dublin Indult of 1853—on which, as we have seen, that of the General Indult of 1877 depends—it is necessary to bear in mind the terms of the Roman Indults thus referred to in Cardinal Barnabo's letter.

I am not aware that these have hitherto been published in a form accessible generally to the readers of the RECORD. Thanks to the kindness of a friend, I am enabled to insert them here. It will, I dare say, be sufficient to insert those paragraphs which refer more immediately to the dispensation thus granted. And it may be well also to sub-join a translation of those portions of the documents in which the actual provisions of the dispensations thus accorded are set forth.

The documents are as follows.

First, the Indult regarding the year¹ generally:—

NOTIFICAZIONE.

COSTANTINO DELLA S. R. C. CARD. PATRIZI, DELLA SANTITÀ
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE VICARIO GENERALE, EC.

La Santità di Nostra Signore PAPA PIO IX. secondando gl' impulsi del paterno suo cuore verso la popolazione di Roma e suo Distretto, in vista ancora delle attuali circostanze, si è degnata di accogliere le istanze sulla continuazione dei condimenti di grasso nei giorni, nei quali sarebbe proibito l'usarne, e benignamente ne ha accordata la proroga per un altro anno. Per conseguenza nei giorni delle *Tempora*, ed in tutti i Venerdi e Sabati dell'imminente anno 1854, compresi anche quelli del Sagro Avvento (nei quali però resta ferma la legge del digiuno) continua ad esser permesso l'uso dell' Unto e Strutto pei condimenti. Non sono però contemplati in questo indulto quei Religiosi dell' uno e dell' altro sesso, che per voto trovansi obbligati ad astenersi da qualunque cibo e condimento di grasso.

Si eccettua da questa concessione il tempo quaresimale, per il quale si riserva la SANTITÀ' SUA di prescrivere ciò che crederà espediente al bisogno; come ancora restano eccettuate le vigilie della Purificazione in forza del voto solenne, da cui è legata nostra

¹ The friend whom I have to thank for procuring for me the Indults of the Cardinal Vicar, as set forth above, was unable to obtain a copy of the General Indult for the year 1853. I am, however, in a position to state that the Indults as published from year to year are practically identical, so far as regards all the points that have any bearing on the questions we are now considering.

Citta, della Pentecoste, della Natività di S. Giovanni Battista, della festa dei Santi Apostoli Pietro e Paolo, della gloriosa Assunzione di Maria Santissima, di tutti i Santi, e del Santissimo Natale.

Dat. dalla Nostra Residenza li 20 Dicembre 1853.

C. CARD. VICARIO,

Giuseppe Canonico Tarnassi, Segretario.

Secondly, the special Indult for Lent :—

EDITTO

SULL'OSSERVAZIONE DELLA QUARESIMA PER L'ANNO 1853,
CON INDULTO APOSTOLICO.

COSTANTINO DELLA S. R. C. CARD. PATRIZI, DELLA SANTITÀ
DI NOSTRO SIGNORE VICARIO GENERALE, EC.

“Il Sommo Pontifice Ci ha ordinato di dichiarare, che in questa Quaresima (ferma sempre restando la legge del digiuno per quelli che vi sono obbligati) sarà permesso a tutti gli abitanti di Roma, e suo Distretto, compresi i Religiosi dell'uno e l'altro sesso, non astretti da voto particolare a maggior astinenza, il cibarsi di qualunque sorte di carne ; restando egualmente permesso l'uso del' Unto e Strutto pe' condimenti.

Da questa benigna concessione sono eccettuati il Mercoledì delle Ceneri in *capite jejunii*, la Vigilia di S. Giuseppe, e gli ultimi tre giorni della Settimana Santa. In questi cinque giorni non si potrà far uso che di cibi di stretto magro, ed il condimento di Strutto ed Unto sarà in essi parimente proibito.

Nei tre giorni delle Tempora è proibito il cibarsi di carne, ovi, e latticinj, ma sono permessi i condimenti di grasso come sopra.

Negli altri Venerdi e Sabati, non compresi nei giorni sopraindicati, si permetti l'uso dell' ova, e latticinj, ed il condimento di Strutto ed Unto.

E' proibito in tutto il tempo della Quaresima, comprese anche le Domeniche, la promiscuità de' cibi, vale a dire, l'unione di carne e pesce in una medesima commestione.

Le persone obbligate al digiuno non potranno (eccettuate le Domeniche) usare de' cibi di carne, ova, e latticinj, se non nell' unica commestione ; possono però servirsi de' condimenti di grasso nell' altra piccola refezione tollerata oltre il pranzo.

Dato dalla Nostra Residenza li 3 febbrajo 1853.

C. CARD. VICARIO,

Giuseppe Canonico Tarnassi, Segretario.

I subjoin a translation of the paragraphs that directly regard the point under consideration.

In the general notification for the year 1854, then, the arrangement laid down is the following :—

“The permission previously granted for the use of condiments is continued for another year.

"Hence the use of lard and dripping, as condiments, is allowed on the days of the *Quatuor Tempora*, and on all the Fridays and Saturdays of the year, including those of Advent (the obligation of fasting however remaining in force) . . .

"From this concession is excepted the time of Lent—in regard to which a special Indult is to be issued;—and also the Vigils of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin (in virtue of the solemn vow by which the City of Rome is bound), of Pentecost, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, of the Assumption, of All Saints, and of the Nativity of our Lord."

As regards the Lenten Indult, its provisions in this respect are as follows:—

"During the Lent of 1853 the use of lard and dripping, as condiments, is allowed except on Ash Wednesday, the Vigil of St. Joseph, and the last three days of Holy Week. On those five days the faithful are restricted to strict meagre fare [the use of lacticinia, as well as of meat and eggs, being prohibited.]

"On the Wednesday, Friday and Saturday of the Lenten week of *Quatuor Tempora*, the use of meat, eggs, and lacticinia is forbidden, but the use of lard and dripping as condiments is allowed. . . .

"Except on Sundays, persons who are bound to fast can take meat, eggs, or lacticinia, only at the principal meal; they are, however allowed to use lard and dripping as condiments at the collation."

We are now in a position to examine the various points raised in the questions set forth on page 166.

I. In reply to the first question, then, I would say that I can see no reason to regard the Indult of 1877 as a dispensation granted directly by the Holy See to the faithful of the various dioceses of Ireland.

This Indult merely extended to those dioceses the concession which had been made in favour of Dublin in 1853. Now it is obvious that the extension of a privilege from one diocese to a number of others cannot change its purport. And it is no less obvious that this privilege as originally granted, was not a dispensation granted directly to the faithful of the diocese of Dublin, but an authorization granted to the Archbishop of the diocese *empowering him to grant the dispensation*.

"Quapropter," are the words of the Petition of 1853, "Beatitudinem Tuam orator enixe orat, ut *facultatem ILLI concedere digneris indulgendi fidelibus suae dioeceseos usum*

condimenti, etc.” And the concession was made “*pro gratia*,” that is to say, it granted the favour which was applied for.

Indeed, some readers of the RECORD, among the Dublin clergy, must no doubt remember, that as a matter of fact the Archbishop did not, for some time, exercise to its full extent the power which he had thus received, but, yielding to the representations of some parish priests, abstained from inserting the general dispensation in the Lenten Indult, and merely empowered each parish priest, who wished to do so, to grant the dispensation to his own parishioners.

II. To ascertain the days to which the concession does not extend, it is necessary to refer, not merely to the petition of the Maynooth Synod, and the Rescript of 1877, granting the concession therein sought for, but also to the earlier Documents of 1853, by which the extent of the Rescript of 1877 is to be determined.

The Rescript of 1877 merely extends to the rest of Ireland the concession made in favour of Dublin in 1853, and that concession was made in accordance with the terms of the Roman Lenten Indult of the same year.

Now in the Roman Indult we find (1) that the only days excepted are days of *strict* abstinence, such as is observed in Ireland only on Good Friday, and on one or two other days in the first and last weeks of Lent; (2) that the days of strict abstinence are much more numerous in Rome than in this country—the Cardinal Vicar enumerates them as follows:—Ash Wednesday; the Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday, of the week of *Quatuor Tempora*; the Vigil of St. Joseph (18th March); and the Thursday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week—making *eight* in all; and finally (3) that not all those days of strict abstinence, but only *five* of them, are excluded from the concession allowing the use of lard and dripping. The days thus excluded are Ash Wednesday, the Vigil of St. Joseph, and the three last days of Holy Week.

From this statement of the Roman discipline it is plain, as regards Ireland, that no question can arise as to Ash Wednesday and Good Friday. Obviously the concession does not extend to these.

It may, however, be asked whether it extends to the Vigil of St. Joseph, and to the Thursday and Saturday of Holy Week? I do not suppose that there should be any hesitation in answering this question in the affirmative. No doubt those days are excluded in Rome. But as a matter of interpretation it seems reasonable to accept the Roman

Indult as our *norma*, not in the sense of its specifying the actual days to be comprised or exempted, but that it indicates the principle on which this point is to be regulated. And plainly it is a fundamental principle of the Roman Indult, *not* to exclude any days but those of strict abstinence.

Then a further question may arise as to the Wednesday of Holy Week, which, in the great majority of the dioceses of Ireland, is a day of strict abstinence. Of course there can be no difficulty with regard to those dioceses—if, indeed, there are any others in Ireland—such as Kerry, where it is observed only as a day of ordinary abstinence. In such a case no possible reason can exist for regarding the day as excluded from the concession. But in regard to those dioceses in which it is observed as a day of abstinence similar to that of Ash Wednesday and Good Friday, are we to regard it as excluded from the concession?

No doubt this is a matter in regard to which some difference of opinion may not unreasonably exist. But it would seem to me that on a fair interpretation of all the documents bearing on the case, we should regard the Wednesday of Holy Week—wherever it is observed as a day of strict abstinence—as one of the days to which, according to the *norma* of the Roman Indult of 1853, the concession does not extend.

III. Before proceeding to answer the third question, it may be useful to make a few preliminary observations, to guard against a possible, and indeed by no means unnatural, misconception of the answer to be given.

The following points then are to be borne in mind :—

1° The use of lard and dripping is allowed only as a condiment. Thus the question of their lawful use can arise only in cases where other kinds of food are allowed, in conjunction with which they are thus serviceable.

2° Although frequently overlooked, it is unquestionable, and is, indeed, a fundamental principle in the matter of fasting, that at the collation no kind of food can be taken, the use of which is not sanctioned by custom. The collation itself—even when only bread is eaten at it—is, of course, allowed only by virtue of custom, which has thus tempered the rigour of the law. Hence theologians lay down that both as regards the *quantity* and the *kinds* of food which may be taken, it is of obligation to keep within the limits which established custom has defined.

“Per consuetudinem,” says Laymann, “introducitur . . . collatiuncula; quae quum nullo jure scripto, sed sola, ut dixi,

consuetudine nitatur, ab eadem quoque regulari et definiri debet, tam secundum *qualitatem*, quam secundum *quantitatem* sumendorum.”¹

Lacroix thus lays down the same principle:—

“Hoc principie advertendum est quod quum collatio sit per consuetudinem introducta, in ea non liceat aliud circa *quantitatem*, *qualitatem*, et *tempus*, quam habeat consuetudo hominum timoratorum in unaquaque patria.”²

And St. Alphonsus:—

“Hic ante omnia advertendum attendendam esse consuetudinem locorum.”³

3° In Rome, as we learn from the Lenten Indult of the Cardinal Vicar, already quoted, the concession authorizing the use of lard, &c., extends to the collation, as well as to the principal meal. But their use, as a substitute for oil, is allowed only in the cooking of certain kinds of food, vegetables, &c., the use of which had previous to this concession been sanctioned by usage.

Thus we find this point explained in the well-known Treatise of Righetti, who has written with special reference to the usages of Rome. Dealing with the question on general principles, and altogether independently of any express clause regarding it in the Lenten Indult, he explains that, *per se*, in the absence of a restrictive clause, confining the concession to the principal meal, the permission to use lard, &c., as condiments, comprises not only the principal meal but also the collation.

He then proceeds to explain the point as follows:—

“This question could not have arisen so long as usage had not as yet authorized the collation, nor even subsequently, while the collation was as yet so restricted, both in regard to the quantity, and the kinds of food allowed, that the question of condiments did not arise. Now, however, that a legitimate custom, observed even by persons of tender conscience, allows us at collation to eat certain small fish, or a small quantity of vegetables cooked with oil, the case contemplated in this question may easily arise.

“I answer, then, that in the circumstances thus set forth, the use of lard, by way of condiment, is lawful. For, inasmuch as the Sovereign Pontiff allows the use of this condiment as a substitute for oil, it must be regarded as lawful to use it in all cases where oil itself may be used; but in the collation this use of oil is

¹ LAYMANN, *Theologia Moral*, Lib. 4, tract. 8. cap. 1. n. 8.

² LACROIX, Lib. 3. part 2. n. 1297.

³ S. ALPHONSUS, Lib. 4. tract. 6. n. 1025.

allowed; therefore we are at liberty to use that which is allowed in the Indult as a substitute for it."¹

And that this is the principle on which the use of such condiments is, in the absence of a restrictive clause, allowed at collation, is plain from the following Answer of the Sacred Penitentiary, confirmed by Leo XII. :—

" Sacra Poenitentiaria, die 16 Jan. 1835, de expresso sanctae memoriae PP. Leonis XII. oraculo respondet quod ii qui ad jejunium tenentur licite uti possunt in serotina etiam refectione condimentis in Indulto permissis, quia illa, vi Indulti, olei locum tenent, dummodo in Indulto non sit posita restrictio, quod ea condimenta adhiberi possint in unica comestione.

" Dat. Romae, in S. Poen. die 16. Jan. 1834.

" E. CARD. DE GREGORIO, M.P."

Subject, then, to the restrictions laid down in the preceding observations, there can be no doubt that as a matter of ecclesiastical legislation the use of lard, &c., as condiments, when allowed at the principal meal, is also, in the absence of a special restriction, allowed, in similar circumstances, at the collation.

IV. The answer to the fourth question must unquestionably be in the affirmative.

The petition of our late Cardinal, when he applied for this concession in 1853, in favour of his own diocese of Dublin, made no distinction between the Lenten fast, and other fasting days throughout the year. And, as we have seen, the Indult, issued in compliance with the petition, so far from restricting the concession to the time of Lent, expressly granted it "ad normam Indulti . . . Urbis Vicarii *pro currente anno* . . . ET tempore Quadragesimae."

But it must be borne in mind, as I have explained in answer to the first question, that the Indults of 1853 and of

¹ "Ora poi che una consuetudine legittima seguita da persone pure di timorata coscienza permette nella refezione qualche pescetto, o un poco di erba cotta in olio, non può disprezzarsi il dubbio nel caso proposto . . . Ho detto dunque, che può benissimo usarsi lo strutto per condimento nella circostanza di che si parla.

"Dappoichè lo strutto dandosi *precisamente* per condimento in luogo dell'olio, devesi intendere che il pontefice nell' accordarlo a questo titolo, conceda che possa usarsi in quella guisa stessa che si usa l'olio; ma nella refezione della sera non è proibito condere con questo; dunque neppur con quello che ne è per indulto una sostituzione." RIGHETTI, *Del Digiuino*, Lettera Seconda, n. 11.

1877—by which this concession has been granted, first to the diocese of Dublin, and then, generally, to the Irish Church,—are not to be regarded as dispensations granted directly by the Holy See to the faithful, but as Indults empowering each Bishop, so far as in his wisdom he may deem it expedient to do so, to grant this dispensation to the faithful of his diocese.

V. Subject to the explanation set forth in the preceding answers, this question also must be answered in the affirmative.

We have already seen that, to ascertain the extent of the Indult of 1877, we must look back to the Indult of 1853, and to the petition of the Archbishop of Dublin, in reply to which that Indult "*pro gratia*" was granted.

Now the petition distinctly specifies the days of abstinence, as well as those of fast:—"Orator enixe orat ut facultatem illi concedere digneris indulgendi fidelibus suae dioceseos . . . *diebus ABSTINENTIAE vel jejuniï*, etc." And the Roman Indults, in conformity with the terms of which the petition of the Archbishop of Dublin was complied with, distinctly refers to days of abstinence as well as to days of fast. Thus we find that not only the Sundays in Lent, but also the Fridays and all other days of abstinence throughout the year, are distinctly specified in the Edict of the Cardinal Vicar.

II.—THE CRUSTULUM THEOLOGICUM.

The following question is of practical interest, especially at this season :—

"Theologians (as for instance Gury, *De Jejunio*, n. 493,) speak of an almost universal custom now authorizing the faithful, on fast days, to take "in the morning," a small quantity—two ounces—of solid food, as, for instance, of bread.

"If applicable to this country, the permission thus given would regard the *evening*; as, with us, the ordinary collation, about which no question can arise, is taken in the morning.

"But is it applicable to this country at all? At least in many parts of Ireland, it would be difficult to say that any such custom generally exists; and if so, should not the faithful be instructed that it is unlawful to introduce it?"

Without touching upon the question of fact involved in the query thus proposed, it will probably be sufficient to transcribe the following answer of the Sacred Penitentiary,

which was given in 1843, in reference to Canada, where the circumstances were precisely the same as those stated in the question of our correspondent.

“ BEATISSIME PATER,

“ N., sacerdos, exponit usum sumendi mane diebus jejunii, parva quantitate, caffaeum aut ciocolatum cum frustulo panis, qui invaluit in multis regionibus, atque etiam in diocesibus Statuum Unitorum Americae Borealis, . . . *nondum in Canada fuisse introductum.*

“ Quare ut aliquid certum respondere valeat illis qui interrogant an liceat quoque in Canada, dictus orator supplex rogat Beatitude Vestram ut benigne dignetur declarare, utrum tuta conscientia tolerari aut permitti possit in memorata regione Canadae, ut mane diebus jejunii, parva quantitate, sumatur caffaeum aut ciocolatum cum frustulo panis ? ”

“ S. POENITENTIARIA, mature perpensis expositis, respondendum censuit, eos qui talem usum sequuntur *non esse inquietandos.*

“ C. CARD. CASTRACANE

“ Die 21 Nov. 1843.

W. J. W.

LITURGY.

Baptism in Private Houses.

REV. SIR—Kindly give a subscriber the benefit of your opinion on the following question :—

Has the Synod of Maynooth withdrawn the permission granted in the Synod of Thurles, of conferring Baptism with all the ceremonies in a private house, when a priest is called on to baptize an infant in danger of death, or at a great distance from a church ?

There is no doubt that the Synod of Maynooth has made important changes touching the administration of Baptism in private houses, its desire being to bring the usage of the Irish Church into stricter conformity with the Roman Ritual. To understand exactly the changes made on this question in the legislation of Thurles by that of Maynooth, it will be very useful, if not necessary, to have the text of both Synods before us for the purpose of comparison. Accordingly we here print the passages in parallel columns :

SYNOD OF THURLES.

Ob praeteritorum temporum calamitates usus in hanc regionem inductus est Baptisma in domibus privatis conferendi. Cum sine magno incommodo in pluribus locis haec consuetudo aboleri nunc possit, praecipimus ut in locis praedictis hoc sacramentum in ecclesiis in posterum conferatur. Quod si infantes in periculo mortis sint, aut si longe degunt ab ecclesiis, ita ut ad eas tuto ferri non possint, tunc morem jam inductum necessitas mutari non sinit.—*De Baptismo*, n. 7.

SYNOD OF MAYNOOTH.

Ob praeteritorum temporum calamitates usus in hanc regionem inductus est Baptisma in domibus privatis conferendi. Cum sine magno incommodo haec consuetudo aboleri nunc possit, praecipimus ut hoc Sacramentum in ecclesiis in posterum conferatur, nisi infantes ob magnam distantiam ab ecclesiis vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem ad eas tuto ferri non possint. Si vero urgente mortis periculo, sive parvulus sive adultus, sacris praecibus ac caeremoniis praetermissis, fuerit baptizatus, ubi convaluerit vel cessaverit periculum et ad ecclesiam delatus fuerit, omissa omnia suppleantur (*Rom. Rit.*). Ex decreto vero Sac. Cong. Rituum, Sept. 23, 1820, cum sacerdos in casu necessitatis infantem privatim baptizat, caeremoniae quae subsequuntur ablutionem, scilicet, chrismatio, traditio vestis candidae atque lampadis ardentis, statim post ablutionem adhibendae sunt.—*De Baptismo*, n. 33.

The following observations occur to us after a close examination of these texts.

1. Both Synods begin by admitting, and in the same words, that there existed a custom in this country of conferring Baptism in private houses. There is no controversy or doubt as to the character of this old custom. It included the administration of Baptism with all the ceremonies. "This Decree," writes O'Kane, when commenting on the text of Thurles, "must be understood of Baptism with the ceremonies before, as well as after, the application of the matter and form, for this is the Baptism which was conferred in private houses according to the old custom."¹

2. After this first point the legislation begins to change. The Synod of Thurles enacts that the old custom is to be abolished in many places (*in pluribus locis*), and the Baptism

¹ Notes on the Roman Ritual, chap. iv., § xxvii. n. 387.

to be conferred in the churches, since, in its judgment, the old usage can be discontinued without great inconvenience in the districts referred to. Thus Thurles allowed by implication, the old custom to continue in some places or districts where it could not be set aside, *sine magno incommodo*.

On the other hand, the Synod of Maynooth omits the clause "in pluribus locis;" it makes no exception in favour of a place or district as such, and orders that the Sacrament be administered in the churches, since in its judgment the old usage can be now removed without great inconvenience.

3. The Synod of Thurles allows the old custom, viz., of administering Baptism with all the ceremonies in a private house, to continue in three cases: 1° in those places where it cannot be discontinued without great inconvenience, as we have just explained; 2° when a priest is called to baptize a child in danger of death: 3° when the house is far away from the church, so that the child could not be brought to it with safety.

Now, the Synod of Maynooth certainly abolished the custom in the two former cases. 1° It does not recognise the circumstances of any district to be such as would justify any longer the old custom, and exempt the locality from complying with the arrangements of the Ritual. 2° It withdraws the use of the old custom in the second case also, namely, when a priest is called to baptize an infant in danger of death. The Synod of Maynooth insists on strict conformity to the provisions made in the Roman Ritual and the decision of the Sacred Congregation for this case. It embodies these arrangements of the Ritual and Congregation in its own decree. According to them, the priest should begin with the application of the matter and form, and then go through the ceremonies that follow to the end; but the ceremonies that precede the application of the matter and form must be kept for the church whither the child is to be brought when the danger is past. 3° As to the third case—where the house is at so great a distance (*ob magnam distantiam*) from the church, or when the weather is so very inclement (*vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem*), that the infant cannot be brought with safety to the church—we notice that the Synod seems to deal with it in a different way from the case of danger of death. The Synod does not positively enact that the custom tolerated in Thurles is abolished in this case. Rather it seems to indicate plainly enough that in these circumstances the permission granted in Thurles is not withdrawn. Here is the sentence: "*Cum sine magno incommodo hæc consue-*

tudo aboleri nunc possit, praecipimus ut hoc Sacramentum in ecclesiis in posterum conferatur, nisi infantes ob magnam distantiam ab ecclesiis vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem ad eas tuto ferri non possint."

Nor does the Maynooth Synod seem to abolish the custom indirectly, by expressly extending to this case the order of the ceremonies which the Ritual and the Congregation lay down for the Baptism given in danger of death, or in a case of necessity. In this respect there is a remarkable difference in the way both cases are dealt with in the Decree. While in Thurles both cases are mentioned in the same sentence, in the Synod of Maynooth they are in separate sentences. Moreover, in the Maynooth Synod, the one case is inserted as the exception to the total abolition of the old custom, and the other in a sentence apart is provided for in the very words of the Ritual.

We think that these marked differences are not without a meaning. The meaning we attach to them is that the Synod, while insisting on what is found in the rubrics of the Roman Ritual, regarding the case of imminent danger of death, did not wish to withdraw the permission granted by Thurles to follow the old custom of the country when it is necessary to baptize in a private house, "*ob magnam distantiam ab ecclesiis vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem.*"

To sum up. The Synod of Maynooth enacts, 1°. That the old custom of conferring Baptism in private house with all the ceremonies, is abolished not merely in *many* places, but through the country generally. 2° That, when a child is baptized in a private house in danger of death, the ceremonies preceding the application of the matter and form must be reserved for the church. 3° We are of opinion that the Synod did not, as a matter of fact, withdraw the permission granted in Thurles to follow the old custom when a priest is called on to baptize in a private house, from which the child cannot be brought with safety to the church, "*ob magnam distantiam ab ecclesiis vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem.*"

Is the Priest to wear the Surplice when hearing Confessions?

Should not a Surplice as well as a Stole be worn in administering the Sacrament of Penance? The Ritual says: "*Superpelliceo et stola violacei coloris utatur;*" but the Maynooth Synod is silent as regards the Surplice, saying only, "*Stola violacea et vestis talaris.*" Even the latter is sometimes, I fear, discarded.

Our correspondent does not quote the rubric of the Ritual in full. He omits an important clause. The words

of the Ritual are "Superpelliceo et stola violacei coloris utatur, prout tempus vel locorum feret consuetudo."¹ Again, when describing how the priest is to be habited for the administration of the Sacraments, the Ritual has the following: "In omni sacramentorum administratione (sacerdos) superpelliceo sit indutus, et desuper stola ejus coloris quem sacramenti ritus exposit, nisi in sacramento poenitentiae ministrando occasio vel consuetudo vel locus interdum aliter suadeat." (*De Sac. administratione.*) Now, it is not the custom in this country to wear the surplice when one is hearing confessions.

The stole, however, ought to be worn. The following decisions of the Sacred Congregation seem to state that custom, even immemorial custom, does not justify priests who hear confessions in a church in not wearing a stole:—

I. "In Cathedrali Patavina ex immemoriabili consuetudine in publica administratione sacramenti Poenitentiae, sacerdotes confessorii interdicuntur ab usu stolae a Rituali Romano praescriptae: Quaeritur an standum sit hujusmodi consuetudini?

Resp. "Negative, sed standum omnino Rituali et aliis decretis." S. R. C. 1844 (5,000).

II. "Quaeritur an Confessarii in ecclesia cathedrali (Patavina) in actu confessionum assumere debeant stolam, qua non utuntur."

Resp. "Affirmative juxta decreta." S. R. C. 11 Sept. (5,107).

When more than two Candles are allowed at a Low Mass celebrated by a Priest.

Priests are not allowed more than two candles at Private Masses. A decision of the S.R.C. in 1857 says, "permittuntur plus quam duo cerei in diebus solemnioribus pro Missa lecta parochiali aut communitatis;" thereby implying that on other days, only two should be used at these Masses. What are the *dies solemniores* on which you may use more than two candles? Do Greater Doubles come under that denomination? What about ordinary Sundays? What are the private Masses spoken of?

By private Masses in this decree are plainly meant those which are not parochial or community Masses. At no such Mass, even though the feast be of the first-class and of obligation, is a priest allowed to have more than two candles.

The concession given in this decree regards public or congregational Masses. The "*dies solemniores*" include, we have no doubt, feasts of obligation, Sundays and all other occasions, even though not of obligation, when the people or community celebrate the day with more of ceremonial pomp and solemnity than usual.

¹ Ordo ministr. Sac. Poenitentiae.

The decree regards not so much the rank of the feast in the calendar of the Breviary as the external celebration among the people or community. Our correspondent does not quote the decree quite exactly. We give it as found in Gardellini, and the text suggests the correct interpretation.

Dubium IX. "Utrum diebus solemnioribus pro Missa lecta parochiali, aut communitatis, prout supra, accendi possint plusquam duo cerei? Resp. "*Provisum in VII.*"

The answer to the 7th question is as follows:—

"Servanda esse quidem decreta quoad Missas stricte privatas, sed quoad Missas parochiales vel similes diebus solemnioribus, et quoad Missas quae celebrantur loco sollemnis atque cantatae occasione realis atque usitatae celebritatis et sollemnitatis, tolerari posse duos ministros Missae inservientes, servatis ordinationibus Sacrae Congregationis in una Tuden." 7 Sept. 1816. R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

THE DIOCESE OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

REV. DEAR SIR—I have been favoured with a letter from his Lordship the Bishop of Argyll and the Isles, in which that venerated Prelate complains that full justice was not done to his Catholic Highlanders in the papers on "The Fruits of Irish Faith," which appeared in the RECORD of January and February. Although the whole Catholic population of the Diocese is very small, yet it comprises about two thousand Highland Catholic families, many of whom are scattered through the Islands off the western Scottish coast. The Cathedral, too, at Oban, though it is of timber, is much more Cathedral-like in its proportions than would appear from the RECORD. I hasten to mention these interesting facts, lest any of your readers should be betrayed into error on the subject.

It is scarcely necessary that I should assure his Lordship that it never entered into my mind to disparage in the least the merits of those brave Highlanders, whose devotedness to the faith, amid so many persecutions, is beyond all praise; and I will endeavour on another occasion to do them more ample justice.

It may not, however, be out of place to remark, that Mr. Skene, the ablest of the Scottish writers of the present day on Celtic questions, asserts, and proves, that all the families known as Highlanders in the Isles and in Argyll, are a comparatively recent Irish colony, and that their leaders, though they sometimes assumed strange names, were in reality the kinsmen of the MacMahons and the other chieftains of Ulster. I may be permitted to refer in particular to Mr. Skene's introduction and notes to the Gaelic poems of the Dean of Lismore's collection, for the proofs of this

assertion. As it is so, the fidelity of the two thousand Highland families in Argyll and the Isles, which his Lordship attests, is an additional illustration of the steadfastness and the fruitfulness of the Irish faith.—Your faithful servant,

✠ PATRICK F. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory.

ADVENT FAST IN THE IRISH CHURCH.

[Father Malone sends the following correction of a statement in his paper in our last number.—ED. I. E. R.]

"In the last number of the RECORD a conjecture was hazarded on analogical grounds, that the Advent fast formerly began on the Sunday immediately following the Ides of November. Such sometimes, but not invariably, was the case.

"The fast began invariably on the 15th of November. This is made abundantly clear by an entry opposite the 17th of the Kalends of December, in the Irish Festology. This entry, given in the following stanza, matches for pretty imagery and rhythm the sweetest among the Greek Ephemerides in the Eastern Church :—

D. XVII. KL.—" 'Λα σεραο pecunoi, coploguo cech tacha,
Copsur mafutbocha timorcan gneim achacha.' " S. M.

[We publish the following letter from Canon Toole, whose very interesting paper on the Translations of the Bible into English appeared in our January number.]

St. Wilfrid's, Manchester, February 14th, 1881.

REV. DEAR SIR—In turning over the pages of Kohl, the Russian or German traveller, who visited Ireland in 1842 or 1843, and published his pamphlet, "Ireland," in 1843, I find it stated on page 201 that Belfast had not a printing-press before 1696. He adds, "yet Belfast was the town in which the first Bible ever printed in Ireland was published in 1714." In my list, under the date 1718, the New Testament of Cornelius Nary is mentioned, with the notice, "no printer's name or place given, supposed to be Dublin." The proximity of these dates gives some ground for the suggestion that there *might be* some connection between the two.

Perhaps your acquaintance and influence in that northern city might enable you to learn whether this publication, which is mentioned by Kohl, was that which was issued by Cornelius Nary.

Archbishop Newcombe of Armagh published his translation of the New Testament in Dublin in 1796. This is the only Testament that I can find printed in Ireland, except our Catholic editions. It appears to me, that either Kohl has been misinformed, or that Father Nary had his New Testament printed in Belfast, away from the centre of hostility.

I am, Rev. dear Sir, &c.,

LAU. TOOLE.

DOCUMENTS

I.—LETTER OF THE SOVEREIGN PONTIFF TO HIS GRACE THE
ARCHBISHOP OF DUBLIN ON THE IRISH LAND QUESTION.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILIS FRATER, SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM,

Epistolam tuam, quam Nobis cum Romae esses coram exhibuisti, ad clerum populumque Dublinensis Dioeceseos proxime datam libentes perlegimus. In ea quippe agnovimus prudentiam et aequitatem animi tui: propterea quod, commota nunc Hibernia partim rerum desiderio meliorum, partim incertorum eventuum metu, ipse consilia praebes tempori admodum opportuna.

Nos quidem sollicitat atque angit misera conditio, in qua Catholici homines ex Hibernia versantur: multumque eorum virtuti tribuimus, quam res adversae vehementer exercent, nec brevi intervallo, sed aliquot jam saecula et aetates. Ipsi enim fortitudine et constantia summa quoslibet perferre casus, quam avitam religionem deserere, aut ab antiqua fide erga hanc Apostolicam Sedem vel minimum discedere maluerunt. Propterea eximia est et usque ad hanc aetatem continuata laus, numquam apud eos reliquarum virtutum nobilissima exempla defuisse. Quae Nos causae impellunt ut paterna illos benevolentia complectamur, maximeque optemus, ut, quibus affliguntur, incommodis modus aliquis celeriter imponatur.

Eodem tamen tempore omnino judicamus cavere eos magnopere debere, ne genuinae et domesticae probitatis suae opinio minuat, nihilque temere admittere, quo debitam legitime imperantibus obedientiam abjecisse videantur. Atque hujus rei causa, si quando Hibernia in rerum suarum tutelam ac defensionem gravius exarsit, Pontifices Romani incitatos animos continuo flectere ad lenitatem monendo exhortandoque contenderunt, ne scilicet justitia violaretur moderatione posthabita, neu causa, quantumvis aequa, interjectis cupiditatibus, in seditionis flammam erumperet. Quae sane consilia eo spectabant ut Catholici Hiberni in rebus omnibus magistrum ac ducem Ecclesiam sequerentur, et ad ejus praecepta, esse affatim accommodantes pravarum doctrinarum incitamenta respuerent.

Itaque Gregorius XVI., Pontifex Maximus die 12 mensis Martii, anno 1839, et die 15 Octobris, anno 1844, per Sacrum Concilium Christiano nomini propagando Archiepiscopum Armacanum admonuit, nihil agere nisi moderate et juste. Nos autem exemplo Decessoris Nostri, superiore anno Kalendis Junii, ut probe nosti, cunctis Episcopis Hiberniae recta monita pro rerum opportunitate danda curavimus, nimirum Hibernos dicto audientes Episcopis esse oportere, nullaque in re a religione officii declinare. Ac paullo serius, mense Novembri, aliquot ex Hibernia Episcopis

qui Romam ad sepulcra Apostolorum adierant, testati quidem sumus, Nos Hibernorum caussa omnia cupere; verumtamen illud etiam adjunximus perturbare ordinem non licere.

Talis in sentiendo agendoque modus institutis praeceptisque Ecclesiae Catholicae maxime congruit; neque dubitamus, quin ipsis Hiberniae rationibus sit profuturus. Etenim aequitati confidimus virorum qui summam imperii tenent; in quibus certe magnus esse solet rerum usus cum civili prudentia conjunctus. Multo tutius ac facilius fieri poterit ut ea, quae vult, Hibernia consequatur, si modo via quam leges sinunt utatur, caussasque offensionis evitet.

Quapropter et Tu, Venerabilis Frater, et tui isthic in Episcopatu Collegae date operam ut gens Hibernorum in his tam trepidis rebus aequitatis justitiaeque fines ne transiliat. Plura profecto testimonia observantiae et amoris ex Hiberniae Episcopis, a clero, et populo accepimus; quod si nunc iidem hisce consiliis auctoritatisque nostrae, uti pro certo habemus, docili ingenio paruerint tunc demum sciant, se et officio suo et Nobis cumulate satisfecisse.

Nos denique ex animo Deum exoramus, ut Hiberniam volens propitius respiciat; atque interim caelestium munerum auspiciem Tibi, Venerabilis Frater, ceterisque Hiberniae Episcopis, necnon universo clero et populo Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die 3 Januarii, 1881. Pontificatus nostri anno tertio.

LEO PP. XIII.

Venerabili Fratri EDUARDO MACCABE,
Archiepiscopo Dublinensi, Primati Hiberniae,
Dublinum.

II.—REPLY TO THE LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS.

BEATISSIME PATER—Episcopi Hiberniae in Collegio Maynuttiano, illius negotia administrandi causa, congregati, officii ducunt, Beatitudinem Vestram per epistolam adire, ut sensus simul amoris et venerationis, quibus erga Sedem Apostolicam semper affecti sunt, exhibeant, et gratias Beatitudini Vestrae agant pro litteris paterna benevolentia refertis, quas iisdem per Archiepiscopum Dublinensem recenter dedisti.

Superfluum forte videatur iterare et Beatitudini Vestrae confirmare, Sancti Patritii filios consiliis omnibus et monitis, a Petri Successore profectis, alacri animo parere et obedire semper paratos esse. Summum namque studium in Romanam Sedem singularis est Hibernorum gloria, et clarissima annalium nostrorum pagina est illa, quae narrat firmitatem et constantiam invictam, qua praedecessores nostri, inter gravissimas persecutionum procellas, cum Petri Successore indissolubili nexu consociati permanserunt. Patris vero amorem filiorum pietatem adaequasse testis est cura illa

vigilans et vere paterna, qua Summi Pontifices, praeteritis saeculis, patriae nostrae indesinenter consuluerunt et prospexerunt. Novum testimonium paternae illius sollicitudinis, nec primum quod afflicta gens nostra a Beatitudine Vestra experta est, in litteris nuperrime receptis exploratum habemus.

Leges iniquae et perniciosae, quae jam per plura saecula Hiberniam nostram lacerabant, greges nostris curis conceditos ad summam inopiam et miseriam adduxerunt. Pulcherrimas nostras regiones, natura uberrimas maximeque fertiles, fames statis temporibus devastat; et saepe coacta est patria nostra, mendicae instar, manum ad stipem porrigere, et subsidia ab exteris Christiani orbis nationibus implorare. Incommoda haec saepius repetita Patri misericordiarum non sunt impie adscribenda: Ipse enim nobis dedit terram adeo fecundam, ut fertilitas eius iamdudum in proverbium transierit. Neque sunt tribuenda segnitiei et inertiae populi nostri: Hiberni enim in alienis terris exules clarissima exempla laboris indefessi et magnae industriae semper et ubique prae buerunt. Sed legibus iniquis sunt referenda, quae virorum fortium brachia domi enervant, eisque, sensu salutis et securitatis sublato, spem omnem et vires adimunt.

Impraesentiarum vero Hibernorum gens, e veterno, quo tenebatur, exurgens, legum crudelium quibus affligitur, abrogationem firmiter et fortiter efflagitat; et enixe Deum obsecramus, ut iustis conatibus propitius benedicat, eosque ad felicem exitum et optatum finem perducatur. Celari tamen non potest ex factis et dictis quibusdam, quae nos omnes deflemus, umbras quasdam in causam nostram, ceteroquin iustissimam, cecidisse. Attamen dum haec, uti par est, damnamus, eorumque auctores habemus tamquam infensos hostes patriae, oblivisci non possumus afflictionum et angustiarum, quae populum nostrum a saeculis ad desperationem iustitiae et aequitatis adduxerunt.

Cum itaque ex corde approbemus finem, quem praesens concitatio de legibus agrariis abrogandis sibi proponit assequendum, quaedam tamen in illius finis assequutione adhibita fuisse media, quae probari non possunt, intime sentimus. Qua propter mense Junio proxime elapso, nos omnes simul in comitiis congregati, monita et consilia de periculis caussam minitantibus, gregibus nostris dedimus, nostramque operam contulimus, ut intra aequitatis et moderationis tramites concitatio ipsa contineretur. Profecto nunc officio nostro non deerimus, neque omitemus hisce consiliis a Beatitudine Vestra datis parere:—"Quapropter et tu, Venerabilis Frater, et tui isthic in Episcopatu Collegae date operam, ut gens Hibernorum in his tam trepidis rebus aequitatis iustitiaeque fines ne transiliat."

Caeterum, Beatissime Pater, diffiteri non valemus in quibusdam, quae in Anglia evulgantur, ephemeridibus, plura circumferri, quae, calumniis et mendaciis unice innixa, in Clerum nostrum et patriam maxime iniuriosa sunt. Ut huiusmodi et fidei et nominis hostibus nullam aurem praebeas enixe Te, Beatissime Pater, deprecamur.

Interim, Beatissime Pater, ad pedum oscula provoluti, et Apostolicam Benedictionem petentes, omni obsequio et veneratione subscribimus.

Datum Maynutiae die 25 Januarii 1881.

Sanctitatis Vestrae humillimi et devotissimi servi,

✠ EDUARDUS MACCABE.

Archiepiscopus Dublinensis et Praeses Conventus, qui nomine omnium Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, qui in Conventu adsunt, et de eorum mandato subscribit.

III.—LETTER OF THE CARDINAL PREFECT OF PROPAGANDA TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF OREGON, ON THE CASE OF PERSONS DISPENSED FROM THE OBLIGATION OF FASTING.

We are indebted to the kindness of Mgr. Seghers, the Coadjutor Archbishop of Oregon (Canada), for the following interesting and important letter regarding the law of fasting. This letter, dated 22nd August 1876, was addressed by the late Prefect of Propaganda, Cardinal Franchi, to Mgr. Blanchet, the Venerable Archbishop of Oregon, in reply to a question proposed by his Grace for authoritative decision. The question thus proposed was whether persons who are merely *dispensed* from the obligation of fasting are at liberty—like those who are *exempt, ratione aetatis vel laboris*,¹ to eat *toties quoties* whatever is allowed by the Diocesan Regulations to the faithful generally at the principal meal. The answer is in the *negative*.

The following is the text of the letter :—

ILLME ET RME DOMINE,

In epistola quam ad me dedisti sub die 10 Julii nuper praeteriti dubium proponis circa jejunium quod sic se habet : “ Utrum Fideles qui sive ab Episcopo, Apostolica auctoritate, sive ob aliam rationem a lege jejunii *dispensantur*, sint eo ipso a lege abstinentiae ita dispensati, ut licite vesci possint carnibus pluries in die omnibus diebus quibus esus carniū conceditur jejunantibus ? ” Subdis autem quod non eadem sit hac de re Episcoporum sententia, cum nonnullis applicanda videatur dispensatis regula quae afficit fideles qui ratione aetatis vel laboris jejunare non tenentur, aliis vero non item.

Respondeo igitur absque ulla haesitatione quaesito a Te proposito, *Negative*. Alia est enim ratio *dispensatorum*, alia vero illorum qui legi jejunii non subjiciuntur. Primis enim indultum non suffragatur nisi pro unica comestione, quemadmodum docet

¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD (Third Series) Vol. 1, n. 1, (March 1870), pp. 36-12.

Benedictus XIV. in nota Encyclica diei 10 Junii 1745, super jejunio, aliis vero (scilicet a lege exemptis) licet uti cibis ab indulto concessis, quoties in die utuntur jure quo pollut manducandi.

Precor Deum ut te diu incolumem servet.

Romae ex aed. S. C. de P. Fide die 22 Augusti 1876.

Ampl. Tue, ad officia paratissimus,

A. CARD. FRANCHI, Præf.

B. P. D. FRANCISCO BLANCHET,

Archiepiscopo Oregonopolitano, Portland, Oregon.

[In publishing the foregoing, we beg to thank the venerable writer for the friendly interest he has manifested in the success of the current series of the RECORD.]

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Catechism: Doctrinal, Moral, Historical, and Liturgical. By the Rev. PATRICK POWER. Fourth Edition. Dublin: JAMES DUFFY & SONS.

WE have been anxious for a considerable time to direct the attention of such of our readers as have not read and re-read any previous edition of this work, to its solid and singular merits. But in this, and in many other instances, pressure on our space has compelled us hitherto to limit our notice to the bare mention of the name and author of books we have received for review.

Perhaps we could not give in the short space within which our remarks must be confined, a better idea of the value of Father Power's Comprehensive Catechism to missionary priests, as well as to the faithful in general, than by quoting the deliberate judgment of a priest who has used it with practical effect. "I have," he says, "a large collection of books, near a thousand volumes, and there is not a work in the entire I value more than the 'Catechism: Doctrinal and Moral;' nor do I know any work from which I have derived more ready and useful information."

This appears to us to be the highest testimony that could be borne to the merits of a book of this class, and to this testimony we unreservedly and most cordially subscribe.

Maria Monk's Daughter; an Autobiography. By Mrs. L. ST. JOHN ECKEL. Dublin: M. H. GILL & SON.

THIS book does not contain as much about the notorious author of the "Awful Discoveries" as the title would lead one to expect. However, it contains enough, considering that the history of Maria Monk could not be very edifying. It contains the confession of Maria Monk to her own daughter, that her book was a "lie."

With the exception of the few chapters in which is given an account of Maria Monk, the book is the personal history of Mrs. Eckel, one of Maria Monk's daughters. It is a wonderfully

interesting history, quite as interesting as the history of Becky Sharp in Thackeray's great novel, "Vanity Fair," to which, indeed, to our mind it bears a most striking resemblance. The only substantial difference that we can see between the two histories, is that Mrs. Eckel describes herself as free from that malicious desire of inflicting injury, which is so detestable in the character of Becky Sharp.

The author's intention in publishing her life to the world seems to have been good. She says: "I would have told more of my miseries, if it could have served any good purpose; and I would not tell less, because I would encourage those, who have suffered, and groped and wandered and sinned like me, to seek pardon and peace where I found them." But we fear very much that she has made a mistake. Here is the account which the Viscount de Le Aferrière, her most devoted admirer, gives of her: "Read Boileau and he will tell you that, if he should marry a covetous woman, she would not ruin him; a gambler, she might enrich him; a blue-stocking, she might instruct him; a prude, she would not disgrace him; a shrew, she would exercise his patience; a coquette, she might wish to please him; a woman of gallantry, she might go so far as to love him; *but a devotee!* what could he expect of a woman, who wishes to deceive God and who only deceives herself?"

"Said I: 'Under which category of women do you place me?'"

"He replied: 'You have the imperfections of the whole eight but what redeems you is, that you never try to conceal them.'"

We are sorry to be obliged to agree with Le Aferrière's description; and though we admire the earnest efforts and ultimate success of Mrs. Eckel in embracing a more honourable course of life, we do think that no good purpose can be served by publishing her career to the world. To us it seems that the follies and frivolities of the author's life are too mildly condemned in the book. We, therefore, regret that we must verify the author's prediction: "The critics of the book will find severest things to say of the personal history of the author and from her own showing. But they will not make me out as bad as I know myself to have been." We do not wish to condemn the author, but the book.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Lessons in Gaelic. No. 4. Second Gaelic Book. Part I.

Land Reform. A Letter to the Council of the Irish National Land League. By MATTHEW HARRIS.

Musings by the Barrow. By MICHAEL DOYLE.

Phædrus's Fables. Translated. By JOHN BURKE.

From WALTER SMITH (Late MOZLEY & SMITH).

Note-Book of an Elderly Lady. By ELIZABETH M. SEWELL.

From F. PUSTET—

Opusculum Spirituale NICOLAI LANCISII, S.J. Novam editionem curavit CAROLUS MOSER.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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THIRD SERIES.—VOL. II., No. 4.

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CANON BOURKE AND OUR PRIMITIVE IRISH MONASTIC RULES.

THE Life and Labours of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo Regius, with an account of the Canons Regular, and the Augustine Hermits," forms the title of a recent publication from the pen of Ulick J. Canon Bourke, P.P., M.R.I.A. The little volume is unpretentious, and purports to be merely a panegyric of the Saint, preached in the Augustinian Church of Ballyhaunis, and published at the request of many of the preacher's lay and clerical admirers. It suggests many thoughts flattering to the piety, the industry, and seeming familiarity of the author with his interesting and important subject; and so far we cordially offer to Canon Bourke the tribute of our admiration.

We trust, however, we may be permitted respectfully to direct attention to certain views, which the writer incidentally advances, regarding the Monasticism of our early Irish Church; and to examine dispassionately, to what extent those views may be consistent with historical truth. He tells us how St. Augustine, having founded an Order of religious men, whom he called "Hermits," and having founded a Community of women, whom he placed under the direction of his sister, turned his "episcopal palace into a powerful monastic centre, which soon made its influence felt

'Even in our island home, bathed by the Atlantic wave.'

The quotation is from page 26 of the work before us. He adds, "this was the third religious Order which he (St. Austin) founded, and it is known by the name of
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'*Canons Regular.*'" In page 29, we are informed that St. Patrick, our National Apostle, after his captivity in Ireland, spent eight years with the "*Hermits of St. Augustine:*" and the writer adds, on the authority of Ware, that all the monasteries founded in Ireland by St. Patrick "*were Canons Regular.*" But the writer assigns no reason for St. Patrick's implied preference for the rule of the Canons to that of the Hermits, with which, according to the statements advanced, he should have been more familiar.

Those opinions regarding the connection of the Canons Regular with Primitive Irish Monasticism, advanced in the foregoing passages, and in others that shall be cited, are, we are well aware, the opinions of Ware and Archdall. As they are here adopted by Canon Bourke, we shall assume they are seemingly well founded; but we are forced to add that they appear to us untenable.

The persecution of the Vandals is the cause to which he attributes the introduction of the Augustinian Order to France. The spiritual children of the holy Bishop of Hippo fled for protection from Africa to the opposite coasts of the Mediterranean. The rule of St. Augustine would have been thus introduced by the exiled monks into Lernis; and from Lernis into France, by St. Martin, the celebrated kinsman and teacher of our Apostle.

But though the persecution of the Vandals must have fallen heavily on St. Augustine's Congregations in Africa, it could hardly have been severely felt, if felt at all, at the period when St. Patrick was the pupil of the holy Bishop of Tours. As St. Augustine himself retained possession of his see till 430, it does not seem probable that many of his Congregations had been previously dispersed. The year 428 is the date usually assigned for the invasion of Africa by the Vandals; and they do not appear to have laid siege to the City of Hippo for two years after. Hence such Augustinian monks as found it necessary to flee from the barbarians to Europe, could not have arrived at Lernis or Tours until St. Patrick had completed his studies in those celebrated schools; certainly not till long after his saintly master, St. Martin, had been summoned to his reward. We therefore find it difficult to accept, on Canon Bourke's authority, that St. Patrick lived with the "*Hermits*" either at Tours, or at Lernis, for eight years.

We know, on the authority of Probus, that it was from St. Martin our Apostle received his "*learning and doctrine.*" But as the death of St. Martin is fixed by Tillemont and

the Bolandists, at the year 397, it is difficult to understand how he could have received a rule from exiles, who do not appear to have come to Europe till long after his death. In truth, the so-called rule of the Canons Regular does not appear to have been written for many years later. St. Martin, therefore, when establishing his famous monastery at Marmoutier, A.D. 360, could not have introduced there the rules of the Canons. In the following passage we fancy we can see that Canon Bourke regards with some doubt the theory he advances with so much apparent certainty:—

“His uncle, St. Martin of Tours. was the first to introduce the religious Orders into France, St. Augustine’s Hermits *very likely*.” (p. 29.)

And though St. Patrick, soon after the death of St. Martin, proceeded to Lerne to continue in that famous sanctuary his preparation for his future Mission, the monastic rules with which he became familiar there, could not have been, for reasons just assigned, the monastic rules of St. Augustine. They were rather the rules introduced there by St. Honoratus, the founder of religious life at Lerne, who, with Cassianus, was father and founder of Monasticism in Gaul. Indeed, Cassian’s Monastery of St. Victor became the successful rival of Lerne, in the fame of its sanctity, and in the number of its monks. But both there and at Lerne, the Monasticism of the East was carefully followed. It must be unnecessary to remind our readers, that Cassian was familiar with monastic life in the Thebaid, and through the East; that he was the friend of Chrysostom, and of Pope Leo the Great. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to see him introduce into the West, those observances to which the lives of the Eastern monks had given a holy sanction. And the adoption of the Eastern rules at Lerne, will appear all the more natural, when it is remembered that many of its monks, in the days of Cassian and Honoratus, were exiles driven by the *Goths* from their peaceful monasteries in *Italy*. Hence we confess ourselves at a loss to see, with Canon Bourke, how St. Patrick could have, at Marmoutier, or Lerne, acquired any knowledge of Augustinian monks, or of their rules.

No doubt, religious life has been ever the same in its essential features, no matter under what rule it may be practised. It is essentially based on the observance of the Gospel councils. Hence the observance of voluntary poverty, of chastity, and self-renunciation, has formed

an integral part of monastic observance from the beginning. We are therefore to attend only to matters of detail, when endeavouring to ascertain what gives distinctive features to any particular form of rule. And we think that in an examination of our early Irish Monastic rules, we could clearly trace the influence of the Thebaid, with which St. Patrick became familiar at Lernis. The author of the "Monks of the West," who certainly gave to this subject a large share of his enlightened attention, distinctly states, that our early Irish Saints, when drawing up rules for their monasteries, took "their authority from the *writings* or *examples* of the *Eastern Fathers*."

Assuming, on the authority of Canon Bourke, that the singing of the Divine Office together, formed an important part of the daily duties of the Austin Canons, we would naturally expect to find that our early Irish *Liturgy*, should resemble that of the Augustinians, if the rule of St. Augustine were the rule introduced by St. Patrick into Ireland. Indeed the Canon seems to imply so much, when in language, which we fear, rigid criticism shall pronounce more florid than lucid, he speaks of "the choral developments of melody and lofty poetic power, introduced at first by St. Ambrose, at Milan, copied and improved at Hippo, by SS. Augustine." Fortunately the learned researches of Dr. Moran have placed before the student of Early Irish Church History, amongst many others, a document of great authority and antiquity, which bears directly on this question. It is a tract on the "Various Liturgies," in which our early Irish Liturgy is referred to, under the title "Cursus Scotorum," and in which the Liturgy of SS. Augustine and Ambrose, is referred to as entirely different from the Irish Liturgy, both in character and origin. Some quotations from this ancient and important document shall, we hope, throw light upon our inquiry, and prove at the same time interesting to the reader.

"Blessed Jerome writes, that the Liturgy which is now called the Irish Liturgy, was that chanted by St. Mark, and used subsequently by St. Gregory Nasianzen, whom Jerome styles his master; also Blessed Basil, brother of the same St. Gregory, with Anthony, Paul, Macarius, and Malchus, used it according to the rule of the Fathers.

"Subsequently, too, the most Blessed Cassian, who had the Blessed Honoratus as his associate in the Monastery of Lernis, and after him the first Abbot who was Blessed Honoratus, and

St. Cassianus, who was Bishop of Arles, and the Blessed Eucherius, who was Abbot of the same monastery, continued to use this Liturgy; and they had as monks in their monastery the Blessed Lupus and Germanus. These, too, *under the guidance of their rule*, chanted there the same Liturgy: and subsequently in the Episcopal dignity, were regarded with the greatest respect through reverence for their sanctity.

"Afterwards they preached in Britain, and in Ireland, as is commemorated in the lives of St. Germanus, Bishop of Auxerre, and of Lupus. These were the spiritual masters of Blessed Patrick in sacred literature, and the same Bishops, by their commendations, had been appointed Archbishops of the Irish Britons and chanted there the *same Liturgy*."

No words could more clearly convey that the Liturgy introduced into France by Cassian and Honoratus, was of Eastern origin: and that this was the Liturgy in which St. Patrick was instructed by St. Germanus. It is also clear from the quotation just given, that St. Germanus regarded himself as bound by rule to the practice of this Liturgy. However, were additional proof necessary, the following quotation from the same ancient document would authoritatively decide that the Irish Liturgy of which we speak was entirely distinct from that of St. Augustine.

"There is also *another Liturgy* commemorated by St. Augustine, and which was composed by St. Ambrose on account of the conflicting order of the heretics."

Hence we can fairly conclude, that the Christian Irish of the fifth century, knew little or nothing of "the choral development of melody and lofty poetic power introduced at first by *St. Ambrose at Milan*, and copied and *improved at Hippo* by St. Augustine."

We can, we think, consistently assume that St. Patrick, while imparting to the founders of religious houses in Ireland a knowledge of the broad and essential features of monastic life, with which he was himself familiar, left them entirely free to regulate details, as in the East, *each for his own Community*. Had St. Patrick introduced a fixed rule into Ireland, we may conclude it would have been retained. The love and constancy with which the Irish adhered to the practices introduced among them by their national Apostle, is clearly illustrated by the action of a great portion of our national Church, during the painfully protracted controversy on the Paschal celebration. Hence any fixed rules which would have been given by St. Patrick for the guidance of religious Communities, would have been

universally and reverently adhered to by his spiritual children. Here then we may naturally inquire, do we find among the immediate successors of St. Patrick such uniformity of monastic discipline, as would prove the observance of a universally or commonly accepted rule? Or, may we not find on careful examination, that St. Patrick's immediate successors adopted different monastic rules?

Canon Bourke, answering our first inquiry in the affirmative, tells us that St. Patrick's immediate successors, *i.e.* the holy men who founded monasteries in the sixth century, did adopt the rule of the Austin Canons. He writes at page 29.

"All the monasteries founded by St. Brendan, St. Columba, St. Brendan of Birr, St. Kevin, St. Jarlath, St. Finnian, St. Kieran, (Ciaran) St. Maeartin, St. Colman, and others, were peopled by priests, who lived according to the rules laid down by the holy Doctor St. Augustine for his Canons."

A little patient inquiry will satisfy the reader that this comprehensive statement is absolutely untenable. The names quoted are those given by Usher in his Catalogue of the Second Order of Irish Saints, and are nearly identical with those published from Fleming's text, in the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD of 1871. In this ancient catalogue, however, we are distinctly informed that the saints of the Second Order *had different rules*. Nay, the very men who are quoted by Canon Bourke as followers of "the rules laid down by the holy Doctor for his Canons," not only practised different rules, but were *themselves the authors of different rules*, drawn up for the guidance of their respective monasteries. The same may be said of some saints of the Third Order, and even of some of later times.

Among the most remarkable of our saints, of whose monastic rules we fortunately possess some knowledge, are Saints Brendan, and Ailbe, and Ciaran, and Comghall, and Columba, and Molua, and Coman, of the Second Order; St. Columbanus, St. Carthagh, and St. Maelruain, of a later period, may also be referred to as authors of remarkable and well-known monastic rules. The labours of O'Curry and others have thrown much light on those very important subjects; and not alone have those scholars been able to ascertain the character of those rules, but in many cases they have been able to reproduce the *actual text*.

St. Brendan wrote a rule which he is said to have received from an angel. It was this rule that was adopted by the monasteries which he had founded: and such was

the esteem in which St. Brendan's rule was held, that its holy author was enumerated among the *eight great founders of monastic life in Ireland*.

The rule of St. Ailbe, of Emly, which has reached us, is fortunately one of the most complete, though one of the oldest of extant Irish monastic rules. A full translation of this most interesting and important document was first published in the *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD* of 1871. It is written in metrical form, and consists of sixty-nine strophes. "It tells us the principles which guided the monks in their practices of religious perfection; it sets before us the daily routine of the community life; it mentions the various superiors, the spiritual duties, the virtues to be practised, the faults to be shunned; it descends to the minutest details connected with the religious, and gives even the quantity and quality of the food to be used at their frugal repasts."

As St. Enda was the companion of Ailbe at Rome, on the occasion of his pilgrimage to the shrines of the Apostles, it may be assumed with some show of probability, that if he did not himself compose a rule, he adopted at Aranmore that which his friend had composed for the guidance of his monks at Emly.

St. Columba is represented by the Venerable Bede as the author of a monastic rule; though O'Curry and Montalambert speak of it as a rule for Hermits only. However that may be, it is a short piece "of about three pages quarto in prose." It may be interesting to quote in this place the opinion of the author of the "*Monks of the West*," regarding the rule of life actually followed by St. Columba and his disciples, in their island sanctuary in the Hebrides:—

"A conscientious examination," he assures us, "of the monastic peculiarities which can be discovered in his biography, reveals absolutely nothing, in respect to observances or obligations, different from the rules borrowed by all religious of the sixth century from the traditions of the Fathers of the desert."

St. Ciaran, the holy founder of Clonmacnoise, was also author of a celebrated rule. He is styled by Dr. M. Kelly "one of the eight founders of the monastic institute in Ireland." His rule is a poem of sixty-four lines, on clerical and devotional duties.

St. Comghall is the author of a rule consisting of one hundred and forty-four lines, addressed to monks and

devout Christians. Dr. Moran, in his "Essays on the Early Irish Church," quotes the following regarding this saint from one of our ancient records: "St. Comghall, of Bangor, sent Beoan to Rome, on a message to Pope Gregory, to receive from him order and rule." The object of Beoan's mission seems to have been to obtain the Pope's approval of the rule which Comghall had already written.

St. Molua also seems to have written a rule for his followers. The following passage occurs in his life:—

"The Abbot Dagan, going to Rome, brought with him the rule which St. Molua *had drawn up and delivered to his disciples*; and Pope Gregory having read the rule, said, in the presence of all, 'the saint who composed this rule has truly guided his disciples, even to the very threshold of heaven.' Wherefore St. Gregory sent his approbation and benediction to Molua."

I might, if space permitted, adduce additional evidence to show that the saints of that period followed different rules; and that the founders of religious houses usually determined for themselves the peculiar rules under which they were to live.

And this system, as Lanigan justly observes, continued in Ireland much longer than in any other country. What we have proved regarding the saints of the "Second Order," we could also prove regarding the saints of a much later period. Most students of the history of the Early Irish Church must know that the founder of the great Monastery of Lismore, was also the composer of a celebrated monastic rule. Though he studied in the Schools of St. Molua and St. Comghall, he considered himself at liberty to draw up a rule different from theirs, for the special use of his religious in his famous monastery. His rule is mentioned by Usher. It is fortunately preserved, and has been translated by O'Curry, who gives an interesting sketch of this remarkable and important composition:—

"It is a poem of 583 lines divided into sections, each addressed to a different object or person."

The descriptive details into which the writer enters, though extremely interesting, are too long to be quoted here. It is enough to know that after inculcating the observance of the Commandments, the several duties of Bishops, Abbots, Priests, especially as Confessors, are referred to. The duties of monks are pointed out. The rules regulating the prayers and feasts of the year, the recitation of the Office, and order of the refectory are also referred to in detail.

Somewhat more than a century later, we find St. Maelruain, founder of the celebrated Monastery of Tallaght, drawing up a rule for the Culdees of that monastery. It is described by O'Curry as a "minute series of rules for the regulation of their lives, their prayers, their preachings, their confessions, their communions, their ablutions, their fastings, their abstinences, their relaxations, their sleep, their celebrations of the Mass, and so forth."

I cannot close my observations on the monastic rules of our Early Irish Saints, without a reference, however brief, to the rule of the holy founder of the Monastery of Bobbio. "This rule, consisting of ten chapters, is at once shorter and more severe than that of St. Benedict, agrees with it notwithstanding in its essential particulars, as the Benedictine rule approaches in many points to the *rules of great solitaries of the East*." This rule was not for Bobbio alone; but, as Montalambert beautifully puts it, "for the use of the monastic nations which he had collected under his crosier." It may be superfluous to add that those Monastic Nations were numerous indeed, extending from the "Loire to the Danube, from the Vosges to the Alps." It seemed, indeed, for a period, as if the rigid rule of the heroic and austere Irish Missionary were destined to lead Christian Europe captive. It was only when Benedict, from his seclusion in the Appenines, promulgated a rule more in harmony with the needs of nature, that the rising tide of purely Celtic Monasticism began to recede.

Though the diversity of monastic rules in Ireland seemed to have become notably less towards the eighth century, the fidelity with which purely Irish rules were observed, continued unabated. Writing under date A.D. 780, the Four Masters tell us that the "Law of Ciaran was then promulgated among the Connaughtmen." Towards the close of the ninth century, the rules of SS. Cairan and Coman seem to have been universally adopted throughout Connaught. The rule of St. Ailbe had, at the same period, been universally adopted throughout Munster; while the Columban monasteries of the north seem to have jealously adhered to the rules of the great Patriarch of Iona. Indeed we know that the monastic practices consecrated by St. Columba at Iona, were generally observed by the Caenobites of Ulster and Scotland to the times of Adamnan.

Not satisfied with endeavouring to establish the indebtedness of the Irish Nation to St. Augustine for its Primitive Monastic Rules, Canon Bourke furthermore desires to

establish that its missionaries are also indebted to him for their "*ferrent Christian Faith*." What then, we ask, becomes of the authority of all the published lives of St. Patrick, from those of Evin and Jocelyn, to those of Father Morris and the Nun of Kenmare, according to which we owe our Christian Faith not to St. Augustine, but to St. Patrick? Possibly the Canon did not mean this. Lest we misrepresent him, we shall quote his words and invite to them the reader's particular attention :—

"It was from this holy Doctor (St. Augustine) that the Irish Christian Missionaries derived the spirit of holocaustic sacrifice of stability and fervent Christian faith."

None can be more convinced than we are of the rectitude of the writer's intentions. None can more sincerely rejoice to find, that his opinions on this important matter are in harmony with those to which centuries have lent their venerable sanction. But while we do not presume to interpret what the writer means by the phrase, "holocaustic sacrifice," we must be permitted to assert that the Irish Christian Missionaries derived neither their "fervour" nor their "faith" from St. Augustine.

Though the authority of Archdall and of Sir James Ware, may seem to lend a partial authority to such opinions as those referred to, it must be remembered that the circumstances of the period to which those writers belonged, rendered it particularly difficult for them to secure reliable information on such subjects. In any case, their authority can have no weight against the vast array of modern authority which may be cited against them; or against the unanswerable authority of the ancient rules themselves, still extant and for some time before the public rules for the most part written and practised by the very men who are represented by Canon Bourke as living "according to the rules laid down by the holy Doctor for his Canons."

Indeed, the learned Dr. Lanigan ridicules such opinions; and both he and our most eminent historians, seem to maintain that the Canons Regular of St. Austin were introduced to Ireland by St. Malachy. The decadence of Irish ecclesiastical discipline, and the injurious consequences to religion, resulting from the turbulence of the long period of Danish occupation, impressed the holy Primate with the urgent necessity of adopting all practical means for the purpose of restoring primitive fervour, as far as

possible. In the Irish monasteries which happily survived the sacrilegious incendiaries, discipline was sadly relaxed, and much of the penitential spirit of a brighter past seemed to have perished. But St. Malachy was careful to temper his ecclesiastical reforms, with a moderation which suited the spirit and exigencies of the period, and with a caution worthy of his zeal. Despairing of introducing the rigid discipline of our early Irish Monasteries, he undertook to establish a new Order which would resemble them in many respects; and indeed the similarity between the rules which regulated our early Irish Monastic Institutions, and those practised by the Canons Regular, served to remove much of the hostility with which the incipient reform was likely to be regarded. The Canons, though living in Community, and faithfully practising the duties of Community life, also zealously discharged the laborious duties of the Mission. They appropriated, as far as circumstances permitted them, the rule which St. Augustine wrote for the direction of his sister, and of the nuns under her care. Writing of this rule, Montalambert tells us that it was divided into twenty-four articles, and originally destined for simple African Nuns; it was resuscitated under Charlemagne, and became the fundamental code of an immense branch of the Monastic Order. It has served as the basis of a multitude of Congregations, and *principally of "the Canons Regular,"* who have borne up to our day the name of St. Augustine. Writing of St. Dominick and his age, the eloquent Lacordaire tells us "that for about a century and a half prior to the period we are speaking of (the age of St. Dominick), the priests who subjected themselves to the new rule of life have the names of 'Canons Regular.'" Dr. Lanigan says expressly, that the Canons Regular were unknown in the Church (!) till the eleventh century. Dr. Wilde clearly refers their introduction to Ireland, to exactly the age in which St. Malachy was engaged in carrying out these reforms. In his beautiful work on the Corrib, he writes:—

"Among the splendid ecclesiastical ruins of Cong, *the twelfth century advocates* may revel, and defy us to prove an *earlier date than that of the introduction of Augustinian Order* into Ireland."

And with those high authorities the opinion of Dr. Carew, formerly Professor of Ecclesiastical History in Maynooth, coincides. Nay, he entirely supports the opinion which we have ventured to advance, and clearly attributes the

introduction of the Canons to St. Malachy. His words are so apposite that I may be permitted to quote him here :

"The great similarity between the monastic institute which, from the conversion of the Irish people, prevailed among them, and that which is called the Order of the Canons Regular of St Austin, made it advisable for St. Malachy to introduce into Ireland the members of the latter, rather than of any other religious institute. The code of laws which the institute of St. Austin sanctioned, while it excluded every indulgence that interfered with the Sacred Ministry, did not prescribe the austere exercises which were enjoined by the rules of other religious Orders. The moderation of the rule observed by the Regular Canons of St. Augustine seemed to adapt that institute to the existing circumstances of the Irish Church."

It seems to us, therefore, that Canon Bourke may be unjust to Irish Catholics, when he says (p. 30) they "do not appear sufficiently grateful to the sons of St. Augustine, simply because they do not bear in mind all they owe to those illustrious teachers."

We believe our fellow-countrymen shall always retain a grateful recollection of the great services of the Augustinians in Ireland ; but we trust that this gratitude shall be consistent with justice to our National Saints, and a due appreciation of their wonderful labours. And we also sincerely hope, that an honest endeavour to prevent historical misrepresentation, may not be regarded as a proof of this alleged ingratitude. We do not desire to rob our saints of what was theirs, in order to attribute even to St. Augustine that to which St. Augustine seems to have no claim.

J. A. F.

THE PRINCIPLES OF '89.—II.

IN the last number of the RECORD, we placed before our readers, in the original, the text of the famous "Declaration of the Rights of Man," which is regarded as the embodiment of those doctrines popularly known as "the Immortal Principles of '89." In the present paper we shall confine ourselves to some general remarks upon that Declaration as a whole, as well as to a more detailed examination of the views put forward in the Preamble.

As the reader may perceive at a glance, the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" consists of a preamble and seventeen

articles, which are nothing more than a series of vague and indefinite propositions, dealing with questions of natural law, and the prerogatives and limits of the Civil Power. Their vagueness is one of their most striking characteristics, and it is impossible to believe that it was not premeditated. For, while truth is ever fearless and courts the most searching investigation, it is a favourite device of error to wrap itself in the mantle of obscurity, that, thereby, it may the more easily escape detection, and impose upon the unwary. The one thing which it detests above all others is definition. It shrinks with instinctive horror from statements that are precise. It lives upon equivocation; and were it to define itself, it would in that instant commit an act of self-destruction.

In dealing, then, with this remarkable document, either of two courses is open to us. Firstly, we may consider it as a whole and in the precise meaning of its terms, keeping in view at the same time the spirit in which it was drawn up, and the sense in which it is accepted by its panegyrists: or, secondly, we may affix to the several propositions, regarding them as mere abstract theses, a meaning of which indeed, absolutely speaking, they are susceptible, but which, nevertheless, would be quite foreign to the spirit, the context, and the entire history of the Declaration.

Taken as a whole, and interpreted by the ordinary canons of criticism, the Declaration of '89 must be reprobated: not by any means because each and every doctrine set forth in it is false—for such is not the case—but because most of them are so, and these give a complexion to the entire document. Moreover, the spirit which breathes through it is the evil spirit of Rationalism, which would ostracise Religion from any interference in the civil affairs of men; while, if we view it with the light of history, we must regard it as a signal triumph of the Encyclopedists and their school. To dethrone Faith and to seat pure Reason in her chair, had for long years been the darling object of the Philosophers, and the "Declaration of the Rights of Man" was the crown of their patience and their toil. Hence the words "Liberty," "Fraternity," "Equality," which, in the mouth of a Christian, are expressive of the most lovely and the holiest characteristics of the Religion of Jesus, lose all their holiness and innocence when they drop from the lips of those revolutionary atheists, and become the watchwords of anarchy and blasphemy. For this reason, though the Declaration of '89 has never been

condemned by the Church formally and in terms, the principles contained in it, as understood by its authors, and promulgated by modern revolutionists and philosophers of the "Free-thought" school, have repeatedly called forth the emphatic censures of the Sovereign Pontiffs. We shall not crowd our pages with quotations; but we may refer the reader, for declarations of the Holy See on this subject, to the Brief addressed by Pius VI. to Cardinal de la Rochefoucauld and the French Bishops, March 10th, 1791; to the Allocution of the same Pontiff in the Consistory of June 17th, 1793;¹ to the Encyclical of Pope Gregory XVI. "Mirari vos," under date 15th August, 1832; to the Allocution of Pope Pius the IX. in the Consistory of March 18th, 1861; and, above all, to the *Syllabus* of modern errors condemned by the same illustrious Pontiff.

But, abstracting altogether from the general tone and spirit of the Declaration, as well as from the character and well-known views of its authors, it may be asked whether it be possible to interpret its words so that they may fall within the lines of Catholic Truth? We must reply that, owing to the vague and abstract nature of the several propositions, this is absolutely possible; and that, moreover, it may be, for practical reasons, permissible, is evident from the fact that the Holy See has never censured the Catholics of France and Belgium, who swear allegiance to the Constitutions of these states, in which the Declaration of '89 is formally accepted.² Nay more, the Holy See has sanctioned the publication of works composed with the express purpose of endeavouring to reconcile the several propositions of the Declaration with the teaching of the Catholic Church.³ However, it is evident that those who attempt this

¹ Both these documents will be found in the collection published by the late learned and indefatigable Archivist of the Vatican Library, Father Theiner, entitled "Documents inédits relatifs aux affaires religieuses de la France, 1790 à 1800." Paris (Didot) 1857.

² The first Article of the French Constitution at present (and since 1852) is as follows:—"La Constitution reconnaît, confirme et garantit les grands principes proclamés en 1789, et qui sont la base du droit public des Français."

³ An able and ingenious work of this kind is that entitled "Les Principes de '89 et la Doctrine Catholique," by the Abbé Goddard, Professor of Ecclesiastical History in the Grand Séminaire at Langres. The aim of the learned author is to show that, in obedience to the civil law, French Catholics might accept the Principles of '89; interpreting them, however, as mere abstract propositions, in a sense not only allowed by the Church, but in strict harmony with the constant teaching of leading Catholic theologians. The first edition of this work was

difficult, but, under the circumstances, laudable task, are compelled to consider the several propositions apart from their context, distorting them from their natural sense, and attaching to them a meaning possible, it is true, but strained to the last degree.

Whilst we are very far, indeed, from condemning those who, being forced by circumstances to accept the Declaration of '89, do so on the avowed understanding that they interpret its meaning in a sense conformable to Catholic truth and to the dictates of conscience, we cannot, ourselves, pursue that course in the present series of papers. To do so would be to miss the object which we have in writing them. For the advocates of the Principles of '89, against whom we write, do not profess the slightest anxiety to interpret them in an orthodox sense. On the contrary, they utterly repudiate any such interpretation, and adopt them in their literal, *popular* meaning, as understood generally by the men who formulated them, and as expounded by the leaders of modern revolutionary movements. In this sense, as has been already observed, they have been repeatedly condemned by the Supreme Pastors of the Church, and it is in this sense, exclusively, that we propose to discuss them in future papers on this subject.

Having thus indicated the system which we mean to pursue in treating of the Principles of '89, we shall now proceed to examine the preamble, which contains the pith, and fairly represents the spirit of the entire Declaration. It is as follows:—

“The representatives of the French people, who constitute the National Assembly, taking into consideration that the ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of man, are the sole causes of public calamities, and of the corruption of governments, have resolved to set forth in a solemn declaration, the natural, inalienable and sacred rights of man, in order that this declaration, held up perpetually before all the members of the social body, may ever recall to them their rights and duties; so that by rendering it possible at any moment to compare the acts of the legislative and

censured at Rome, but the author was permitted to revise and correct it. The revised edition received the “*imprimatur*” of the Roman censors, and their Dean, writing to the Bishop of Langres, testified that the work, as amended, contained nothing contrary to Catholic dogma. It is needless, however, to remark that the Principles of '89, as interpreted by the Abbé Goddard, differ *toto calo* from the same principles as propounded by modern revolutionists and political writers of the so-called liberal school. We shall have occasion to refer to the Abbé's work again.

of the executive powers with the end of all political institutions, they may, thereby, be more respected; and that, likewise, the demands of the citizens, being based upon simple and indisputable principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Constitution and the happiness of all; wherefore the National Assembly, in the presence and under the auspices of the Supreme Being, recognizes and proclaims the following rights of man and of the citizen."¹

1. The first observation which presents itself to us on reading this preamble is, that the end which the Declaration proposes to itself to accomplish, would render the task of civil government altogether impossible. For what do the authors of the Declaration profess to effect? To furnish men with a text-book, setting forth their "inalienable and sacred rights;" so that rulers shall have perpetually set up before them a warning document, telling them that their powers extend thus far and no farther; while every citizen, with his text-book of natural law in hand, may be always in a position to criticise the acts of the legislative and executive powers, and forthwith challenge them, if, in the exercise of his unbounded wisdom, he should judge them to be an infringement of what he is pleased to call his "natural rights." Was theory so monstrous ever broached before by any body of sane men?—a theory which, reduced to practice, must inevitably lead to anarchy.

For, what do the authors of the Declaration and their modern Socialist disciples mean, when they talk of the Rights of Man? Do they mean the rights of humanity—of abstract man? If so, we must inform them that man, thus stripped of all *actualizing* conditions, is a mere intellectual conception, which has no existence outside the brain of the metaphysician. Political philosophy does not, and cannot, busy itself with man considered merely as a *species*; it deals with the *individual* man—the actual man of flesh and blood, born into and living in society—in a word, *social man*; and the only "natural rights" of man that it can recognize, are those which belong to him as a member of the social body.² Now, in the actual world of fact, rights may

¹ For the original, see IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, March, 1881, p. 140.

² To the disregard of this most important distinction, we must attribute many of the false Principles of '89. Take, for instance, the doctrine that all men are *equal*. There is no doubt that if we consider man *specifically*, all men are equal; for the essential attributes of humanity are precisely the same in the king and in the beggar. But if we consider men *individually*, this equality of man with man no longer exists. So far from it, that we find *nature herself* establishing marked inequalities among men, in size, health, physical strength, mental endowments, passions, &c. While it is true, then, that men are equal *specifically*, it is likewise true that they are, *by nature*, unequal in *individuo*.

collide. 'I have a perfect right as a member of society to secure my own good, according to the dictates of reason; but if, in doing so, my right comes into collision with the rights of others, *order*, which is the basis of all right, requires that the weaker right should yield; because it is impossible that two opposing rights could both exist *actively* at the same time. This by no means implies that the weaker right perishes or is annulled; it is merely *suspended*, by force of circumstances, in favour of the stronger right.

Let us apply this principle to the every-day working of society. The Roman historian expressed with remarkable terseness a truth as old as the world, when he wrote, "*Vitia erunt donec homines.*"¹ Man, such as he actually exists all the world over, and will exist to the end of time, is subject to passions, which, if uncontrolled, tend not only to his own destruction, but also to the injury of society and the infringement of the rights of others. Therefore, as it is the duty of government to provide not only for the good of each individual, but in a still greater degree for the good of the multitude, the governing powers must of necessity pass laws, from time to time, which will curtail, and sometimes altogether suspend, what are called the natural rights not only of individuals, but of the entire community. This takes place daily in every well-ordered state, and all persons possessed of right reason acknowledge the justice of such proceeding. Let us illustrate the matter by a few familiar examples. Nature has given to man the right of self-defence; yet, for the common good, society insists that this right be not exercised by any individual, except in cases of extreme necessity; for, were it otherwise, and were each man to constitute himself the avenger of his own quarrel, anarchy must be the inevitable result. Again, each one has a natural right to dispose of his property at death, in whatsoever manner it shall please him; yet, society interferes with a *stronger* right for the protection of its own interests, and will not recognize the validity of any testamentary disposition which does not comply with certain conditions imposed by law. As a last example: Each man has a natural right to take to wife any woman with whom a union is not forbidden by the law of nature; yet, here again, both the Church and the State step in, and, on various

¹Tacitus, "*Historiæ*," Lib. iv. cap. lxxiv.

public grounds, prohibit several conjugal unions, which otherwise would be perfectly lawful.

We conclude then that man, by the very fact that he is a *social being*, ceases to have any *absolute* natural rights independent of society. Whatever rights he does possess are *relative*, not absolute; and the very *existence* of society demands that he should surrender the exercise of these whenever the common good requires it. But when, and how, and to what extent, this surrender is to be made *cannot possibly be regulated by any abstract principle* or rigorous rule; for jurisprudence is a practical science, and the legislator must always be influenced by circumstances.

This point has been put so admirably by the illustrious Edmond Burke, that I cannot do better than transfer his words to these pages: "Government" he writes, "is not made in virtue of natural rights, which may and do exist in total independence of it; and exist in much greater clearness, and in a much greater degree of abstract perfection: but their abstract perfection is their practical defect. By having a right to everything they want everything. Government is a contrivance of human wisdom to provide for human *wants*. Men have a right that those wants should be provided for by this wisdom. Among these wants is to be reckoned the want, out of civil society, of a sufficient restraint upon their passions. Society requires not only that the passions of individuals should be subjected, but that even in the mass and body as well as in the individuals, the inclinations of men should frequently be thwarted, their will controlled, and their passions brought into subjection. This can only be done *by a power out of themselves*; and not, in the exercise of its function, subject to that will and to those passions which it is its office to bridle and subdue. In this sense the restraints on men, as well as their liberties, are to be reckoned among their rights. But as the liberties and the restrictions vary with times and circumstances, and admit of infinite modifications, they cannot be settled upon any abstract rule; and nothing is so foolish as to discuss them upon that principle."¹

2. Our next observation on the Declaration of '89 has reference to a leading idea which runs through the entire document, and finds formal expression in the preamble,

¹ Reflections on the Revolution in France, p. 70, Ed. Payne (Clarendon Press Series).

viz., that the obedience of a citizen to the law ought to be based upon the reasonableness of that law; and that the citizen himself (text-book in hand, as usual), is to determine whether the law be justifiable or not, and framed so as to claim or forfeit his obedience.

Were this principle once admitted, no government could continue to exist for four-and-twenty hours; and anarchy, would become the normal condition of society. It is true indeed, that laws ought to be founded upon reason, and he is the wisest legislator whose decrees commend themselves most readily to the intelligence of his subjects; but it is equally true, on the other hand, that obedience on the part of the subject ought to proceed from *duty*, and not merely from a conviction, more or less strong, that what is commanded is reasonable. Were it otherwise, society must perish. For, let me ask, how many persons in any community are possessed of the intelligence, the education, the knowledge of mankind, the comprehensive experience in mixed affairs, and the many other endowments of a statesman, which would qualify them to pronounce upon the necessity, the utility, or the justice of a law? Is every tinker or cobbler, who in the village pothouse prates platitudes about "the rights of man," competent to define these rights, and to decide "*ex-cathedra*" the delicate question where the rights of rulers cease, and tyranny begins? Let us for a moment apply this principle to more limited spheres of government, and see how it would work. What opinion should we form of the condition of a family, the head of which could not secure obedience to the regulations made for its government without obtaining the assent of his wife, and children, and domestics? What would be the fate of an army on the eve of battle, if every private might criticize the motives of the general's orders, and require a justification of them? How would it fare with a vessel in mid-ocean, if the captain could not enforce obedience to his commands, unless he were fortunate enough to convince every blockhead sailor among his crew of their expediency? The answers to these questions are self-evident, and force us to conclude *a pari* (or rather *a fortiori*, since there is question of procuring the assent of much larger numbers), that, while it is advisable that the legislator of a state should, as far as possible, endeavour to *persuade* his subjects of the wisdom of his laws, it would be a fatal mistake to make this wisdom the groundwork and motive of their loyalty and obedience. It would be, as the learned

Father Taparelli well remarks,¹ to seem to *beg* the assent of the people because of the reasons proposed to them, and thus undermine the principle of *authority*, which ought to enforce itself in its own name, instead of seeking a very uncertain obedience from the feeble and passion-clouded reason of a mob.

3. The authors of the Declaration, furthermore, state in the preamble that "the ignorance, forgetfulness or contempt of the rights of man are the sole causes of public calamities and of the corruption of governments."

This proposition, which furnishes a constant theme for the rantings of modern revolutionists, is monstrously false. As regards the two first causes assigned, it is *not* a fact that ignorance and forgetfulness of the rights of man have ever been the sole, or even the chief causes of the tyrannical invasion of these rights. The rights of individuals, and of communities, are daily and hourly assailed by those who are fully aware of their existence. Our own experience proves this. The history of the world, likewise, furnishes innumerable examples of the fact, but not a single one, perhaps, more convincing than that which is supplied by the French Revolution itself. Surely, if ever there existed men whom we must suppose fully enlightened on all that appertains to the rights of man, these ought to have been the leading characters in the great drama of the French Revolution—the men who had learned their philosophy from the lips of Jean Jacques Rousseau and the Encyclopedists; the men who took an active part in formulating this very Declaration which we are now examining. Yet, when power was placed in the hands of those men, how did they respect the rights of their fellow-men? Hear it, not from a Catholic priest, but from a Protestant, one of England's most celebrated historians:—

"Then came those days when the most barbarous of all codes was administered by the most barbarous of all tribunals; when no man could greet his neighbours, or say his prayers, or dress his

¹ "Sarà dunqueo grand'arte del governante il persuadere ai sudditi la saviezza dei suoi ordinamenti: ma conviene evitare uno scoglio in cui potrebbe urtar di leggeri, se nel dimostrarne ai sudditi l'aggiustatezza egli paresse in certa guisa mendicarne il consenso com' elemento della loro obbligazione. Egli è chiaro che scemerebbe in tal caso la forza dell' *autorità* che a tutti si raccomanda da sè, per ottenere dal *discorso* un sussidio *incerto, incertissimo*; giacchè le leggi ancor più giuste si appoggiano talor sopra motivi al volgo quasi inaccessibili or per grossezza d'ingegno or per malignità di umori." Taparelli. *Saggio Theoretico di Dritto Naturale*. Dissertazione iv. cap. iv. n. 924.

hair, without danger of committing a capital crime ; when spies lurked in every corner, when the guillotine was long and hard at work every morning, when the jails were filled as close as the hold of a slave ship, when the gutters ran foaming with blood into the Seine, when it was death to be great-niece of a captain of the royal guards, or half-brother of a doctor of the Sorbonne, to express a doubt whether assignats would not fall, to hint that the English had been victorious in the action of the first of June, to have a copy of one of Burke's pamphlets locked up in a desk, to laugh at a Jacobin for taking the name of Cassius or Timoleon, or to call the Fifth Sansculottide by its old superstitious name of St. Matthew's day. While the daily wagon-loads of victims were carried to their doom through the streets of Paris, the Proconsuls whom the sovereign Committee had sent forth to the departments, revelled in an extravagance of cruelty unknown even in the capital. The knife of the deadly machine rose and fell too slow for the work of slaughter. Long rows of captives were mowed down with grape-shot. Holes were made in the bottom of crowded barges. Lyons was turned into a desert. At Arras even the cruel mercy of a speedy death was denied to the prisoners. All down the Loire, from Saumur to the sea, great flocks of crows and kites feasted on naked corpses, twined together in hideous embraces. No mercy was shown to sex or age. The number of young lads and of girls of seventeen who were murdered by that execrable government is to be reckoned by hundreds. Babies torn from the breast were tossed from pike to pike along the Jacobin ranks. One champion of liberty had his pockets well stuffed with ears. Another swaggered about with the finger of a little child in his hat. A few months had sufficed to degrade France below the level of New Zealand."¹

Let any one read this harrowing description, from the pen of Macaulay, of what took place under an Oligarchy who prided themselves on a special knowledge of, and reverence for, the rights of man, and then assert, if he dare, that public calamities and the corruption of governments have their sole cause in ignorance or forgetfulness of these rights. Nor can it be said with truth that such crimes as have just been mentioned spring from *contempt* of the rights of man. Contempt for these rights does undoubtedly coëxist with the violation of them ; but it by no means follows that it is, therefore, the efficient cause of that violation. In truth, if we would discover the real cause of the violation of human rights, we must seek it outside the philosophy of the Encyclopedists, and we shall find it in human passions uncontrolled by the influence of religion

¹ Macaulay, Essay on Barère. Miscellaneous Writings and Speeches, pp. 310-11.

and the practical dictates of conscience. It is to the absence of this practical sense of responsibility to an Unseen Power that we must trace all the social crimes that have been perpetrated whether by single despots, or by bands of despots, by whatsoever name they may choose to style themselves. The irreligious man knows no duties and recognizes no rights. His one great object in life is to gratify his own desires, at whatsoever cost to others. He would look on calmly at the destruction of the entire world, if he himself could only remain unharmed, and he ever blindly follows the guidance of his own passions—fatal source of all disorders. This was the cause which produced the despotism of the Oligarchy who swayed the destinies of France in the Reign of terror; which subsequently produced the despotism of Napoleon and the First Empire; which, in our own day, produced the shortlived despotism of such demons as Rochefort, Clemenceau, and the *citoyenne* Louise Michel, with her *petroleuses*, during the Communist rising of 1871, and which will most certainly reproduce similar results again, should power chance to fall into like hands. Wisely did our great countryman, Burke, write ninety years ago: "All persons possessing any portion of power ought to be strongly and awfully impressed with an idea that they act in trust, and that they are to account for their conduct in that trust to the one great Master, Author and Founder of society."¹ This truth cannot be too strongly insisted upon now-a-days when men of no religion, or rather scoffers at all religion, by sheer force of impudence and bluster, push themselves to the front in every political movement, and seek to grasp the control of power. I, for one, would be sorry to entrust my rights to the guardianship of men who had emancipated themselves from all religious control, and I should be slow to place confidence in any movement, however righteous in itself, whose leaders would not hesitate to seek the aid of atheists and communists.

4. We have reserved for the close of this paper what is, after all, the most striking feature in the Declaration of '89—we mean its utter exclusion of religion from any part in the direction of society. Surely it was the place of the men who formulated the Declaration, to have recognized the dependence of society upon God; for it professes to be a Declaration of the *Rights* of Man. Now what do we mean

¹ "Reflections on the Revolution in France," p. 109. Ed. Payne (Clarendon Press Series).

by *rights*? As applied to persons, *right—jus*—is “the moral power or faculty to have and to keep what is one’s own because one’s own. Therefore it follows that *absolute* “right” exists in God alone; and that all the rights which man possesses are *dependent* rights, free gifts from God. Now, a dependent “right” necessarily supposes and founds some *duty* from the receiver to the giver of that gift. Yet the philosophers who drew up the Declaration of the Rights of Man absolutely ignore the Author of all right, nay openly proclaim (Art. 10) that men are free to deny his very existence should it so please them.

It may be objected that the authors of the Declaration expressly state, in the preamble, that they act “in the presence, and under the auspices, of the Supreme Being.” To this we might reply, in the first place, that we cannot admit as philosophically correct a definition which simply places God *as first in the category of beings*. God is *Essential* Being; and though the term “Supreme Being” might be allowable in the mouth of a Christian, who understands it in an orthodox sense, it is no guarantee against atheism, when employed by men like those who drew up the Declaration of '89. As a matter of fact, several *avowed* *atheists*, who belong to the Masonic Society, profess in words a reverence for “the Supreme Being,” or, as we believe He is called in the language of the craft, “the Grand Architect.” But even supposing, for the sake of argument, that the term “Supreme Being” conveyed to the minds of the authors of the Declaration, all that the term *God* conveys to a Christian, what part do they assign to Him in the government of society? Merely that of a complacent looker on. (We shudder even to write the words). They recognise no duties towards Him; they do not acknowledge Him as the source of their authority; they do not invoke His assistance on their labours; they do not claim His sanction for their laws. They proceed to the execution of their appointed task on the lines of pure rationalism; acting on the theory, which has since become so popular with their modern disciples—that purely human wisdom, aided by the civil force, is sufficient to create, to organise, and to preserve civil society, quite independently of any moral and religious influences whatever.

Now, we shall not at present enter upon any lengthened refutation of this theory, as it will be more fully discussed in a future paper: but we may briefly state that it is out of harmony with the ultimate end of all society; that it directly

leads to anarchy; and, lastly, that it is at variance with the universal sentiment of mankind. To develop the first of these three points would require more space than is at our disposal, and, moreover, we shall have an opportunity of treating it on another occasion. We shall therefore content ourselves with a passing glance at the other two.

How, we ask, will it fare with society if religion be ignored? To whom will the legislator look for the sanction of his laws? If they be based on purely human authority they can have no binding force on the *conscience* of man; therefore they will be obeyed solely through motives of fear, or of interest; and if motives of interest should suggest resistance to the law, or if the pressure of external force be removed, a revolution and social anarchy become at any moment possible.

Again, society becomes impossible where there is no mutual *trust* among citizens. Where this feeling of trust does not exist, *security* is wanting, and thus the immediate end of all society is missed. Now, no one can enjoy this feeling of trust, and of consequent security, in a society of atheists. For self-love is ever powerful in the human breast; men have a natural tendency to seek their own interests and pleasures; and if this passion of self-love be uncontrolled by religious motives, how can anyone be secure that his neighbour may not at the first opportunity trample upon his rights? What practical benefit is it to one that the 17th article of the Constitution of '89 guarantees him a "right" in his property, if, the moment that the policeman's back is turned, his more powerful, or more crafty, neighbour takes that property to himself. Persons may say that the arm of the law is strong to punish. We grant it, as far as isolated cases are concerned; but the law is powerless to punish an entire nation of men uncontrolled by fear of punishment in another life.¹ Without the controlling aid of

¹ Recent deplorable events fully bear out this statement. While these sheets were passing through the Press, the world was shocked by the appalling intelligence of the assassination of the Czar. On Sunday, 13th March, the master of over a million of splendid soldiers was literally blown into fragments in the heart of his own capital, while surrounded by his troops. The Nihilists have been striving for years to achieve this, and they have at length succeeded. This detestable sect has honeycombed the Russian Empire, and though the military dictator, General Melikoff, has had *all the power of all the Russias* placed at his disposal, the Nihilists defy him and baffle all his efforts to crush them. Evidently, something more than brute force is required to preserve order among men.

religion, then, we cannot expect moderation in the ruler, nor loyalty in the subject, nor purity in the family, nor integrity in the public tribunals, nor good faith in the making and keeping of contracts. Remove from society the idea of future rewards and punishments, and you open the path to every crime, you destroy that security which is the very essence of the social system, and you bring back again that iron age so graphically described by the Roman poet:—

“Non hospes ab hospite tutus.
Non socer a genero, rara est concordia fratrum;
Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti;
Lurida terribiles miscent aconita novercae;
Filius ante diem patrios inquiri in annos:
Victa jacet pietas.”¹

This truth has been acknowledged in all times past; and, until the legislators of 1789 made their appearance before the world, we read of no nation attempting to legislate for society without placing its laws under the protection of heaven. “Omnibus,” says Seneca, “de diis opinio insita est, nec ulla gens usquam est adeo extra leges, moresque projecta, ut non aliquos Deos credat” (Epist. 117). Nor is this astonishing; for, as the greatest of the Roman philosophers remarks, “Religion is the basis of all society.”² His countrymen were well assured of this fact; since, as Valerius Maximus informs us, they regarded everything else as secondary to religion.³ And so, when those stern old republicans went forth to battle for the liberties of their loved country, the watchword that rang from line to line of their serried ranks, was “*Pro aris et focis*”—God first, and next their Native Land.

But we shall not waste time in proving the consensus of all countries and ages on this point—a fact so well established that no candid person can venture to call it into question. Let us rather direct attention to the force of the argument which is derived from it. When we find men of different ages and nations, uninfluenced by any interested motives, unanimous in proclaiming religion to be the basis of society, what are we to conclude? That it is a primary

¹ Ovid, *Metamorph.* Lib. 1. l. 144-49.

² “Atque haud scio an pietate adversus deos sublata, fides etiam et societas humani generis, et una excellentissima virtus justitia tollatur.”—Cicero, *De Natura Deorum*, Lib. i. cap. ii.

³ “Omnia namque post Religionem ponenda semper nostra civitas duxit, etiam in quibus summae majestatis conspici decus voluit.”—Valerius Max. Lib. i. cap. i. *De Religione*, n. 9.

and fundamental truth—the judgment of Nature herself; for, as Cicero well says: “*omni in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est.*”¹ We doubt not but that, with the modesty which so eminently characterizes them, the modern lights of “Free-thought” would tell us that on this point, as on many others, the world had been mistaken for several thousand years, and that it was reserved for recent times to discover that society can get on very well without God. We hardly think, however, that this view will find acceptance with men endowed with ordinary reasoning powers; and until the Philosophers bring forward some more convincing argument, we may content ourselves with replying in the words of St. Augustine: “*Consultius est, si errandum est, ut cum ipso genere humano errare videamur.*”²

Here we close this paper; and we fancy that the reader has already perceived that all the false principles contained in the Declaration of '89 have their source in an utterly erroneous idea of the origin and nature of society. Before we proceed further, then, in the examination of these principles, we must establish the true doctrine on this all-important question, and to this task we hope to address ourselves in the next number of the RECORD.

W. H.

GERALD BARRY AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—III.

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE INNOCENT III.: THE PREPARATORY INTERVIEW.

WHAT we have already considered is far from being the only important matter of which Mr. Brewer treats in his preface to his first volume. He there undertakes to deal, at his own discretion, with the character of a mediæval pope, who is no less a person than the great Innocent III. himself. He tells us that—

“The transcendent genius of Innocent III. is conspicuous, not only in the changes which he wrought in the whole system of European politics, but still more in his successful mastery of all opposition from contemporary sovereigns. If Alexander desired to find kings as competitors in the race, Innocent was surrounded by monarchs as able as himself, accustomed not to render, but to receive homage—capable of resenting any infringement of their dignity.”

¹ “*Tuscul. Disput.*” Lib. i. cap. xii. ² De “*Utilitat. Credend.*” Cap. vii.

It is, to say the least, odd, that though *surrounded* by such monarchs, quite "as able as himself," Innocent III. should have been distinguished by "his successful mastery of *all* opposition from contemporary sovereigns." But this is a curious point that need not detain us. There is something of more importance coming. After regretting that the author has not been more detailed in his description of the extraordinary Pontiff, whose court he visited more than once in prosecuting his own claim to the bishopric of Menevia (or, in other words, St. David's), and the claim of that see to the primacy of Wales, our editor undertakes as follows to give us, at any rate, some idea of the little that may be learned about the pope from the archdeacon :

"In the pages of the professed historian we catch only a solemn glimpse of this Pontiff in his tiara and scarlet shoes. In the pages of Giraldus we see the man himself under his formalities ; courteous, affable, witty ; condescending, but never tripping ; unreserved, but never off his guard ; piercing at a glance the characters of those who approached him, our poor bishop elect in particular ; whose vanity he flattered, whose hopes he pampered with unmeaning compliments, whose ambition he soothed with visionary mitres, praised his scholarship, lamented his hardships, urged to fresh exertions, consoled with ill-disguised laughter, and deluded at the last."

Mr. Brewer had a kind of presentiment that somebody would object to this. He adds immediately :—

"The admirers of Innocent will impeach the accuracy of this narrative."

But he disposes rather cavalierly, it must be owned, of the impeachment, on the spot. He says of the "accuracy of this narrative : "

"It may be urged in its favour that Giraldus has no intention of maligning or misrepresenting the pope, as he was certainly innocent of all suspicion that the pope was deluding him. His vanity was an ox-hide shield and buckler against the attacks of all such unpleasant surmises."

The reader will here, doubtless, have noticed that the arguments for the "narrative" supplied by Mr. Brewer are merely a defence of the original narrative of Giraldus. It seems never to have entered Mr. Brewer's thoughts that any one might admit the credibility of Gerald's story and deny that his story was accurately represented by Mr. Brewer. That was an "unpleasant surmise" from which the editor was somehow preserved. And yet that is exactly our present case. We do not impugn the mediæval

archdeacon's narrative, but we venture to find fault with the description that has been built upon it as a foundation in the nineteenth century. We say, and we will try to show, that the narrative "in the pages of Giraldus" is quite inconsistent with the account of Pope Innocent's conduct given by Mr. Brewer in editing "the pages of Giraldus." We believe, indeed, that to demonstrate this successfully it will be necessary to go little outside of what Mr. Brewer himself prints in his own first preface.

Two pages beyond what we have quoted last, the editor gives us an account taken from his author of a conversation between Gerald himself and Innocent, which we think it important to lay before the reader. We would first premise, however, that it appears from the tract *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesie*, 540, to have taken place soon after the archdeacon's first arrival in Rome, and that he introduces it with the observation that while he was always accustomed to find the Pope kind and gracious enough (*benignum satis ac benevolum*), on this particular occasion he happened to find him more friendly and affable than usual (*nunc forte praeter solitum amicabilem magis et affabilem*). The interview took place in the pope's own room, his *camera*, where Gerald paid the great Pontiff a visit in the evening. This is clearly the occasion when, if ever, we shall find Innocent *pampering Gerald's hopes with unmeaning compliments, and soothing his ambition with visionary mitres*.

It certainly seems to us the reader will find him doing nothing of the kind. Innocent was, indeed, as Mr. Brewer says, "courteous" and "affable," but he was, it strikes us, singularly off-handed and straightforward too—in fact what a mediæval pope might be expected to be, who received visits in his room from an Archdeacon of Brecknock in the evening. Let us judge from Mr. Brewer's own account. He says, referring to Gerald at this interview:—

"As he was insisting on the metropolitan privilege of St. David's, the pope ordered the register to be brought, in which all the names of the different metropolitan churches are entered, with their suffragans. Turning to the Kingdom of England, he read as follows:—'Canterbury, the Metropolitan Church, has for its suffragans, Rochester, London,' and so on. Then came the rubric: "*De Wallia*. 'In Wales are the churches of St. David's, Llandaff, Bangor,' etc. 'See,' said he, with an air of triumph, 'St. David's is reckoned among the suffragans.'"

We do not object much to the "air of triumph," but it is a poor equivalent for the playful Latin "*quasi insultando*

et subridendo." An air of triumph is something very different from a mock insult offered with a smile. The pope seems to us to be trying whether Gerald really has anything like a plausible case to go before the tribunals. Gerald has amazed the court of Rome by reviving a plea long unheard of for a Welsh Primacy independent of Canterbury. The pope, though dealing with no criminal business, is acting the part of a kind of *juge d'instruction*, or grand jury; he wishes to see whether there is any ostensible ground why such a novel plea should be entertained at all as a matter to be discussed. He asks if Gerald must not be put out of court at once with his extraordinary claim. He puts forward against it merely the broadest and most sweeping arguments. He does so as one who asks a friend whether he can reply to the first objections that are sure to be raised on the other side, whether he is not involving himself in a hopeless mess, whether the case is not clear against him. This is surely equally far removed from, on the one hand, *pampering hopes with unmeaning compliments, and soothing ambition with visionary mitres*, and, on the other, from triumphing when the pleader is discomfited.

Gerald understood Innocent better we think than Mr. Brewer could understand either one or other. After the pope's objection that St. David's was reckoned among the suffragan sees of Canterbury, according to Mr. Brewer:

" 'Yes,' replied Giraldus, 'but not in the same way as the others, for the grammatical construction of the passage differs. Otherwise it would be as your Holiness says.' "

We may remark here that, according to himself, Giraldus did not say "Yes" at all. His answer in the Latin reads much more like a denial. "*Sed non eo modo connumeratur illa vel aliae de Wallia, per accusativum scilicet, sicut suffraganeae de Anglia.*" But we may let this pass. At any rate it is admitted on all sides that the answer satisfied the pope. We continue our quotation from Mr. Brewer's preface:—

" 'That is a sound observation,' replied Innocent; 'and there is another thing which supports your view. The register never passes from one rubric to another, except when it passes from one kingdom or one metropolis to another.' 'That's true,' said Giraldus; 'Wales is a part of England, and not a kingdom by itself.' "

The reader may well be cleverer than we are, and see

at once the point of the last speech. We humbly confess that when we read it, it seemed to us as if Giraldus was beginning to lose himself in the depths of geographical erudition. The wise remark was to our dull comprehension much what we believe our old friend Artemus might have called a promiscuous observation. We did not at the moment see (we confess it with a certain amount of humiliation) how Wales's being a portion of England was to help Giraldus in claiming for it an independent primacy. We had to go to Giraldus's own Latin to have our difficulty cleared up. There we were soon satisfied. Giraldus has the knack of making things much clearer than Mr. Brewer.

We have read we think in De Quincy that the use of conjunctions is a great test of a man's logical perceptions. Giraldus in the case before us made use of a few conjunctions which rendered us the greatest help. Instead of making the pope say smoothly like Mr. Brewer "from one kingdom or one metropolis to another;" he makes Innocent form a regular dilemma, and wind up his sentence laying rough stress on the word *metropolis*. He makes him say that the register never introduces the line in red called the rubric, except when it passes *either* from kingdom to kingdom *or* from metropolis to metropolis. When the matter is put this way, it is easy for us all to see at a glance why Gerald instantly points out that in the case of Wales, at any rate, "*et Wallia quidem*," there can be no transition from a kingdom to a kingdom. The other horn of the dilemma must be submitted to; in passing from England to Wales, the papal register passes from one ecclesiastical metropolitan province to another.

The pope, however, hesitates about fully accepting all this geography and logic. Perhaps he deems that Wales, even as a kingdom, might have been considered separate from England. But it is clear at least that the papal register may be appealed to on Gerald's side, and is not unmistakably against him. With this acknowledgment, his Holiness closes this portion of the conversation. "Our register is not against you." "*Unum sciatis quod non est contra vos registrum nostrum.*" This acknowledgment of the Pontiff is completely omitted by Mr. Brewer. It certainly does not go far enough to prove *panpering hopes with unmeaning compliments, and soothing ambition*—the reader already knows and must be tired of the rest.

But we are sure the reader is not yet tired of the conversation with Innocent. It is too business-like, too

practical, too straight to the point to be so soon fatiguing. Let us see how it continued according to Mr. Brewer.

"The pope then inquired what muniments St. David's possessed in confirmation of the dignity thus claimed for it by Giraldus. He was told that formerly it had many, but . . . it was frequently visited by pirates. . . .¹ In consequence of such visitations, Sampson, one of its former Archbishops, had fled into Brittany and, by his self-imposed exile, its dignity as a metropolitan church had been lost."

Innocent had already heard about Sampson. There was a great question of identity connected with Sampson. Innocent brings it forward. We go on with Mr. Brewer still:

"'But,' said the Pope; 'that Sampson of whom you speak was Archbishop of York.' 'Not so,² saving your reverence.'"

The pope here, of course, avoids all argument of detail. He now falls back on the great general argument of all—the prescription of Canterbury. He inquired from Gerald the date of Archbishop Sampson's emigration, and learned that it had taken place in the days of St. Gregory the Great, who sent St. Augustine, the first Prelate of Canterbury, to convert the Saxons! This surely interesting point for us as well as Innocent (however Barry's chronology may have been at fault) is omitted by Mr. Brewer. He gives, however, what followed:—

"'That's a long time back, and the Canterburians are safe by long prescription,' was the pope's answer. 'As to our claiming the pallium, it is so; but with regard to its privilege as metropolitan, please your excellency, it is otherwise. Until the subjugation of Wales by Henry I., the Church of St. David's, like the Church of Scotland, owed subjection to no other church but immediately to Rome.' The conversation ended by the pope requiring evidence from Giraldus of what had been alleged."

¹"In consequence of such visitations!" Those mentioned by Mr. Brewer are piracies, and it was *not* in consequence of those piracies, which destroyed muniments, that Archbishop Sampson, according to report, emigrated from Wales. Giraldus describes him as "*fugientem ictericiam cladem et ob hoc in Armoricam Britanniam transfretantem*." Could Mr. Brewer be ignorant that *ictericia clades* means destruction by plague not pirates? Our dictionaries quote the sixth Satire of Juvenal for *ictericus*, *ill of the jaundice*.

²"Saving your reverence!" A queer translation certainly for the *Salva Reverentia* of a disputant, which means exactly "with great respect to you;" as we are wont to hear it used in philosophical and theological argumentation! "Saving the reverence due to so great a man" would of course be fine English in the same sense: but "saving your reverence" does not seem entitled to the same praise, does not even seem to have clearly the same meaning.

Surely all this is very unlike "pampering" or "soothing." If Gerald, instead of going to the pope, had gone to an advocate, to one scrupulously just and high-minded and unwilling to take advantage of an over-eager client, surely the fair and clear-headed lawyer would and ought to have spoken like Pope Innocent the Third. It is thus he should have pointed out the first points that every honest judge would require to see established. It is thus he would have reminded his consultor at the end that the points so touched on would need to be strictly proved when the case was to be justly tried. Assuredly, if any lawyer held such a conversation as Innocent's with Gerald, it might be said by some that he was careless about getting business, discouraging trial, frightening his client though only by putting forward difficulties that must be faced; it might be maintained by others that he was practically pointing out the only possible fair line of pleading to pursue; but no one would venture to assert that he was pampering hopes with unmeaning compliments or soothing ambition with any visionary object.

Mr. Brewer himself, if he had been told of a layman in the nineteenth century what he has read of a Roman Pontiff in the twelfth, would never have dreamed of saying that unmeaning compliments were offered, or useless hopes pampered, or visionary ambition soothed. Why could he not, with all his honest intentions and good-nature, take the trouble to be fair to one who was a mediæval pope? Nothing can be clearer than that, according to his account, the conduct of Innocent was very downright and very full of meaning, capable of making any one feel the very serious nature of the contest in which Giraldus had engaged, the various things it would be necessary to prove, the great labour required to accumulate the proofs. The conduct was kind no doubt, but it was the kindness of a very superior mind, of a great man. It was kind, not because it was pampering and soothing, but because it was bracing and exciting. It would have made a man of ordinary incapacity, of ordinary pusillanimity, abandon the whole case as a bad job. It nerved a man of Gerald's capacity and of Gerald's earnestness to extraordinary exertion, because it made him feel that if he really proved his case, his pleadings would be appreciated.

Were we merely arguing against Mr. Brewer, we might stop here, for he certainly has failed to establish his charge against Pope Innocent. But though the charge has not been

proved, it has been made; and as we are interested in the glory of the great Pontiff, we are not satisfied that the decision with regard to Mr. Brewer's accusation should appear to be nothing beyond the cold suspicious Scotch verdict of Not Proven. We must show that throughout, the pope was kind and just and noble as at the outset. Mr. Brewer's strongest arguments, indeed, have been shown to be something worse than unsatisfactory, but we must demonstrate that no good ones are possible upon his side, and that the story of Giraldus's trial not merely does not warrant, but positively disproves the allegations made by Giraldus's editor against Giraldus's judge, Pope Innocent the Third.

J. J. O'C.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.—II.

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.—SHAKESPEARE.

AS the Elizabethan period stands out with peculiar prominence in the series of pictures which the mind forms for itself when studying English Literature; so, we imagine, among the great men who figure in that unrivalled group, the most illustrious, the foremost man in all that world, is William Shakespeare.

Others among them have made their mark in certain walks of literature, finding "fit audience though few," and so have their hold, and that a firm one, upon lovers of poetry, or investigators into the thoughts of men. For the one class Spenser is all in all; for another the deep searchings, alike into men and things, of Francis Bacon, have a power before which even the greatest minds bow in reverence; and so with others the "judicious" Hooker is a name of power. Each in his own sphere shines with the brilliancy of a star of the first magnitude, and is, it may be, without his parallel therein. But Shakespeare is, as it were, the sun in the midst of all; and perhaps it may be for much the same reason. Science tells us that there are many stars larger in magnitude than the sun, and yet we esteem them less, and even think them but small in comparison; because the sun comes infinitely nearer to us than any other star; and sheds light, life and heat upon us in such a far greater degree. It is our own sun with whom

we have to do ; who seems to know us ; and to be, by its influence, among us ; and so unlike those distant worlds, which are beyond our sympathy, as being apart from our lives. They roll on in majestic grandeur, and we hear the little that science can tell us about them, but they are beyond our circle, outside our sphere, and so, as things apart, we calculate, but do not feel how great they are.

Thus we think it is with Shakespeare and his great cotemporaries. He is proper to no one class of minds, his influence is limited to no one range of thought. He belongs to the philosopher, who can read him with advantages which others lack, but he belongs as much to the man of the world, who has no patience with philosophy nor with its teachers. He is for the learned, who test him by their professional skill and knowledge, and in wonder draw lessons from the great dramatist, scarcely believing that Shakespeare had not been educated as a lawyer, a physician, or a divine : but he is just as much for minds untaught in any especial department. His is the "boy's own book," wherein he best and most successfully studies the history of his country, and learns besides to understand those great heroes of Homeric verse, whose deeds he has to toil through with scant pleasure in his school hours, and in puzzling Greek. What generations of tender women have read their own hearts, and solved many a domestic enigma of life in the characters that his wonderful hand has drawn : and by all, men and women, young and old, simple and gentle alike, are his plays studied, loved, read, and re-read, until his phrases have grown into our very language, and we think and speak Shakespeare, so thoroughly have we made him our own.

It is scarcely calculable the extent to which this study of Shakespeare has spread ; but some idea may be formed from the fact that in the great catalogue of the British Museum, two thick folio volumes are devoted exclusively to "Shakespeare's Works and Works upon Shakespeare."

And who was this wonderful man who has so made his own the hearts and minds of the educated world ; whose writings are familiar not only to those who speak his native tongue, but by admirable and various translations into every known language, are a household treasure everywhere ? Who is this William Shakespeare ? Where are his manuscripts preserved, what are the incidents of his life, that we may see the man, and by that knowledge understand, perhaps, more completely the works he has

left us? We all know how unsatisfactory is the answer to these natural questions: and what is said by one of his editors, Steevens, is very significant:—

“All that we know with any degree of certainty concerning Shakespeare is—that he was born at Stratford-upon-Avon—married and had children there—went to London, where he commenced actor, and wrote poems and plays—returned to Stratford, made his will, died, and was buried.”

This is not quite all, but it is not far from it, and shows us how very little is really known.

Now this is curious in more respects than one: he was baptized April 26, 1564, and was buried April 25 (St. George's Day), 1616. His time was not very long ago, little more than two centuries and a half have since passed. It was in an age when men kept diaries and printed small gossip, and yet this is well nigh all we know of Shakespeare!

Again, it is not for want of interest about him, nor through lack of consequent research: never perhaps has so much trouble and pains been taken about the details of the life of any person; and yet what is the outcome? No scrap of his writings has been found, and only three times has even his signature been brought to light. A book once in his possession, a copy of “*Florio's Montaigne*,” is now in the British Museum, and therein is his autograph; there is a mortgage deed, the treasure of the City of London Museum, which he has signed, and his will in Doctors' Commons bears his signature in three places. This is all we have in his handwriting—simply his name and nothing more: and as if to complete the puzzle, in each document that name is differently spelled. So we know not if it should be Shakspeare as in the book, Shaksper as in the deed, or Shakspeare as it looks to be in the will; and then, to crown all this confusion, the folio edition of his works in 1623 makes it Shakespeare.

All the researches of men like Halliwell and Payne Collier, to say nothing of predecessors in the same inquiry, nor of those to whom private collections and the revelations of the Roll calendars have been since laid bare, all have brought to light scarcely half-a-dozen notices, and these the most meagre among the cotemporaries of the great dramatist.

Piecing these together we may say: John Shakespeare, his father, resided at Stratford-upon-Avon, and was a respectable yeoman, a well-to-do small landed proprietor, farming

his own and other land, and living in the town where he duly filled the usual civic offices, and rose to the highest. He is said to have been a butcher, a wool-merchant, and a glover, which varying descriptions may perhaps be combined into the meaning, that he sold the produce of his own farm, flesh, skins and all, as people of his class used to do. He married Mary Arden, of a family from which sprung also the great John Hampden, who was a law student in the temple when our Shakespeare died.

At Stratford, William was born, in the world-renowned house that is still standing, and which is known by his name.

What a place of literary pilgrimage is that modest, timber-framed, gabled house. How jealously is it preserved, and how is every spot within its few small chambers reverentially visited.

Some years ago an American speculator—some Barnum of that day, and as far as our memory serves of a now distant period, it might have been the veritable Barnum himself—wished to purchase the house “right out,” and to carry it off for exhibition to the United States. What a national feeling did the mere suggestion raise in England. Good came of it, as not unfrequently happens when a stranger’s estimate makes us think more highly of a treasure we possess. A subscription was raised to purchase the house, and to ensure its remaining at home, and some even suggested that it should not only be taken due care of, but that it should be put in a glass case, which of course meant that a glass covering should be built over it. This however has not been done, but it is legally, as well as substantially rooted in the soil, and so pilgrims from America, as well as from other lands, must be content to visit Stratford-upon-Avon, if they would see the simple dwelling wherein Shakespeare once lived.

There is one room which receives especial honor, and bears the too common mark of public respect. Its simple white walls are no longer white, nor are they likely ever again to assume that pure color, for they are written over and over again with the names of visitors. Autographs of much interest are, or were, among them, and these seem to give a kind of sanction to what is at best a queer token of respect. It marks of course a kind of yearning to connect one’s own name with Shakespeare’s; and perhaps the room may be regarded as a sort of visiting book in which the callers inscribe their names. When we were there in long past years, the custodian was laboring under the impression

which an American pilgrim had just made upon her. She had seen many strange exhibitions no doubt in her time, but this last seemed to surpass the rest in novelty and fervency.

"Is this the room in which Shakespeare lived, did he walk upon this identical floor?" he exclaimed; and then, without another word, he laid himself down at full length, and rolled over and over, backward and forward, about the room, that, as he afterwards explained, he might touch the very spot upon which Shakespeare's feet had trod.

There is still the Free School near at hand, to which doubtless the poet went, and there he must have learned at least the usual modicum, "smalle Lattine and lesse Greeke," says Ben Jonson. Coventry is not far from Stratford, and the great dramatist must have often witnessed the representations of the Mystery Plays for which that town was so celebrated.

Kenilworth, again, was quite near enough for the bright boy of eleven to find his way thither, when Elizabeth made that famous visit to the Earl of Leicester, which Walter Scott has immortalized in the celebrated novel that bears its name.

He married, when he was but eighteen, Anne Hathaway of Shottery, whose house still exists there: a kind of minor shrine for those who "do" the pilgrimage completely. Two years later, in 1584, he leaves Stratford for London. The once popular legend of his prosecution for deer stealing by Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote, being the cause of his departure from Warwickshire has nearly faded away. The boyish prank may have taken place—at least at Charlecote belief in it is unshaken, for do they not show you the very Hall in which the trial was held?—but other and more reasonable motives are not wanting to account for this serious step in life. We know that Shakespeare was intimate with Robert Green, the dramatist, and with Richard Burbage, the English Roscius of his day, who were both Warwickshire men; and they would quite naturally urge the young married man, who had such dramatic instincts, to try his fortune in the great Metropolis: so up he went to the Blackfriars Theatre, to which both his friends belonged.

This at once shows the absurdity of the story of Shakespeare beginning his life in London by holding horses at the door of the theatre; which, indeed, is itself improbable enough, even without our knowledge of the

influential friends who brought him into the midst of the theatrical world. For the theatre at Blackfriars was on a bank of the Thames, to which people went by what was then the great highway, the river itself, and so the few people of rank who visited it, before Shakespeare made it famous, came not on horses but in boats. What his real position was soon becomes apparent; for his name is on the list of the shareholders of the theatre, and we read in 1598 of twelve of his plays, and these seem to be mentioned by Meres only as specimens of his dramatic works.

He was also an actor. His name occurs on at least one of the lists of the *Dramatis Personæ* in the plays of Ben Jonson; but nowhere after 1603, when he retired to Stratford. We do not know what characters he performed, for in those days the most we have recorded are the names of the principal actors without their assigned parts. Tradition says that he played the Ghost in *Hamlet*, and Friar Laurence in *Romeo and Juliet*; and the following anecdote assigns another character to him:—

“One evening when Shakespeare was acting the part of Henry the Fourth, the Queen (Elizabeth) sat behind the scenes,” (which means that she occupied a chair of state upon the stage on one side near the front, as other patrons did until very recent times). “In the course of the play, while Shakespeare was speaking, Her Majesty crossed the stage, but he took no notice. Presently she returned, and, as she passed him, dropped her glove; the poet stooped, picked it up, and said (in character)—

‘And though now bent on this high embassy,

‘Yet stoop we to pick up our *cousin's* glove.’

The words so immediately followed the conclusion of his speech that they seemed to belong to it. The Queen was greatly pleased.”

Upon the death of Elizabeth and the accession of James the First, he retired from the stage, and passed the thirteen remaining years of his life where he had begun it, at Stratford.

The twenty years which Shakespeare spent in London never separated him entirely from his home in Warwickshire. There at Stratford were his wife and three children, and thither must he frequently have gone for rest and comfort in his wearisome life as author and player. Of this there is plenty of evidence, which diligent search among civic and legal documents has in late years brought to light. His father had passed through great vicissitudes during those twenty years. His property had diminished, and then in brighter days increased again. Through

poverty he lost his position among the magistracy, and then in time rose up once more into a prosperous yeoman, and onwards until he claimed his coat of arms, and was John Shakespeare, Gent. Doubtless the success of his great son, had no small share in this renewed and enlarged prosperity; and we find the poet himself making extensive purchases in Stratford, until in 1597 he became possessor of the "Great House" (as it was called), and which was the New Place in which he died. But there was at least one cloud which overhung the joy when all were once more united in this pleasant mansion. One bright face was missing from the family circle, and that which a prosperous gentleman, now taking position in his county, could least afford to spare. His only son, Hamnet, had died in 1596, the two daughters alone remained. One of these married, and died childless; the other left an only daughter, who, twice married, left no offspring, and so there were no more direct descendants of the great poet.

But what of the man, William Shakespeare himself? Can we decipher him out of these rough notes and meagre facts? Can we picture him to ourselves from what he did in the uneventful life which is but dimly shadowed forth? Perhaps we may, with the help of a few brief notices which we find recorded by his cotemporaries.

That old gossip Aubrey tells us that Shakespeare was "a handsome, well-made man, very good company, and of a very ready and smooth wit;" and Ben Jonson, who knew him well, and who loved him heartily—who, indeed, did everything with a fierce energy which made his loves and hatreds alike intense,—bears fuller testimony which we must quote at length, seeing how characteristic it is of "rare Ben Jonson," and of the still rarer genius he knew so well how to estimate. It occurs in that curious book which cannot be better described than in the author's own words—"Timber: or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flow'd out of his Daily Readings, or had their Reflux to his Peculiar Notions of the Times." And here is what he writes, "De Shakespeare nostrate," as he phrases it in a marginal heading, in his usual pedantic manner:—

"I remember, the Players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his Writing (whatsoever he penn'd), he never blotted out a Line. My answer hath been, would he had blotted a thousand. Which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told Posterity this, but for their ignorance, who chose that

Circumstance to commend their Friend by, wherein he most faulted. And to justifie mine own Candor (for I loved the Man, and do honour his Memory (on this side Idolatry) as much as any.) He was (indeed) honest, and of an open and free Nature; had an excellent *Phantasie*, brave Notions, and gentle Expressions; wherein he flowed with that Facility, that sometimes it were necessary he should be stop'd: '*Sufflammandus erat*'; as Augustus said of Haterius. His Wit was in his own Power; would the Rule of it had been so too. Many times he fell into those things, could not escape Laughter: As when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him; 'Cæsar, thou dost me wrong.' He replied, 'Cæsar did never wrong, but with just Cause,' and such like; which were ridiculous. But he redeemed his Vices with his Virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned."

It is worthy of notice, in passing, how this quotation from Julius Cæsar corrects the absurd reading generally given of the passage, wherein Cæsar is made to say—

"Know, Cæsar doth no wrong; nor without cause
Will he be satisfied,"

Whereas, Ben Jonson shows how it originally stood, as thus:

"*Cass.* Cæsar, thou dost me wrong.

"*Cæs.* Cæsar did never wrong, but with just cause."

Which perhaps after all is not so ridiculous as the severe critic thought, if we interpret "wrong" by what is often considered to be such, namely, punishment which of course requires "just cause." Fuller, in his "Worthies," gives a quaint picture of some of the characteristics which distinguished these two great men, that made them, as it were, the complements of each other, and to which may be attributed, in some measure, the warm friendship which united them for life. Speaking of Shakespeare he says:

"Many were the wit-combats between him and Ben Jonson, which two I behold like a Spanish great galleon, and an English man-of-war; Master Jonson (like the former) was built for higher bearing, solid but slow in his performances; Shakespeare with the English man-of-war, lesser in bulk, but lighter in sailing, could turn with all tides, tack about and take advantage of all winds, by the quickness of his wit."

No wonder that Jonson at times felt that the ready wit and quick repartee should indeed "be stop'd"; yet did he thoroughly appreciate the brilliancy which not unfrequently condescended to show itself in mere fireworks, in very wantonness of strength. This is one side of the character of the great dramatist; it has another, and that a much more serious one. We find him working away at his plays

with a steadiness and diligence which are sometimes supposed to be characteristic of anything but genius. Their number and the order of their production show this. And all the while we must remember that he is a player as well as a kind of manager of a theatre. He has to study and realize the writings of others, and has to declaim verses very different from his own; while his judgment has to be formed, from time to time, upon plays submitted to his theatre, and to determine as to their worthiness for production. It is said that in the exercise of this judgment he made the acquaintance of Ben Jonson, whose *Every Man in his Humour* he justly admired, and the production of which he insisted upon, when other less true critics had already rejected it. He is evidently a steady man of business, realizing money, and investing it in a house and another theatre (the Globe) in London; but ever with his mind and heart upon Stratford-upon-Avon, and the family growing up there, for whom and for himself he is preparing a home and an estate to which he hastens, as soon as circumstances enable him to do so with credit. Cold legal documents warm up into life, and become somehow almost a portion of literature, when in their quaint, ungainly language they tell us that Shakespeare has purchased this field and that house, all about the old place; how he looked out for a piece of land at Shottery, his wife's native village; and when he made the greatest purchase of his life, of the lease of the Tithes of Stratford, Old Stratford, Bishoptown, and Welcombe, the very parchment becomes a treasure for posterity, and is carefully preserved in the Museum.

Shakespeare, we may be sure, had his friends among the wits and literary men of London, to say nothing of his royal and noble patrons, and by them his qualities were well understood; and how do they characterize him? When Michael Drayton, Leonard Digges, George Chapman, Nathaniel Field, John Marston, and such like men, speak or write of him, it is ever in terms of warm affection. He is Gentle Shakespeare, Sweet Will, Swan of Avon, or Gentle Willie. There is quite a consensus of authorities. So it generally is, the really great are really humble, and think of themselves far less than others think of them.

When the time comes for him to quit London, the scene of his labours and many anxieties, to go back to what has, in truth, been his real home during these twenty years of not unfrequent absence, he brings as far as may be his family about him. Hamnet is dead, but his wife, the

beautiful Anne Hathaway, is still in the prime of life, not being yet fifty. His eldest daughter, Susanna, is already married and settled at Stratford, with a prosperous husband, Dr. John Hall, Physician, and so is close at hand, and, of course, a constant visiter at New Place, where still remains a second and unmarried daughter, Judith, the twin sister of poor Hamnet. It was Shakespeare's last family duty in life to give her in marriage to Thomas Quiney; for, two months after that festive February, the great poet and dramatist was buried in the same parish church which had witnessed the marriage. What pleasant years must those have been which Shakespeare spent quietly at Stratford, after his life in London was over, and ere the eternal life began.

We may be sure that it was an active life; the *dolce far niente* could have no charms for a mind such as his: the *otium cum dignitate*, a literary life with leisure from worldly care, and so dignified by intellectual pursuits, marked his remaining too few days. The theatre—at least as far as acting and managing were concerned—was given up, but that which had raised the stage from a low level into a great moral teacher, his dramatic writings, were yet continued. Indeed, as we should expect, some of his best plays were now written: that noble Roman series, *Coriolanus*, *Julius Cæsar*, and *Antony and Cleopatra*, together with *Lear*, *Macbeth*, *The Winter's Tale*, *Cymbeline*, *Troilus and Cressida*, and *Henry VIII.*, and 'last scene of all,' *The Tempest*, make up the ten which crowned those thirteen years of life at Stratford. Old friends, like Jonson and Drayton, came down to see him, and right merrie days, and nights too, must have been spent in New Place amid such brilliant and learned wits.

We wonder what the people of Stratford thought of the London actor and writer of plays, who had come home to them again, in such different circumstances from those in which he left them twenty years before. Did they understand his marvellous greatness, or was he in their eyes but little more than a successful speculator? And when they were told that he was, in one respect at least, "the greatest man of all the world," did they see that greatness in the modest and simple middle-aged gentleman, who took his place so quietly in the limited circle of the country town, and devoted himself to his family and the daily pursuits of ordinary life? Did they understand him—did Shakespeare

understand himself? Did he know his own greatness? perhaps not; most great men do not. The Duke of Wellington never could understand why "people made such a fuss about him."

He appeared to care little about his plays after he had produced them, for he seems never to have edited one of them. Why was this? It is a question which deserves at least a brief consideration. He may have thought meanly of them; not as being poor of their class, for that his mind would not allow him to do, but because his estimate of the drama was so high, that nothing even he wrote came up to his own standard, and so his highest and most successful efforts were thrown aside, as men will laugh at and undervalue their youthful productions.

Or, again, he may have looked upon his plays as mere shop, articles in which he dealt, supplied to order at so much a piece and so many a year, as his contribution to the theatre, which paid him (as we are told) an annual sum.

Dr. Johnson seems to entertain some such idea; and yet it is hard to believe it, knowing what those plays were and how much intellectual labour they must have cost him. But there is another reason which has been given for this apparent neglect, which seems more probable and is certainly more satisfactory. It is, that Shakespeare considered his plays, when once written and paid for, as belonging to the theatre; and that to publish them would be injurious to their success on the stage. There is good ground for this opinion. Thomas Heywood boasts of his own conduct in this respect, "Though some have used a double sale of their labours," he says, "first to the stage and after to the press; for my part I here proclaim myself ever faithful to the first, and never guilty to the last."

Again, there is an admonition from the Lord Chamberlain to the Stationers' Company, against the printing of plays to the prejudice of those that have bought them.

In accordance, then, with this honorable understanding, Shakespeare, while he carefully revised and published his poems, left his plays to the players. And thus it is that the early quarto editions were brought out in separate volumes, at different times, and by various publishers, and with play-bill titles at which Shakespeare himself laughed, and joked at in the *Midsummer's Night Dream*, where he makes the poor mechanics of Athens offer for Duke Theseus' entertainment "a tedious brief scene of young Pyramus

and his love Thisbe, very tragical mirth." Thus we have

"A most pleasant and excellent conceited *Comedy of Sir John Falstaffe and the Merrie Wives of Windsor*. Entermixed with sundry variable and pleasing humours of Sir Hugh, the Welsh knight, Justice Shallow, and his wise cousin Master Slender, with the swaggering vaine of Ancient Pistol and Corporal Nym."

That all Shakespeare's manuscripts have perished we have too much reason to fear, for not one fragment has as yet rewarded the most diligent search. All that can be said in explanation is that Shakespeare's theatre was burnt down during a performance of *Henry VIII.*, the wadding from a gun (chamber) fired in the grand procession, catching the roof, when all was consumed, and most probably the copies of Shakespeare's plays. As for his private papers that he left at New Place, they are said to have been carried away by his last lineal descendant, his grand-daughter, upon her marriage with Sir John Barnard, to his house at Abington near Northampton, and of these we have no further record.¹

Turning from the author to his works, the question naturally suggests itself: why are Shakespeare's plays so popular, and those of his great cotemporary, Ben Jonson, so little read, though both were in their own day equally esteemed, if indeed "rare" Ben did not outshine the Swan of Avon? It is worth consideration, for it may throw some light upon the characteristics of the plays of Shakespeare.

They are intelligible, which Jonson's are not. His were written for a time, his own time, but Shakespeare's are written for all time.

Dr. Johnson, who is no great authority on what requires poetic feeling to appreciate, is perhaps unequalled as a

¹ Hitherto there has been a hope that some particulars of these Shakespearian relics might be brought to light, but this has now fled for ever. It is disappointing, indeed, to read (*Academy*, February 19, 1881) that at Somerset House, Mr. Furnivall has found among the old inventories that of Sir John Bernard, wherein the only entries relating to property at Stratford are, "a Rent at Stratford-upon-Avon, at iiiij^{li}," and again "old goods and lumber at Stratford-upon-Avon, at iij^{li}." unluckily there are no particulars of "all the books in the study, xxix^{li} xj^s," or of "all the pictures in the parlour (v^{li} x^s), the bed-chamber and the little chamber," which Lady Bernard left to her husband when she died in February, 1669-70. How would the dry record have brightened into life, had the hasty scribe but taken time to catalogue all those books and pictures, which must have revealed Shakespeare to us in a way which nothing else can do.

critic in matters which correct judgment and excellent common sense can deal with, in his preface to Shakespeare's plays, says upon this point, though he had not before his mind the purpose for which we are now using his authority, that :—

“Shakespeare is, above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of nature ; the poet that holds up to his reader a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world, by the peculiarities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon small numbers, or by the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions ; they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life continued in motion. *In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual, in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species.*”

This is a noble testimony, grandly expressed, and throws a flood of light upon the inquiry, why is Shakespeare so popular? Every reader who has common intelligence and ordinary education can understand him. There is no need of external help, no other books have to be read, no other history to be studied, to know what the play is aiming at. How many works are full of allusions to what must be sought elsewhere, if we would clearly understand them. There is little or none of this in Shakespeare's plays. It is true that critics, commentators and editors have often loaded the text with explanatory notes, which, sometimes, are of use when an obsolete word has to be explained, but too often they have managed to obscure what was before clear enough, or muddled and confused a difficult passage until it has become “confusion worse confounded.”

The most enjoyable way to read Shakespeare is, we believe, to take the simple text without note or comment.

One consequence of this style of writing is, that it is altogether free from what so many authors aim at, and achieve, but with serious damage to the general effect ; there is no local colour in Shakespeare.

By local colour we mean, of course, the use of forms of expression which are peculiar to any place or period. It is an attempt to make characters speak, as far as may be, in the language of their own day, and if Greeks and Romans may not talk in classic tongue, the text is sure to be crowded with proofs of antiquarian knowledge, with turns

of phrases and with allusions which drive the ordinary reader to his classical dictionary, or leave him altogether in the dark as to what the foreigners are about.

Nothing of this kind is to be found in Shakespeare's classical plays. Why? Because he knew that men were then what they are now. So his Romans are Englishmen of the time of Elizabeth, and, indeed, Englishmen of all periods. The Roman costume may be on the body, but the thoughts, as well as the tongue, are our own. This is why we understand them, why we sympathize with them; why these Romans are to us men of flesh and blood, and not the cold abstractions which they become when authors try to carry us back and to throw us, all unprepared, into an unfamiliar past.

In Julius Cæsar we think only of the characters and not of Shakespeare; in Cato we think of Addison, and of Addison only. The former has all the living interest which a play should have to deserve and secure success, the latter is a beautiful but dead essay. And this suggests another characteristic of Shakespeare which, we think, is also another proof of his greatness. He does not show himself in his plays: we never see the author thrust forward: it is Othello or Hamlet, Macbeth or Falstaff; it is never Shakespeare.

Smaller minds are not thus self-repressing: perhaps they cannot afford to be so. Cato is Addison, Manfred is Byron, and so on. Perhaps this has much to do with the fact of our knowing but little about this great man; about his religion, about his personal character, and about his opinions—because he will not

“ Weare them on his sleeve
For daws to peck at.”

When he writes a play he puts himself aside, or, as Hazlitt so beautifully expresses it:—

“ He has only to think of any thing in order to become that thing, with all the circumstances belonging to it. When he conceived of a character, real or imaginary, he not only entered into all its thoughts and feelings but seemed instantly, and as if by touching a secret spring, to be surrounded with all the other objects, ‘ subject to the same skyey influences,’ the same local, outward and unforeseen accidents which would occur in reality.”

What is the result of this upon the reader or spectator of one of his plays?—and perhaps more upon the former than upon the latter, for the stage is too often a greater

hindrance than a help to our realization of the poet's intention—What is the result? We do not merely learn what his characters say, we see them in reality, and most truly “with the mind's eye.”

We do not say to ourselves, how well Shakespeare has drawn this character, how cleverly he has devised and wrought out that plot, or how wonderfully poetical is his language. Not at all: we are living in the scene itself; we are carried away in the whirl of passion, and should as soon think of stepping aside and coldly criticizing the real actions of our own life, and the passions of joy or grief in which we have our part, as of applying such rules to what, for the time at least, is to us quite as real; though we are permitted to take no active part in the life which is living and breathing before us.

His characters are expressions of the passions and not descriptions of them. They are real beings of flesh and blood—it is Macbeth, Lear, Othello, Hamlet,—it is not Shakespeare. So strongly has this power of self-annihilation been felt, that some people have brought themselves to imagine that there never existed a Shakespeare: they could not believe that any one could make himself so many, and lose himself altogether in his creations. A folly this in itself, but yet a fresh testimony to his greatness.

Observe, again, what essays and dissertations have been written, not upon Shakespeare and his delineation of character, but upon those characters themselves. Just as men examine and scrutinize living beings; write their lives and weigh their motives, looking at them from all points of view, in order thoroughly to understand them, and then dispute among themselves as to their greatness or littleness: so Hamlet is treated, so Othello, and so are many other characters.

No question is raised as to what Shakespeare meant, no doubt is suggested as to his possible failure in the delineation—no one dreams of that; the only inquiry is, do we understand which is before us, can we grasp the circumstances, and sound the mental depths that are there? No question of their real life, more than of that of Napoleon or Chatham.

Thus his plays become a real study. Our interest in the personages grows as the action proceeds; not merely in the plot, but in the development of character. A few lines from some one else, or a few words of his own, put the man before us; then circumstances not only work out

the plot, but absolutely form the individual. We watch him in action, speculate upon what he would have been under other circumstances, see him grow strong or weak, feel ourselves moved with hope or fear; are satisfied when he does what we expected, and are only made more curious and thoughtful when we find ourselves mistaken. Throughout there are no misgivings in our mind respecting the author, for indeed we never think of him: if we did, the illusion, the charm would be destroyed. If we are critical, it is with the player who falls short of his work, or it is with the character before us, who fails, as so many men do in real life, to come up to our expectations.

And now just one word in conclusion upon a question which naturally occurs to the minds of Catholics, when we are dwelling upon the life and works of this the greatest ornament of our literature. Does he, in the highest and holiest sense, belong to us? Can we claim him, as we should wish to do, for his sake as well as for our's, as our own? What about the religion of Shakespeare? Was he a Catholic or a Protestant? Did he cling to the old religion, which was suffering so much in its children in those days of trial and confusion, or had he gone over to the new faith, which had been forced so ruthlessly upon weak minds and timid hearts? From time to time the question has been raised: in truth we have never gone into it, nor do we purpose doing so now. But it may be worth while quoting one single testimony, and examining very briefly another which is somehow considered a kind of refutation of the former.

A certain Rev. W. Fulman, who died in 1688, bequeathed a collection of manuscript notes, which he had made from time to time, to a friend, Rev. R. Davies, the Rector of Sapperton in Gloucestershire, upon whose death in 1708, they were presented to Corpus Christi College, Oxford, where they are now preserved.

Mr. Davies published the original collection, adding in brackets notes and additions of his own, and here is a passage which seems to decide the question we are now considering. "He (Shakespeare) died April, 23, 1616, ætat. 53, probably at Stratford, for there he is buried and hath a monument"—and then follows in a bracket this additional note by Mr. Davies—" [on which he lays a heavy curse upon any one who shall remove his bones. *He dyed a Papist*]."

This is the testimony we produce, and what is its value? The note is made by a Protestant rector, who certainly

would not make, without sufficient reason, so decided a statement.

Shakespeare was buried in the parish church, because he could be buried nowhere else in Stratford, and lest that fact should be misunderstood, as it doubtless has often been, into a profession of the Protestant faith, the careful and honest clergyman adds, "He dyed a Papist."

Now, what is the other testimony to which we have alluded, and which a very painstaking editor can produce alone out of all the documents, parish records, and state papers which he has searched with untiring zeal for many years, and which he has accumulated into the most complete life of Shakespeare ever published? He finds in the Stratford accounts, under date 1614, the following:

"Item for one quart of Sack, and one quart of Clarrett Winne, given to a preacher at the Newe Place xx d."

And this is the refutation of the plain statement that Shakespeare "dyed a Papist."

He assumes that the preacher was a Protestant, upon the evidence (we presume) of the amount of wine consumed. None but a "painful" minister could require and drink the two quarts, it seems, and we may fairly allow that the parish would not pay for the liquor for any but a divine of the "new learning." The sending the preacher and the expense incurred show, indeed, a zeal for the spiritual interests of the great dramatist. But what was the especial mission of the preacher? Was it to confirm Shakespeare in the Protestant creed, or was it not rather an attempt to convert the Papist? Had the visitor been welcome, we may be sure the generous host would not have sent him away "sackless;" it was evidently an intrusion which the Papist naturally resented, and so the ranter of his day was sent back again to the Corporation to slake his spiritual and temporal thirst at the expense of the Borough. Of course we cannot be sure that this was the case; but it seems to us quite as fair a conclusion as any that can be drawn from the obscure item. So, until other evidence can be brought to light, we may accept without scruple the testimony of the English clergyman, recorded as it must have been against his own sympathy, and so solely in the cause of truth—"He dyed a Papist."

THE CONDITIONS REQUIRED FOR GAINING THE PRESENT JUBILEE.

In the present number of the RECORD we find it impossible to print the full text of the Apostolic Letter of His Holiness Leo XIII., granting an extraordinary Jubilee to the universal Church. But a brief statement of the conditions required for gaining the Jubilee, and a selection of such extracts as bear on these conditions, will not be unacceptable to our readers.

I. The Jubilee continues in force, throughout Europe, from the 19th of the present month—the Feast of St. Joseph, till the Feast of All Saints—the 1st of November, 1881.

II. The conditions required to be fulfilled by those who undertake to gain the Jubilee in this country are:—

1. Confession.
2. Communion.
3. One day's *strict* fast, to be observed on some day when a strict fast is not otherwise of obligation.
4. Alms given for some pious purpose.
5. Six visits to be made to certain specified churches.
6. Prayers to be said during these visits, according to the intentions of His Holiness, for the following objects:—
 - (a) For the prosperity and exaltation of the Catholic Church, and of the Holy See.
 - (b) For the extirpation of heresies, and for the conversion of all who are in error.
 - (c) For concord amongst Christian princes, and for peace and union amongst all the faithful.

III. These works may be performed at any time within the prescribed limits, *i.e.*, from the 19th of March, to the 1st of November inclusively.

IV. The indulgence may be applied by way of suffrage to the souls in purgatory.

V. Bishops may reduce the number of visits, in case of Sodalties, Confraternities, Congregations, &c., whether secular or regular, provided the visits be made to the church or churches in processional order.

VI. Confessors may, in cases of necessity, prolong the time for gaining the Jubilee, and may commute the prescribed works for other pious exercises, in case of those who, by reason of their religious state or physical condition, are unable to perform any, or all, of the required works.

In case of children who have not as yet made their First Communion, and who are not prepared to do so, power is given to *dispense* in this condition.

VII. The usual permission is given to penitents, lay and clerical, secular and regular, to select any approved priest as confessor for the Jubilee confession.

In case of nuns, the confessor selected must be one who is approved for hearing the confessions of nuns.

VIII. Confessors are granted the same faculties (and with the same restrictions) as were given by the present Pontiff during the Jubilee published by him in 1879.

It may be useful to reprint these faculties here:—

“*Insuper omnibus, et singulis Christi fidelibus tam laicis quam ecclesiasticis Saecularibus, et Regularibus cujusvis Ordinis, et Instituti etiam specialiter nominandi, licentiam concedimus, et facultatem, ut sibi ad hunc effectum eligere possint quemcumque Presbyterum Confessarium tam secularem quam regularem ex actu approbatis (qua facultate uti possint etiam Moniales, Novitiae, aliaeque mulieres intra claustra degentes, dummodo confessarius approbatus sit pro monialibus) qui eosdem vel eandem intra dictum temporis spatium, ad confessionem apud ipsum peragendam accedentes animo praesens Jubilaeum consequendi, et reliqua opera ad illud lucrandum necessaria adimplendi, hac vice et in foro conscientiae dumtaxat ab excommunicationis, suspensionis, et aliis Ecclesiasticis sententiis, et censuris a jure, vel ab homine quavis in causa latis, seu infictis, etiam Ordinariis locorum et Nobis seu Sedi Apostolicae, etiam in casibus cuicumque ac Summo Pontifici et Sedi Apostolicae speciali licet modo reservatis, et qui alias in concessione quantumvis ampla non intelligerentur concessi, nec non ab omnibus peccatis et excessibus quantumcumque gravibus et enormibus, etiam iisdem Ordinariis ac Nobis et Sedi Apostolicae, ut praefertur reservatis, injuncta ipsis poenitentia salutari aliisque de jure injungendis, et, si de haeresi agatur, adjuratis prius et retractatis erroribus, prout de jure, absolvere; nec non vota quaecumque etiam jurata et Sedi Apostolicae reservata (castitatis, religionis, et obligationis, quae a tertio acceptata fuerint, seu in quibus agatur de praepudio tertii semper exceptis, nec non poenalibus, quae praeservativa a peccato nuncupantur, nisi commutatio futura judicetur ejusmodi, ut non minus a peccato committendo refrenet, quam prior voti materia) in alia pia et salutaria opera commutare, et cum poenitentibus hujusmodi in sacris ordinibus constitutis, etiam regularibus super occulta irregularitate ad exercitium eorundum ordinum, et ad superiorum assecutionem, ob censurarum violationem dumtaxat contracta, dispensare possit et valeat.*

Non intendimus autem per praesentes super alia quavis irregularitate sive ex delicto, sive ex defectu, vel publica, vel occulta, aut nota, aliave incapacitate, aut inhabilitate quoquomodo contracta dispensare, vel aliquam facultatem tribuere super praemissis dispensandi, seu habilitandi et in pristinum statum

restituendi etiam in foro conscientiae; neque etiam derogare Constitutioni cum appositis declarationibus editae a fel. re. Benedicto XIV., Praedecessore Nostro, quae incipit *Sacramentum Poenitentiae*, neque demum easdem praesentes, iis, qui a Nobis, et Apostolica Sede, vel aliquo Praelato, seu iudice Ecclesiastico nominatim excommunicati, suspensi, interdicti, seu alias in sententias et censuras incidisse declarati, vel publice denunciati fuerint, nisi intra praedictum tempus satisfecerint, et cum partibus ubi opus fuerit, concordaverint, ullo modo suffragari posse, aut debere. Quod si intra praefinitum terminum, iudicio confessarii, satisfacere non potuerint, absolvi posse concedimus in foro conscientiae ad effectum dumtaxat assequendi Indulgentias Jubilaei, iuncta obligatione satisfaciendi statim ac poterunt."

IX. Several practical decisions were given by the Sacred Penitentiary on the 26th February, 1879, regarding the works prescribed for the Jubilee of that year, which, together with decisions regarding the Jubilee of 1874-5 by the same tribunal, will prove a useful guide in determining similar questions regarding the present Jubilee.

1. With regard to the Confession and Communion, it was decided that one Confession and Communion would not suffice to fulfil the Paschal precept, and to gain the Jubilee. But *one* Confession with *two* Communions will suffice for both purposes, in case of those who have already complied with the precept of annual confession, or who purpose to do so within the year.

Those who neglect to receive Communion within the time allowed for the fulfilment of the Paschal precept, cannot afterwards satisfy the Paschal precept, and gain the Jubilee, by one Communion.

2. With regard to the fast required, it may be made within the Lenten time, but it must be a strict fast which excludes meat, eggs, and lacticinia, and it cannot be made on Good Friday, nor on Wednesday in Holy Week, where lacticinia are prohibited on that day.

3. With reference to the alms, no particular amount, nor any special object is specified. The words used are "*. atque eleemosynae nomine in pium aliquod opus quidquam conferant.*" The Holy Father, however, strongly recommends three objects of charity, the Association for the Propagation of the Faith, the Institute of the Holy Childhood, and the Society for promoting the Schools of the East.

4. Regarding the *visits*, they must be six in number, that is, two visits to each of three churches (or chapels, or public

oratories, provided Mass is usually celebrated in them), or if there be not three churches, &c., then three visits to each of two churches, or, finally, six visits to one church, chapel, or oratory. The churches, &c., in each case, must be determined by the Bishop of the diocese, or by his Vicar, or, in their absence, by the Ecclesiastic who may have pastoral charge of the diocese, or district, for the time being. These visits may be made on the same or on different days. But in making the different visits it is necessary to leave the church after each visit, before making another.

5. The Jubilee of 1879 could be gained as far as the indulgence was concerned, as often as the prescribed works were repeated, but the special faculties given for absolution from censures, reserved cases, commutations, and dispensations, could be used only on the first occasion. The same appears to be the wish of His Holiness in granting the present Jubilee.

6. Special facilities are given to those who, while the Jubilee lasts, may be journeying by sea or land. They may postpone gaining the Jubilee till their return home, or they may, by visiting the parochial or principal church six times in any town, or other resting place, at which they arrive, and performing the other prescribed works, gain the indulgence of the Jubilee.

ED. I. E. R.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

How Baptism is to be conferred in certain cases of necessity.

REV. DEAR SIR—The lucid and instructive exposition of the Decree relating to Baptism in private houses, which appeared in the last number of *RECORD*, suggests an inquiry as to what is to be done where a child is to be baptized, and some other cause besides distance from the Church or inclemency of the weather, prevents it from being brought to the font. It is, unhappily, too common in many parts of Ulster, where Catholics are mixed up with Dissenters, that infant Baptism is deferred for weeks and months, and, in the end, a great risk is incurred that it will be neglected altogether, unless it be administered in the private houses. This pernicious practice is learned, I believe, from the bad example of the non-Catholic sects, who make so little account of infant Baptism.

The evil of mixed marriages also furnishes a numerous class of

troublesome cases. A Catholic mother guarantees that she will rear up her child in her own faith, but the Protestant husband will not allow the infant, on any account, to be brought to the Catholic Church for Baptism, and unless the Sacrament be administered to it soon, there is the two-fold danger, that it may die unbaptized, or that all chance of its being reared in the Catholic Faith may vanish with delay in this matter. In such cases, Baptism in private houses seems to be the obvious course, and the experience of many years has convinced me that it is the safer one in practice. As the cases I have mentioned may be a remnant, or the out-come, of the "*praeteritorum temporum calamitates*," and cannot easily be reduced to conformity with modern discipline, I have hitherto, when such occurred, acted on the olden usage, and accompanied the administration of Baptism with all its solemnities.

Have I been wrong in doing so; and does the legislation of Maynooth Synod require me to discontinue any part of the ceremonies in future cases of this kind? ARMACANUS.

We said in a former number of the RECORD¹ that the Synod of Maynooth has not, in our opinion, withdrawn the permission, granted in the Synod of Thurles, to confer Baptism with all the ceremonies in a private house in two cases, viz., "*ob magnam distantiam ab ecclesiis, vel ob gravem aeris intemperiem*." But these are the only cases to which this privilege extends; in others, the directions of the Roman Ritual are to be followed. Accordingly, we are of opinion, that in the two cases of necessity put forward by him, our respected correspondent should conform exactly to the Ritual by conferring Baptism with the ceremonies that follow the application of the matter and form in the house, and reserving the ceremonies that precede the Sacrament for the Church when the infant can be presented there for the purpose. We believe that these and all similar cases of necessity are covered by the clause of the rubric "*vel alia cogente necessitate*." The whole rubric referring to this point runs thus:—"Cum urgente mortis periculo, *vel alia cogente necessitate*, parvulus, sacris precibus ac caeremoniis praetermissis, fuerit baptizatus; ubi convalescerit, vel cessaverit periculum, et ad Ecclesiam delatus fuerit, omnia omnia suppleantur."²

As the obligation of supplying the ceremonies is, according to St. Alphonsus,³ *sub mortali*, the priest should inform

¹ March, 1881.

² Ordo supplendi omnia super infantem baptizatum.

³ St. Lig. lib. vi., n. 141.

the parent of her duty to bring the child to the church where the ceremonies are to be supplied, as soon as a suitable opportunity of doing so presents itself.

Moreover, the Baptism should be entered in the parochial register as a private Baptism, and, when the ceremonies are supplied, an entry of this fact should be made in the form prescribed by the Roman Ritual in its chapter, "*Formulae scribendae in libris habendis a Parochis.*"

We need hardly add that it is the duty of the priest to labour to make this administration of Baptism in a private house unnecessary by frequently explaining to the people in his instructions the obligation of getting their children baptized soon after birth, and of bringing them to the church for this purpose.

II.

The "Hebdomadarius" in the matter of Indulgences.

1. Must the priest be a "*Hebdomadarius*" to gain the plenary indulgence attached to the "*En Ego*?"

2. What is meant by a "*Hebdomadarius*" in this matter of indulgences? Does it mean that one is to go to confession within every eight days, or is it enough to go every week (from Monday to Sunday), so that a *Hebdomadarius* might be frequently away from confession for twelve or thirteen days?

I. Confession and Communion are enumerated among the conditions for gaining the plenary indulgence attached to the "*En Ego*." Consequently, confession must actually precede the Communion, in the sense commonly understood for gaining an indulgence, or else the person must be a "*Hebdomadarius*."

II. We can find no decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, defining the meaning of the "*Hebdomadarius*." But we read in Father Maurel's "*Christian instructed in the Nature and Use of Indulgences*," a book of high authority, the following very strong statement, to the effect that the *Hebdomadarius* is one who confesses, not once in every eight days, but once in every week, between Monday and Sunday. "Observe," he writes, "the expression '*once a week*;' it is not said '*once in every eight days*.' Thus, agreeably to the terms of the Indult, a person may go to confession on the Monday of one week, say, and not again until Saturday of the ensuing week, which would be the thirteenth day after his last confession.

Yet, it would be true to say, he had confessed every week, or once a week, which is all that the Rescript requires.

"In February, 1868, I again submitted this note to the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. The reply was, that it gives the true sense of the clause, '*Saltem semel in hebdomada,*' and that those who interpret it otherwise, confining it solely to an interval of eight days, are quite mistaken."¹

III.

The Soutane with a Cape.

What priests are entitled to wear a Cape to the Soutane? Is there anything against its being adopted generally?

We have consulted one who, having lived there many years, is well acquainted with the usage of Rome on this point. He writes: "According to the Roman custom the Soutane with Cape is used by all who exercise parochial or quasi-parochial authority, such as the superiors of colleges, parish priests, and curates, &c." In the absence of any positive decree on this point, of the existence of which we are not aware, the custom of Rome is our best guide.

IV.

Questions concerning the Viaticum.

REV. DEAR SIR.—I should feel obliged by your answering in the next number of the RECORD the following questions:—

1. In this diocese it is ordered by the statutes to carry the pix, when one is going to the sick, in the inside left pocket of the vest. This seems to be forbidden by the decree of S. C. R. quoted in O'Kane's "Notes." May we, notwithstanding, conform to the statutes and custom of the diocese?

2. Seeing that it is permitted here to keep the Blessed Sacrament in the priest's house, is it reprehensible to carry *many* particles in one's pix, when going to *one* sick-call?

3. In this latter case, if you administer Extreme Unction after the Viaticum, is the blessing with the pix to be given with the violet or white stole?

4. In many large institutions, *e.g.*, infirmaries, workhouses, hospitals, &c., it is sometimes required to give Communion on Sundays, after Mass, to bed-ridden patients in different wards, and in different houses of the same institution, male and female; is it allowable to go through the "*ritus communicandi ad infirmos,*" given in the Ritual, up to the end of the Confiteor in the chapel,

¹"The Christian instructed in the Nature and Use of Indulgences." Translated by Rev. P. Costello. Page 69.

then to withdraw the ciborium from the tabernacle, carry it processionally to the wards, administer Holy Communion, and return to the chapel to say, "Domine Sancte," and finish with the blessing?

I. You should comply with the direction contained in the decree of the Congregation of Rites. The diocesan statutes do not require, and have not, of course, received the approbation of Rome. The decision you refer to is an express disapproval of the custom of carrying the Blessed Sacrament in the way you describe. Hence the correction in O'Kane's "Notes."

II. Where it can be avoided without inconvenience, it would be better not to carry in the pix more particles than are necessary for the number of sick-calls. The reason why the Roman Ritual allows the priest to carry more Hosts than he knows to be necessary for the sick, is that he might bring back the Blessed Sacrament to the church, in the same kind of solemn procession in which he bore it to the house of the dying.¹ It is on account of the difficulty of observing this external respect, when the distance is long or the way difficult, or when the priest must ride, that the Roman Ritual itself suggests, that in these cases only one Host be carried, when not more than one is necessary for the sick.

Now, in the circumstances of our country, the reason supposed in the Rubrics for carrying in the pix more Hosts than are necessary, never occurs, since we do not accompany the Blessed Sacrament with the ceremonial the Ritual prescribes.

¹"On prend une Hostie," writes Le Vavasseur (vol. i. p. 10, sec. i., chap. iv., art. iii. § 2. note); "de plus pour pouvoir revenir solennellement à l'église. On ne la fait pas si le chemin est difficile, et si l'on ne pouvait donner à cette fonction toute la solennité désirable."

"Unica tantum Hostia non est assumenda pro delatione SS. Sacramenti ad infirmum, sed semper aliquot et saltem duae in pixidem sunt ponendae ut semper una supersit, cum honore ad ecclesiam deferenda." De Herdt. *Praxis Litur. Rit. Romani*.

S. Carolus statuit (1. Con. Prov. *Mediolanensi*) ut duas sacras Eucharistiae particulas deferant ad aegrotantes, ne eis ad ecclesiam redeuntibus populus inane vasculum adoret.

In the Second Council, the same St. Charles ordered, "ubi Episcopi judicio, vel loci distantia, vel itineris temporariae difficultas, vel alia causa impedit quominus illud praestari possit, tunc licebit sacerdoti eam SS. Eucharistiae particulam solam deferre quam aeger percepturus est."

In this second case, the priest, when returning, is not to carry the pix *palam*, or to wear surplice or stole, or to be accompanied by acolytes.

Apud Calalani, Rit. Rom.

We believe that it is no longer necessary to call the attention of any priest to the stringent prohibition to carry with him, through his parish, the Pix containing the Blessed Sacrament, unless when he is called to visit the sick. All have become familiar with the letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, and the sentiment of the Congregation of Rites on this subject, through the medium of Father O'Kane's book.

III. The blessing with the pix is to be given after Extreme Unction¹ has been administered, and, we believe, with a white stole.

IV. Consult O'Kane (cap. xiv. n. 841), who is plainly of opinion that the whole ceremony should be performed in each ward.

"If the Viaticum be administered to two or more at the same time, as may happen in a hospital, or even in a private house, where several members of the family may be prostrated by fever or some other infectious disease, it may be administered to them successively, just as Communion is administered in the church, provided they be in *the same apartment, or even in adjoining apartments opening into each other.*"

"In this case, the salutation *at entrance*, the sprinkling of holy water, &c., &c., may serve for all in common."

V.

Statues in the Sanctuary.

REV. SIR.—Will you kindly say, in your next number of the RECORD, whether it is allowable to have statues in the sanctuary of a parochial church, which is not sufficiently large to have any but one altar?

We know of no reason which makes it unlawful, provided the statues are not placed in front of the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament.

VI.

Good Friday and no pre-consecrated Host: What is to be done?

REV. SIR.—If the celebrant, on Holy Thursday, forgets to consecrate a Host for the Mass of the Presanctified, how is it to be provided for the following day?

The question supposes that the Mass cannot be conveniently omitted, by reason, *at least*, of the general disappointment of the laity, who would be otherwise numerous present at the ceremony.

It presumes, moreover, that there is no other Mass on Holy Thursday at which the Host can be specially consecrated for Good Friday.

¹ De. Herdt, *Praz. Liturg. Rit. Rom.* cap. v. § ix. 4.

Might the celebrant, on Friday, use one of the small Hosts consecrated on Thursday, or even on any other day of the week, for the faithful? Or could he use a Host that had been consecrated for Benediction, and that happens to remain over? Or, finally, ought he, or could he, use half the Host obtained from a neighbouring church, and specially consecrated for Good Friday?

The case brought forward by our correspondent is discussed by three eminent theologians: Gobatus, Sporer, and Lacroix. All three are practically of the same opinion:

(1) They say that it would be better to omit the Good Friday celebration than consecrate at the Mass of the Presanctified; and this for two reasons: first, it is forbidden to consecrate on this day, and, secondly, it is unlawful to consecrate bread without wine.¹

(2) They all admit that, in the circumstances, the priest might make use of one of the small Hosts reserved for the sick. Of course, it would be more appropriate to employ the large Benediction Host, which our correspondent supposes to be available. They justify this deviation from the rite prescribed by the Church for this day, by the obligation of avoiding scandal, or causing much disappointment, displeasure, and commotion among the people generally.²

(3) If it should happen that not even a small Host is reserved from Holy Thursday, what is to be done? Even in this case, they do not require that the Good Friday ceremonial should be omitted. They suggest that a priest, different from him who is to say the Mass of the Presanctified, should celebrate privately, in the morning, the Mass of the Cross or of the Passion for the purpose of consecrating a Host for the Mass of the Presanctified.³

If a second priest cannot be had, what is to be done? Even here they allow the one priest to say the Mass of the Cross or of the Passion privately in the morning early, omitting, of course, the taking of the ablation, and to celebrate the public office of Good Friday later on.

These solutions seem to us to turn upon the scandal or very serious annoyance given to the people generally by the omission of the Good Friday ceremony. The people are not obliged to hear Mass on Good Friday, so that there is no obligation arising from this source. Now, if such an accident were to happen amongst us, we believe that our people would not be scandalized, if the matter were fully

¹ Gobatus, *Tract. iii. Casus vii. 217.* ² Sporer, *Pars ii. cap. vi. sec. v. n. 452.*

³ Lacroix *de Sac. Missae*, Lib. vi. pars iii. dub. 3. 233.

explained to them, and the priest were to substitute some devotional exercise for the Mass of the Presanctified, such as the Stations of the Cross, and Passion Sermon. Accordingly, in ordinary cases, where such an omission would occur, an explanation of the mistake and of the requirements of the liturgy for the day, followed by some suitable exercise of devotion, would seem to us to be the practical solution for our country.

We append the extract from Gobat, as it must be interesting to our respected correspondent:

"Quid si parochus feria v. non consecrasset hostiam pro sequenti feria? An hac sequenti feria eam licite consecraret?"

"Respondeo non esse tunc sacrificandum, sed loco grandioris accipiendam unam e particulis (reservatis pro infirmis)."

"*At populus mirabitur quando attolletur tam parva Hostia?* Resp. E duobus malis minus est eligendum; est autem minus malum facere hoc, quam non habere ullum officium.

"*At ne quidem parva Hostia suppetit?* Resp. Ergo non parva poena imminet ob tam periculosam negligentiam. Interim videbitur non nemini, esse tunc penitus omittendum officium illius diei ob varia incommoda, quae sequuntur ex celebratione. Puto, tamen, ea esse minoris considerationis quam omissionem illius officii; omittendo enim agitur contra legem naturalem de vitando scandalo et gravibus ob murmurationibus, non omittendo sit transgressio solius legis humanae, utpote postponendae naturali.

"Distinguo autem casum illum hoc modo: Contingit is vel in urbe vel in pago. Si in urbe, facile habebitur sacerdos, qui privatim faciat Sacrum de Passione aut Cruce, consecretque Hostiam pro officio publice celebrando ab alio. Si in pago, faciat ipse parochus privatim ejusmodi sacrum, omissa sumptione ablutionis; publico peragat consuetum officium dñei, acturus quidem contra duplex praeceptum ecclesiae, unum de non communicando bis, alterum de non conficiendo sacramentum illo die; sed quia est fas facere etiam die profesto bis Sacrum, ut satisfiat devotioni populi; quia etiam prohibitio non conficiendi eo die sacramentum, cedere debet legi naturali de non dando scandalum."

Sporer and Lacroix discuss the question from the same stand-points, with the same results, and almost in the same words.

VII.

The "Oratio imperata" at Benediction.

When the Bishop prescribes a prayer in the usual way, viz.: "to be said at Mass until, &c." should this prayer be sung at Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament in addition to the prayer or prayers proper to the occasion; and, if so, why, and when?

This form of order expressly restricts the *oratio imperata* to the Mass; and we know no reason why the Mass should be made to include Benediction of the Most Holy Sacrament or any other exercise of devotion.

VIII.

The use of the Stole and Surplice when the priest is hearing Confessions.

May I ask you whether the very satisfactory answer given in the March number of the RECORD to a question concerning the use of the stole, when a priest is hearing confessions, is to be modified regarding the necessity of its use by Regulars vested in the habit of their Order?

If the practice of not wearing the stole, when they are hearing confessions in the church, exists among Regular priests of any Order, we presume that it is sanctioned by a special privilege. We cannot say what their privileges are.

According to the following decree of the Congregation of Rites, Regular priests are obliged to conform to the rubrics of the Ritual:—

“In hac congregatione resolutum fuit ab EE. PP., si SS. D. N. placuerit, ‘etiam Regulares cujuscumque Ordinis et Instituti, etiam Societatis Jesu teneri in Missis solemnibus adhibere Diaconum et Subdiaconum, et in Vesperis Sacerdotem pluviali indutum, ac in reliquis omnibus prae-fatos tenere exacte observare Rituale, Caere-moniale et rubricas Missalis Romani.’” S.R.C. 5 Oct., 1652 (1653).

As to custom, the following decree expresses the opinion of the same Congregation on its value in this matter:—

“Utrum consuetudo ministrandi Sacramentum Poenitentiae absque stola, etiam in Ecclesia et sede confessionali, servari possit, cum Rituale Romanum, dum praescribit usum stolae in administratione Sacramentorum, addat: ‘nisi in Sacramento Poenitentiae ministrando occasio, vel consuetudo, vel locus interdum aliter suadeat,’ et alibi idem Rituale subdat: ‘stola violacei coloris utatur, prout tempus, vel locorum consuetudo feret.’” S.R.C. resp. “*Conveniens est, ut in Ecclesia adhibeatur stola, juxta S.R.C. decreta,*” 31 Aug., 1867 (5382. iii.)

In our last number we said that it was not the custom of our country to wear the surplice, when one is hearing confessions. Since then we have been honoured by a letter on this question from the Bishop of Limerick, from which, with the kind permission of his Lordship, we make the following important extract:—

“Your correspondent, on this subject, says, ‘that the Maynooth Synod is silent as regards the surplice,’ but he does not add, nor

do you mention, that Cardinal Franchi, in his letter to Cardinal Cullen, conveying to him the wishes of Propaganda regarding our Maynooth Decrees, alludes to the use of the surplice in hearing confessions in the church, and declares it to be the *wish* of Propaganda that the surplice should be worn. His words are: 'In administratione Sac. Poenitentiae Emi. Patres censuerunt commendandum esse usum superpellicei, cum, videlicet, confessiones excipiuntur in ecclesiis, ac praesertim diebus festis.'¹

"As soon as I saw this letter, which is dated 1st September, 1876, I expressed a wish—not a command—that the clergy would conform to the wishes of Propaganda, wherever it could be done without inconvenience, and it became at once the very general practice."

CORRESPONDENCE.

ADMODO REV. EDITOR.—Ponatur casus aliquando occurrens.

Petrus viduus cum Anna defunctae sororis sorore Matrimonium inire vult, sed obstat impedimentum Affinitatis oriens ex consummatione Matrimonii et quoque ex copula illicita quam ante nuptias cum defuncta uxore habuit. Parochus per suum Episcopum a Sac. Cong. Prop. dispensationem, tacitâ copulâ illicitâ, obtinuit; sed nunc dubius est utrum decretum Gregorii XVI., 29 Martii 1842, in quo annuntiatur in gratiam Episcoporum Belgii, necessarium non esse in libello supplicii ut explicetur haec affinitas contracta ex copula ante Matrimonium habita, his regionibus applicari possit.

When the Bishop of Utrecht applied, in 1855, for faculties in a similar case, the concession was given in this form: "Dentur litterae Apcae, die 29 March, 1842."

Are we, then, to infer that this decree of Gregory XVI. is *universal*; and that, accordingly, in Ireland one would be safe in acting according to its provisions?

Bened. XIV., Inst. 10. n. 6., teaches that this is the meaning of the formula "Dentur litterae." Soglia and Van de Burgt regard the decree as universal.

W. RICE.

[We feel little difficulty in saying that we agree in the opinion which is obviously held by our esteemed reverend correspondent. In support of this opinion, we shall quote a few modern authorities of weight in addition to those referred to by him. Feije, in his learned work, *De Impedimentis et Dispensationibus Matrimonialibus*, cap. xiv. n. 371, holds this opinion without any reserve. "Omnia

¹ This letter is not published in the volume containing the Acts and Decrees of the Maynooth Synod, with various appendices.

autem et singula ejusmodi vincula sunt in supplici libello memoranda, ut valeat dispensatio; in quarta tamen supra indicata hypothesi [the one we are dealing with] *hodie non requiritur* multipliciter expressio eo casu, quo ante matrimonium copula habita fuit cum defuncta comparte, cum qua dein fuit consummatum."

Elsewhere, n. 704. c., he says, "*hodie* tamen ea multipliciter species exprimi amplius non debet, quae oritur ex eo quod ante matrimonium copula habita fuit cum defuncta comparte, cum qua dein fuit consummatum matrimonium, ut constat ex S. Poenit. 29 Mart. 1842." As this decision was given to the Belgian Bishops, he adds in a note: "Imo *ubique* valere patet ex rescriptis ad alios episcopos. Episcopo Harlemensi rescriptum fuit. Pro gratia juxta petita quatenus opus sit, et detur declaratio S. M. Greg. XVI. 29. Mart. 1842."

"Episcopo Ultrajectensi, 9 Sept. 1851, fuit rescriptum *Dentur litterae Apostolicae de die 29 Mart. 1842.*" He then quotes Van de Burgt to the following effect: "Post editum hoc rescriptum SS. DD. N. Pius Papa IX. expressis verbis Antistiti in Neerlandia significari fecit, Sedis Ap. voluntatem esse, ut Greg. XVI. dispositio Belgii Episcopis communicata in aliis etiam servatur regionibus."

Konings, De Mat. n. 1588, quotes Cardinal Soglia in favor of this opinion, and approves of it . . . "quas [litterae 29 Mart. 1842] Soglia merito affirmat *ubique* valere."

The same opinion is held in the Mechlin Treatise de Matrimonio n. 99. n. vi.]

ED. I. E. R.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Handbook of Essentials in History and Literature, by the
Rev. D. GALLERY, S.J.

THE book before us is the second edition of a little work, the first edition of which was received with universal and unqualified approbation. We have great pleasure in expressing our approval of this edition, which is even an improvement on the first, being carefully revised and enlarged.

The work is the result of an experience which every one has had, who has been entrusted with the teaching of boys. It is impossible to teach boys History and Literature from the ordinary treatises, without imposing on them an insupportable task. Father Gallery, therefore, drew up historical tables, in which are set forth only the principal events, with as brief a statement of the various circumstances of each, as was compatible with clearness.

These tables comprise :—(1) History, Ancient and Modern ; (2) History of Ancient Literature and Philosophy ; (3) History of Modern Literature. The notices in the third part of the English and American writers are all that could be desired in a rudimentary handbook.

The work has been subjected to the great test of experience. Father Gallery assures us that boys between nine and twelve years of age, having been obliged to learn the Historial tables, in the same manner as spelling, grammar, and geography, soon mastered them so thoroughly, that they could not be mistaken about the date of an event, or the events of a given year. The dryness of this system Father Gallery gets rid of by advising the teacher to expand and explain and dress up for pupils the naked events which they have learned.

We are sure that all teachers who use this book in a proper way, will be as well satisfied with the results as Father Gallery himself has been.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers :—

From Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin—

An Eviction in Ireland and its sequel. By ELLIS CARR.

The Name of Jesus. A Sermon preached in the Church of the Sacred Heart, Limerick. By Father FINLAY, S.J.

A Fair Exchange is no Robbery. A Drama. By MARY WINTER.

The Position of Catholics in the United States. By the Right Reverend J. W. Spalding.

St. Laurence O'Toole and his Contemporaries. By EBLANA.

The Intermediate Education Act: How it has failed in its Chief Object. By THOMAS LAFFAN, M.R.C.P.

A Short Easter Mystery Play. By the Reverend H. FORMBY.

Lessons in Gaelic. No. 4. Second Gaelic Book. Part I.

The Gaelic Union Report for 1880.

Stray Leaves from my Notebook. By M. L. N.

From KEGAN PAUL & Co.

History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain. Vol. II. By Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT.

From R. WASHBOURNE—

Kainer: or the Usurer's Doom. A German Tale, Translated.

From BURNS & OATES—

Workings of the Divine Will. By PERE CAUSADE, S.J.

The Three Tabernacles. By THOMAS A. KEMPIS. Edited by Rev. M. COMERFORD. New Edition.

The Jesuits. A Sermon preached in the Church of the Holy Name, Manchester. By Reverend W. H. ANDERDON, S.J.

The Refutation of Darwinism. By T. WARREN O'NEILL, Member of the Philadelphia Bar.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
Censor Dep.

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THE PAPACY AND CATHOLIC ENGLAND.

GREAT social and religious changes, like convulsions in the natural order, are the result of influences only fully unfolded in their effects, yet seldom altogether unforeseen. However silently they grow, they are rarely without their premonitory signs—interpreted by clear but usually unheeded voices of prophetic warning. Such beyond all other events was the French Revolution. The fancied security of the French Monarchy was scarcely ruffled by the threatening tones heard from within and from without, nor was their import understood until the deluge had subsided, and the curious had time to gather up the scattered auguries of impending doom. So it was too with that other great upheaval—the forerunner of the French Revolution—the rise and spread of English Protestantism. The religious revolution in England was, no doubt, precipitated by a series of accidents dissociated from remote causes, and owed much of its success to an event so purely political as the Wars of the Roses. These fatal feuds substituted the absolute rule of what Mr. Green calls the “New Monarchy,” for the well-ordered balance of the ancient constitution; and, by destroying the safeguards of freedom, left England a prey to despotic sovereigns, and a race of adventurers who had everything to gain from the spoliation of the Church. The interests of the Seymours and the Russells, in their bearing upon Protestantism in England, deserve at least as much attention as the plea of some English Catholic writers, amongst them Cardinal Manning, that the people were beguiled into heresy, under the deceptive guise of the Catholic forms of worship,

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preserved by the policy or convictions of Henry VIII. But, after making due allowance for these and other theories, we feel instinctively that they offer an inadequate explanation of a disastrous event. At most they concurred with causes more powerful than themselves. Protestantism was, in truth, the result of forces lying deep in the spiritual condition of England—too deep to be ascribed to the accidents of political change, still less to a passing fancy, or a personal quarrel. These forces had slowly, but surely, loosened the hold of the Church on the minds of the English people, and derived their strength in England, as elsewhere, from moral excesses, and from the decay of reverence for the sacred ordinances of religion. The circumstances of its origin gave its peculiar character to the Anglican Church, but neither in England, nor in any country, desolated by Protestantism, were irreligious influences the growth of an hour. In England, more than in any European State, except some parts of Germany, had they given fatal proofs of their existence. They inspired the socialist and doctrinal errors of Wickliffe, and imprinted themselves on the enactments of successive parliaments. But above all, the literature of England was, for many generations, instinct with the spirit of evil. It would, no doubt, be easy to infer too much from the literary tone of any age, and it might be plausibly maintained that even popular writers have more frequently reflected the views of limited classes, now of patrons and again of cliques, than the average political or religious sentiments of their contemporaries. No writer of our own day got a wider hearing than the late Mr. Carlyle, yet who would assert that he represented the prevailing opinions of his fellow-countrymen? Again, large abatement has to be made for the greater freedom of criticism when all were Catholic, and, perhaps, yet more for the prominence Protestant prejudices have given to satirists, from Langland to Skelton, as well as for the suppression of every work based upon Catholic principles. But when we consider how few these works were, and that the ablest advocates of the Church, like Pecocke and Udall, assumed the role of apologists, we must still admit that such poems as "*Piers the Plowman*" reflected only too truly the current of ideas that ultimately bore England away from the centre of Catholic unity.

Among the most marked of these influences was the attitude of England towards the Holy See. In earlier ages she was as devoted to Rome as Ireland is now. Her

hospitals and schools were among the most ancient foundations of the Eternal City. The greatest of her kings were drawn to Rome by a sacred attraction. Ina, after laying the foundations of English law, ended his days in the calm seclusion of one of its monastic homes. The piety and wisdom of Alfred were enkindled at the feet of the Pope before he commenced his mission of civilization; and it was from the tomb of the Apostles that Canute wrote the memorable letter in which he reversed the unjust policy of his life. In later times, whatever were the faults of the Normans, Cardinal Newman was speaking within the strict limits of historic truth when he described them as the right arm of the successors of Gregory VII. in re-asserting the claims of ecclesiastical discipline. But the tide had long turned. For many generations before the revolt of Henry VIII., England had been withdrawing herself more and more from her ancient attachment to Rome. The doctrinal position of the Pope was not, indeed, impugned; on the very eve of the final outbreak it was sustained with persuasive eloquence by Henry himself. But homage is never so formal as when it is unreal. While the Holy See was the object of outward devotion, it was really regarded with jealousy and suspicion. The Popes were credited with unreasonable pretension, and though their jurisdiction was much freer in its exercise than it is to-day in many Catholic countries, France for instance, or Belgium, it was still fenced round with galling and troublesome restrictions. Perhaps it was yet more impeded by that spirit of lawless defiance which made it possible for an angry peer to tell Wolsey, in the fulness of his power that "Cardinal never boded good to England." Careful inquirers are able to assign special motives for each of the series of enactments under the later Plantagenet kings, but it is not so easy to determine the causes of the hostile feeling which underlay them. We are puzzled to reconcile the control of the Church under Edward III. with the sudden agitation against papal appointments to benefices. We are still more puzzled to find the Parliaments of Richard II. and Henry IV. displaying more zeal against Lollardism than the bishops, and the same Parliaments, with no less zeal, framing and enforcing the Statute of Præmunire. At first sight opposition to Rome would naturally be referred to the struggles between the Popes and the Normans and early Angevin kings. Nowhere had the Church been involved in more dangerous conflicts. The disputes on

investitures and on the immunities of the clergy were calculated to wound the sensitive pride of haughty monarchs, and were probably not without a permanent influence. When Henry II. cited St. Thomas as a traitor, his main purpose was unquestionably plunder, but he was also avenging the most memorable triumph of the Church over despotic power. The same causes, however, which tended to alienate royal sympathy, enlisted the active support of the other estates of the realm. The struggle maintained by so many Popes was a struggle for rights which came home to all conditions of men. The heart of mediæval England responded to their efforts. The deepest emotion in its whole history was the religious sentiment which sent, for so many ages, crowding pilgrimages, rich in all the picturesque varieties of life immortalized by Chaucer, the reeve and the priest, the lawyer and the merchant, the yeoman and the man of gentle birth, to the sacred shrine of Canterbury; and this intense feeling was elicited because the martyrdom of St. Thomas was the crowning event in a conflict for civil freedom as well as for the independence of the Church. Nor was the dispute with John an exception. The unbridled licence of that vicious ruler was first checked by the Holy See. The vigorous action of Innocent III. made him pause when all other means had proved unavailing. His subsequent acknowledgment of the Pope's suzerainty has been credited with evoking an enthusiastic resistance. But this is a later fancy. Shakespeare, writing for once in the Protestant tone of his day, probably too to catch the ear of a princess who brooked no rival, boldly transferred the spirit, and almost the words of a famous statute of Elizabeth to the thirteenth century, and by a hardy anachronism created a popular delusion. The protest he puts into the mouth of John

"That great supremacy

Where we do reign, we will alone uphold,
Without the assistance of a mortal hand:"

represents no dominant feeling in that stormy time. The act itself, by which England was converted into a fief of the Holy See, was an ordinary incident of feudalism, submitted to by German emperors, French kings, and the predecessors of John himself in similar contingencies, as of little more than ceremonious significance; and in any case had the warm concurrence, certainly of the nobility, and most probably of the nation. No doubt, the transaction had, under the

pressure of unusual circumstances, the unfortunate result of throwing Innocent III., a defender of freedom in every part of Christendom, into temporary opposition to the Barons of Runnymede. But the great Charter itself, by securing the rights of the Church in its very first article, bears evidence—an evidence confirmed by the records of succeeding years—of the unimpaired influence of the Popes. In all the great measures which then agitated England, the rise of municipalities, the abolition of villenage, the infancy and growth of representative assemblies, the Church had so large a share, that we could not expect to find in those times the origin of anti-papal feeling. The thirteenth century was one of those great eras, when the Catholic Church renews her youth like the eagle; and, while displaying all the resources of her spiritual life, affects incidentally the multiplied relations of human society. Europe, as it was left by the Roman Empire, was finally passing away before nations called into existence by the Church, whether formed out of barbarous hordes or from the relics of a decayed civilization. Her influence was the moving principle of Christendom, and no country derived more lasting advantages than England from the wise agencies directed by Rome. Under John, the Church had given a leader to the Barons; the scion of a Provençal house, renowned for its devotion to the faith, became an English Earl under Henry III., and created the English Parliament. The same age saw, on the one hand, the rise of the Mendicant orders, the growth of the universities, and the triumphs of ecclesiastical architecture; on the other, the moulding of Norman and Saxon, the conquerors and the conquered, into one harmonious people, under the assured sway of justice and law. These movements were not merely parallel. Professor Stubbs recognises in the unity and energy of the Church the true safeguards of English society, and in her various institutions the models of the legislative reforms completed by De Montford.

From this brief review we can fairly infer that the Church never held a more commanding position in England than when Edward I. ascended the throne. A little more than fifty years elapsed before the murder of his hapless son, no long period in the history of a nation. But within that interval, reverence for Papal authority was exchanged for distrust and suspicion, if not for active hostility. The well-known statutes, directly limiting the jurisdiction of the Popes and furnishing ample resources of persecution

to the enemies of the Church, began with Edward III., as did also those literary excesses to which we have already called attention. What was the cause of this revolution of feeling? What fatal events wrought a change so momentous in its consequences? We cannot find the explanation in the character of either of the princes who then governed England. Edward I. had signalized his attachment to the faith on the plains of Palestine, and was profoundly impressed with the wisdom of strengthening his influence by the support of the Church. Edward II. was involved in the difficulties of an inglorious reign, but showed his devotion by some noble foundations. Nor can we find a clue in the domestic transactions of the time. The constitutional reforms of Edward I., above all the great principle of personal freedom, were largely effected by Archbishop Winchelsea, who displayed qualities worthy of Langton himself. In the ignominious dissensions of the reign of Edward II. the Church had no share. But England was just then entering on a new policy, in which we think we can discover the origin of her bad relations with the Holy See. She was laying the foundation of that career of conquest which, with little interruption, has lasted to our own day. The claim of the English kings to the throne of France began to take definite shape. Wales was subdued. The independence of Scotland, often threatened in the past, was directly attacked. The complete conquest of Ireland was designed. To none of these projects could the Holy See be indifferent. Rome was then the arbiter of nations, the centre of the "federation of the world." The ideal dream of peace-societies and poets, of substituting gentler methods for appeals to force, was then more nearly realized than it is likely to be in the future. But it was the inevitable result of the powers conceded to the Popes by opinion, and the public law of Europe, that their interference would sometimes rouse the passions of dominant states. Such conjunctives were the real trials of the Church in the Middle Ages. In curbing the power of Henry IV. or Philip Augustus, the Popes had enlisted on their side every sentiment of freedom and morality; and, in the long run, their action was sanctioned by the universal voice. But there were other struggles, in which prince and people were united in the same acts of injustice or spoliation, and in which the authority of the Pope could not be exercised without some consequences dangerous to that authority itself. Such we believe to have been the

interference of Boniface VIII. in the affairs of Scotland, and the appeal of John XXII. for Ireland. These incidents are well known to the readers of general history, but as they have rarely been considered in reference to their bearing upon the subsequent attitude of England towards the Holy See, we shall briefly narrate them in that connection.

In 1387 an event of great importance in the annals of Scotch monarchy took place. Alexander III., the last male representative of William the Lion, was killed at Kinghorn, in Fife. His granddaughter, the Maid of Norway, was summoned from her northern home to govern Scotland. She had scarcely touched the Orkneys, when she too died. All Scotland was thrown into confusion. A host of claimants sprung up. Among these the eyes of the kingdom were turned to the descendants of the Earl of Huntingdon, in the female line, especially to Baliol and Bruce. By an arrangement of the Scotch peers the decision was left to Edward I. This able king seemed peculiarly fitted to determine a knotty point in the law of succession. The decision ultimately given does not detract from his reputation; but we are only concerned with a separate issue. For, when Edward proceeded to the Border, he revived a claim which, for a time, threw the rival pretensions of the contending parties into the background. A shadowy right of suzerainty over the realm of Scotland, preferred by more than one English king, was suddenly renewed; and Edward sought to decide not as an arbitrator voluntarily chosen, but by the inherent right possessed by a sovereign over his vassals. This claim scattered dismay amongst the Scotch nobility. Edward was surrounded by a powerful and chivalrous army, elated by recent trophies won in Gascony and Guienne. He was not without a party among the Scotch themselves. His pretensions were gradually admitted by a section of the Scotch estates headed by Bruce. But the great body remained firm. After the fall of Baliol, they maintained a heroic struggle, which has naturally lent itself to the fictions of romance. During the government of Wallace they appealed to Rome. The Chair of Peter was then filled by Boniface VIII., a Pontiff who brought to his exalted position the highest gifts. The rival statements submitted to the Pope curiously reflect the spirit of the time—that strange mixture of argument and legendary inference which passed current before the facts of history were subjected to searching criticism. The fables of Geoffrey of Monmouth,

ascribing the colonization of Great Britain to Brute the Trojan, were gravely met by tales borrowed from the Irish annalists, tracing the Scotch race to the Pharaohs. But both parties soon descended to more tangible proofs. Edward cited the acts of submission made by many Scotch kings. The Scots either restricted these confessions to the English fief of Cumberland, long attached to the crown of Scotland, or they treated them as acts extorted by violence or fraud. They appealed to their ancient independence and to the untrammelled liberty enjoyed by Scotland until it was, in an hour of national weakness, rudely assaulted by Edward himself. On this broad ground the Pope, disregarding blandishments and threats, commanded Edward to abandon his pretensions. The decision was received as a charter of freedom by the Scotch, but aroused the liveliest indignation in England. From his accession Edward was involved in formidable contests with his subjects. But for once the estates of the realm were in full accord. The feelings of Englishmen, of every grade, against Scotland were deep and bitter. The Border forays had already commenced. More than one Scotch king had swooped down upon the north of England; while the English standards, in turn, were repeatedly borne across the Tweed. The alliance, lately formed between Scotland and France, intensified the bitterness of domestic feuds. We can easily imagine how cordially king and people welcomed the opportunity, presented by a war of succession, of reducing such a rival to the dependence of a vassal, and how acutely they must have felt the blow struck by the Pope. The king disavowed his authority, and, to give the disavowal the highest national sanction, summoned a parliament.

The parliament sat at Lincoln in 1301 and was marked by more outward display and a graver attention to formalities than any other assembly in that age. Famous jurists were called up from the universities to give more weight to its deliberations. The very monasteries were ransacked for documents bearing an issue. The Pope's claim to decide—a claim based upon the general consent of Christendom—was solemnly repudiated. "It is, therefore," declared the parliament, "and by the grace of God, shall always be our common and unanimous resolve that with regard to the rights of his kingdom of Scotland, or other his temporal rights, our aforesaid Lord the King shall not plead before you, nor submit in any manner to your judg-

ment, nor suffer his rights to be brought into question by any inquiry, nor send agents or procurators for that purpose to your court." In this pronouncement we hear the first mutterings of the revolt, which ultimately severed England from the Church. Though the language is carefully balanced, we can discern the style and tone only fully developed, more than two centuries afterwards, in the statutes of Henry and Elizabeth. The seed was sown, which was destined to bear abundant fruit. For the first time Englishmen, not a party or a section, but the whole people, King, Lords and Commons, were taught to measure their allegiance to the Holy See, to limit their loyalty by subtle distinctions, and to accept or reject the authority of the Pope according to the canons of political expediency.

The intestine feuds between the favourites of Edward II. and the nobility diverted for a time the attention of the people from the conquest of Scotland. But the energy of Robert Bruce sustained the cause of his country through misfortune and defeat; and after many romantic adventures secured its independence on the field of Bannockburn. The issue of this long struggle, which they had watched with the deepest interest, revived the spirit of the people of Ireland. Over the crowd of Irish chiefs one towered by his intellectual gifts still more than by his power. The famous clan of O'Neil was then represented by the first of the three great men it produced. Donald O'Neil saw an opportunity in the circumstances of England, humiliated by a crushing defeat, of raising Ireland up from her dependent condition. But he equally saw how hopeless concerted action was among the Irish leaders themselves. He knew that his own claims to supremacy would be rejected by some of the most powerful septs. He therefore looked abroad, and conceived the purpose of uniting them under one whose name bore the halo of victory, while he was too much apart to rouse the jealousy of warring clans. He called in Edward Bruce. Robert Bruce himself had found a refuge in Ireland. He was largely indebted to the bravery of his Irish followers for his success at Bannockburn. The Bruces, moreover, like the Stuarts, centuries afterwards, had the prestige attached to their descent, whether real or imaginary, from the ancient princes of Ireland. Edward Bruce, therefore, entered upon his enterprise under conditions which seemed to promise a happy issue. While the contest was still undecided, O'Neil addressed his memorable letter to Pope John XXII., a powerful and argumentative

indictment against English rule in Ireland. He recalled the conditions of the grant of Adrian IV., and showed in a brief, but comprehensive summary, how shamefully they had been violated. Of the issues involved, the Pope took a clearer view than O'Neil. He probably saw how unequal Ireland was to grapple with England. The conduct of Bruce's army too was little calculated to conciliate the Pope. The march of the Scotch was marked by atrocities which are indignantly detailed by our Irish annalists, and which converted not only the Anglo-Normans, but many of the Irish southern clans into active foes. But, notwithstanding their disregard of religion and morality, the Pope was deeply moved by the appeal of O'Neil. He enclosed his letter to the English king, and endorsed his complaints in a grave and earnest remonstrance. The original of this remonstrance was published by O'Sullivan Beare, but has been lightly glossed over especially by that class of writers who give undue prominence to the grant of Adrian, but carefully suppress the active exertions of so many Popes in the Irish cause. We quote the most salient passages from the "Church History" of Father Malone, who has admirably dealt with the incidents of this period. After referring to the complaints of English rule, the Pope goes on:—

"These letters we have read; and, amongst other things, we saw how our predecessor of happy memory, Pope Adrian, gave to your illustrious progenitor the kingdom of Ireland, as is specified in the Apostolic letter to him. To the object of these letters, neither Henry nor his successors paid any regard; but without cause or provocation, heaped on the Irish unheard of grievances, and forced on them an unbearable yoke. Though their cries have reached your ears they were not heeded. Thus no longer able to bear the tyranny, they have called in another to rule them. Our advice therefore is, that you look in time to these things; and delay not to conciliate them, lest the evil may become greater, and the Lord may transfer your kingdom to another. Remove the cause of their sufferings by honourable dealing; so that the Irish, having no cause of complaint, may obey you as lord. And if they (which God forgive) continue in rebellion, which they describe before God and man as justifiable, then by removal of the cause the rebellion will become unjust."

In these words, the voice of Rome was again raised to protest, in no doubtful tones, against the licence of unbridled authority. No parliamentary vote, it is true, condemned this remonstrance. But we cannot doubt its

effect. So much sympathy could not be shown for the people of Ireland, without confirming the impression created by Boniface VIII. Both together gave convincing proof that the Holy See would not connive at injustice or wrong; and though other motives may have contributed, and undoubtedly did contribute, to the same result, we believe that the feeling they excited largely influenced the anti-papal legislation of Catholic England.

J. E.

RELIGIOUS EXAMINATIONS IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS.

[Our readers, we are assured, will take a deep interest in any communication relating to the movement which has been recently set on foot in favor of more systematic religious instruction in our primary schools. It is a development of Catholic and clerical zeal peculiarly suited to the wants of the present time. We feel much pleasure, therefore, in publishing this paper, written by one of the zealous clerical examiners of the Diocese of Dublin. We hope to be able, within a short time, to give an account of the good work that is going on in the same direction in some of the other dioceses of Ireland.—ED. I. E. R.]

“Tis gold that makes the true man kill’d.”

Cymbeline, Act ii. Scene 3.

IT is now many years since England's greatest poet uttered these memorable words, and to-day, after centuries of labour and turmoil in the world's history, they bear the same significance as they did in the days of William Shakespeare. The institutions of life which civilization has raised as evidences of intellectual power and labour, the various professions as the result of culture and experience, all, have had their spirit and scope marred or influenced by the all-absorbing power of gold. Medicine, law, diplomacy, all the learned professions, even the Church itself has, at one time or other, felt the almighty influence it commands. In our own day it has entered into our schools, and threatened dreadful havoc to the little ones of the fold, who are lisping the elements of Catholicity during the tender years of childhood. Religious education appears

to our rulers not the sacred thing it was to our Catholic fathers. For years the spirit of Robert Lowe has pervaded the educational institutions of the empire; and the party who espouse secular education are rampant in England, and would feign overthrow all religious knowledge. England will not now endow any system of education, any school or college having any distinctive religious belief. Verily, Religion is threatened with banishment from the school, and the little ones of Christ are left to systems of education which treat of science, or art, or poetry, or romance, but seldom of the "Science of the Saints," or the Faith of Christ, without which "it is impossible to please God." We live in terrible times, when the Chief Pastor of the Church, the Vicar of Christ, is a prisoner in his own palace, and the Autocrat of all the Russias, the mighty monarch whose sway extended over half the Continent of Europe, is murdered, barbarously murdered, in noon-day, in his own capital by his own people! Evidently the wave of irreligion sweeps over Europe, and infidelity, the offspring of indifference to all religion, threatens the very basis of society, unless religion arrests its evil influence. Religion alone, true religion—the knowledge of God, His attributes, His providence, His omnipotence, if rooted in the soul from the first dawn of reason, and made, as youth grows to adolescence, to guide life's progress, can stem this onward tide of destruction.

Accordingly, it is with much concern we observed the religious education of our schools not duly encouraged in some instances, and the time that should be given to it devoted to subjects of secular knowledge, likely to win money.

It was a deep feeling of similar concern that induced the Catholic Hierarchy of Great Britain, on the occasion of the introduction of the system of payment by Results into the English schools, to appoint examiners to go through the schools and report upon their religious teaching. It is a similar feeling that now actuates the Irish Prelacy to have their schools visited and examined by recognised examiners. The Bishop of Down and Connor, always in the van of practical business-like reform, has for some years the religious examination of the schools of the diocese ably conducted by one of his priests. And, within the past few months, the Archbishop of Dublin has formulated a scheme of religious examination, likely to be of incalculable value to the important and great diocese over which he so worthily rules. But it may be asked, are

our schools in Ireland, so long the nurseries of religion, thus secularized by this all-absorbing greed of gold, and is religion made to stand aside for literature; is the Catechism hidden that the lesson-book may be taught? Any one travelling in the neighbourhood of a school in Ireland, where an examination for Results is approaching, will observe the children late in the evening on their way from school; and, if asked why it is they are so late, seeing the hour for dismissal has long passed away, he will be told that they were preparing for the examination. And, if asked whether the Catechism had been taught that day, or the previous day, or the previous week, or fortnight, while this Results' examination loomed in the distance, he may be shocked to find the answer in the negative! Nor is it in the secluded country schools alone that this practice is prevalent. More favoured schools, we fear, some at least, must plead guilty to the ugly insinuation. We have reason to believe that success at the Results' examinations is often a very insecure guide to the amount of attention paid by particular schools to religious instruction. Indeed, in some cases, we know that the two vary inversely. Our remarks are confined within narrow limits, but we think they are capable of much more general application. Unless we are misinformed, all through Ireland there is more or less of this apathy on the part of teachers to teach the Catechism. I must not be understood as decrying the Irish National teachers as a body: far from it. I believe there are men among them as moral, as religious, as worthy in every way of respect, as in any other calling or profession; but I do say, that owing to the cause I have mentioned, as well as their efforts to obtain a competent salary, the tendency of their lives is not favourable to the successful teaching of the Catechism. No wonder, then, that the Bishops in their respective dioceses, in obedience to the Council of Trent, should be solicitous about the teaching of the Christian Doctrine, should enforce what the Fathers of Thurles and of Maynooth held to be essential to its success, and adopt the means and the agencies prescribed: the weekly school visit and instruction, the periodical examination, the monthly approach to the Sacraments, &c.

The arrangements prescribed for the Metropolitan See of Dublin, admirably bear out the teaching of our National Synod. In the circular issued by the Archbishop to the school managers of his diocese, occur the following passages in

reference to the time for religious teaching throughout the diocese, and the periodical examination of the schools :—

“ It is intended that all schools in the diocese shall be visited and examined by the School Visitor *once* in each year, with a view of testing the proficiency of the children, and reporting upon their knowledge of the Christian Doctrine. This examination is supposed to extend to every child, and, though not intended to embarrass, must yet be sufficiently searching to elicit the knowledge of the child. Another examination or two may be incidentally made during the year, at the convenience of the School Visitor, for the purpose of observing the religious progress of the school, and stimulating, if necessary, the teachers in their good work.

“ It is requested that uniformity as to time and instruction shall be observed throughout the diocese, in the all-important teaching of religious instruction. With this view, it is desirable that the day's labours shall begin and end in prayer: morning prayer when the children assemble, immediately *before* secular or literary teaching; catechetical or doctrinal teaching of religious subjects later on, for some specified time, not less than *half*, not more than *one* hour; and in the evening when the children are about being dismissed, the reciting of portion of the Rosary of the Blessed Virgin, the Litany, or some short prayers. The instruction given within school hours should be directed by the clergyman in charge, and should be catechetical or doctrinal, according to the requirements of the school. No opportunity should be lost of making the religious truths of Christian Doctrine known to the children in a manner so as not only to be instructive, but to be instruments of forming their young minds to virtue and morality. Accordingly, the subjects should be prepared with great care, and rendered to the children in a simple and attractive form, by the officiating clergyman; and the catechists who teach under his direction should be prepared by him at intervals for this all-important duty. It should not be forgotten that the school is the great nursery of childhood, and that the instruction there received will mould the mind and give it a direction for good or evil, according as it is imparted; and that the lessons of wisdom and of virtue there acquired, shape our destinies in after years. Nor should it be forgotten that the *school* is the battle-field of Faith in these modern ages of scepticism and unbelief, and that to be victorious, we must put on the “armour of God” thus early, and arm ourselves with the “breastplate of salvation,” by a sound and thorough knowledge of the great truths of the Christian religion. Monthly confessions, or at periods suitable to the tender years of childhood, should be provided for by the parochial clergy.”

Here it will be observed that the Archbishop of Dublin is in accord with the great departed Bishop of Orleans,

Monsignor Dupanloup, in his estimate of catechetical instruction. Like him, his Grace maintains that catechetical instruction is the Christian education of the soul; that its three features are, the *recitation*, the *explanation*, and the *practice*. The successful recitation of the Catechism, the clergyman in charge confides to his catechists, having trained them for the work from time to time. The explanation he himself gives to the children, in "a simple and attractive form," preparing for it as he would for Sunday's instruction to his people; and the practice is seen in the exemplary tenor of the children's lives, but especially, in their frequent and edifying reception of the Sacraments.

In this simple arrangement consists the work of catechetical instruction throughout the diocese. Its introduction has evoked great enthusiasm, and the weekly visits of the priests tend to make attendance regular and permanent. The complaint heretofore sometimes heard, that the priests seldom visited the schools, can no longer be made, at least in Dublin; and the blessings that must arise from their teaching in the schools, will be valuable. The examiners selected to test the efficiency of the instruction thus given, in Great Britain and Ireland, are men of character and ability: some, as in English dioceses, having small but central parishes which require of them not much missionary labour; some, as in Down and Connor, being exclusively devoted to this work; while in Dublin the expedient has been resorted to of appointing priests from each deanery to examine its schools. The work is already entered on, and bids fair to advance and prosper. The religious element must henceforth be regarded as not less important than the literary studies; and the fear of the neglect of religious instruction must necessarily diminish day by day. We, in Ireland, can scarcely realize the danger, as seen in other lands, of neglecting the Catechism, of giving literary instruction a prominence over religious teaching; but the social and political history of those countries tells its tale of disaster, as the terrible outcome of such neglect of religious education. While I am on this subject, I am tempted to quote a very remarkable passage in the evidence of the late Bishop of Cloyne, before the Royal Commission on Primary Education, in 1870. Dr. Keane is interrogated by Master Brooke, one of the Commissioners, (Question 15601,) in reference to the management of schools in France. The Commissioner urges that what is done in France might be done in

Ireland, without any detriment to the Faith, and his Lordship replies :—

“Do not take France as a model. France has not seen as yet the end, the ultimate consequences of that system of education that was introduced into it, and became established there very nearly one hundred years ago ; and there is scarcely a generation educated under that system which has not brought about a revolution. I was about to allude to the bill adverted to by Professor Sullivan just now, the bill promoted by Mons. de Fallard, when he was Minister of Public Instruction. One of the committee who sat upon that bill was Mons. Thiers, who had been minister in different capacities under Louis Philippe. I have not his report before me now, but I remember distinctly having read it, and he said in his report to the *Corps Legislatif* : ‘We have been up to the present moment developing the intelligence of young Frenchmen ; we have been imposing no restraints on the passions of their hearts, and the result is that France is in a state of constant revolution. The generation trained from 1772 to 1792 brought about a revolution. The generation trained from 1792 to 1815, brought about a revolution ; another revolution in 1830 ; another revolution in 1848, and you may be quite sure that France has not done with revolutions yet. ‘But,’ Mons. Thiers said, ‘gentlemen, we must retrace our steps ; we must make education more religious than it has been up to the present moment ; we must put it upon the former basis ; and if we do not, I tremble for the future of France.’”

We, too, in Ireland must make education more religious, if we are to preserve the Faith and the religious character of our people. We must watch a system already but tolerated, and wanting in its constitution many of the safeguards of Catholic education. The greed for gold tempts the teacher to inaction in the prosecution of his duty as a catechist, while the class-books tell little of religion or morality. Verily, in no period of our history is the admonition of St. Paul to his disciple Timothy, regarding earnestness in the prosecution of his mission, more applicable to us than in the present : “*Preach the word : be instant in season, out of season : reprove, entreat, rebuke in all patience and doctrine.*”

E. R.

THE PRINCIPLES OF '89.—III.

AS we remarked at the close of our last paper on this subject, the entire political system embodied in the Declaration of '89, and adopted by modern revolutionists, is based on an utterly erroneous conception of the origin and nature of Civil Society, and, consequently, of Civil Government. Viewed from the standpoint of history, this system is known to be the outcome of Rousseau's theory of a *Contrat Social*; and, as we read through the several articles of the Declaration, the conviction forces itself upon us more and more, that the dreamy fancies of the Philosopher of Geneva were ever uppermost in the minds of its authors.

We have already explained, at some length, the theory of the *Contrat Social*;¹ but, for the convenience of our readers, it may be advisable to recapitulate briefly its leading features. Proposing to himself, then, to lay down the true origin and nature of Civil Society and the Civil Power, Rousseau starts with the supposition that man is not *by nature* a sociable being; that his natural condition is that of savage isolation from his fellows; that at some early period of the world's history, mankind, by a perfectly spontaneous act, surrendered this savage independence of theirs, and agreed to constitute themselves in the social state for purposes of security and defence;² that this

¹See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD; March, 1881.

²This view of the origin of society cannot boast even the merit of novelty, as we find it current among the pagans of old. Every school-boy is familiar with the lines of Horace:—

Quum prorepserunt primis animalia terris,
Mutum et turpe pecus, glandem atque cubilia propter
Unguibus et pugnīs, dein fustibus, atque ita porro
Pugnabant armis, quae post fabricaverat usus;
Donec verba, quibus voces sensusque notarent,
Nominaque invenere, dehinc absistere bello,
Oppida coeperunt munire et condere leges;

Jura inventa metu injusti fatare necesse,
Tempora si fastosque velis evolvere mundi.

(Satires, Lib. i. 3, l. 99-105, 111 12.)

We find the same doctrine set forth in Lucretius:—

Glandiferas inter curabant corpora quercus;

Necdum res igni scibant tractare, neque uti
Pellibus, et spoliis corpus vestire ferarum:
Sed nemora atque cavos montes, sylvasque colebant;
Et fructices inter condebant squalida membra.

(De Rerum Natura, Lib. v. l. 937, and 951-54.)

It is worthy of remark, however, that while the pagan philosophers

agreement has been perpetuated and renewed, at least implicitly, by all succeeding generations of men; and, consequently, that the entire superstructure of Civil Society rests upon no more solid foundation than a *contract* or pact, freely entered into by men for their own convenience, and binding only so far as they may wish to bind themselves. Such is the foundation of Rousseau's famous theory, which would make Civil Society nothing more than a purely human association, formed for purely human purposes, something after the manner of a Club, or of a Banking Company on large a scale.³

and poets invariably attributed to the gods man's ultimate deliverance from this savage condition of life, some modern philosophers would refer it solely to man's own action, in accordance with their favourite idea of the universal supremacy and all-sufficiency of human reason.

³ This erroneous view of civil society has become so widely prevalent in our times, that we find it put forward even by men who are very far, indeed, from sympathising with revolutionists or their school. Thus, for instance, Lord Macaulay, in reviewing Mr. Gladstone's first literary work: "The State in its Relations with the Church," argues as follows, to prove that (according to his judgment), it is not laudable in a civil ruler to seek the spiritual good of his subjects. "Look," he writes, "at banks, insurance offices, dock companies, canal companies, gas companies, hospitals, dispensaries, associations for relief of the poor, associations for apprehending malefactors, associations of medical pupils for procuring subjects, associations of country gentlemen for keeping fox-hounds, book societies, benefit societies, clubs of all ranks, from those which have lined Pall Mall and St. James's-street with their palaces, down to the free-and-easy which meets in the shabby parlour of a village inn. Is there a single one of these combinations to which Mr. Gladstone's argument will not apply as well as to the State?" And then he goes on to argue that, as it would be an injustice and an impertinence on the part of the manager of any of these associations to meddle with the spiritual affairs of the members, so a civil ruler does not act laudably in striving to promote the spiritual interests of his subjects. (Macaulay, "Gladstone on Church and State," Essays, p. 475. Here the distinguished essayist is constructing a fallacious argument upon a false assumption. There is no parallel between the associations mentioned and civil society, except in so far that all of them are composed of men. The governing body of a commercial company, for instance, derives its authority from a human source, the shareholders; and for purely temporal purposes. The governing body of the State, on the other hand, is not merely the delegate of the people, hired to do a certain work. It receives its authority from God, as we shall prove; and though the *immediate* end of that authority is the preservation of external order, it may not on this account exclude the *ultimate* end for which all society was instituted; any more than the individuals who compose society may leave altogether out of consideration the ultimate end of their being, even when the immediate end of any particular action is purely temporal. But this *par parenthese*: we shall return to this subject in a future paper.

Now let us note carefully the consequences which legitimately follow from this doctrine of a *Contrat Social*—consequences, be it remembered, which Rousseau himself boldly adopted,¹ and which form the leading feature in the Declaration of '89. If Civil Society be a mere arbitrary, contingent creation, springing solely from man's will, and not a Divine Institution, it legitimately follows, (a) that all civil *authority* is of purely human origin; (b) that the *real* sovereign of any State is the people; (c) that the nominal sovereign may not lawfully exercise any authority without the consent of the people; and, lastly, that the Sovereign People may change the form of government at their mere whim, and as often as it may please them. These doctrines have received the unqualified approval of the modern revolutionary school; and if we would refute them to any purpose, we must at once proceed to sap the very foundation on which they rest, by establishing the true theory on the origin of Civil Society and of Civil Government, tracing both to nature—that is to God—as their author, and showing how utterly absurd is the visionary assumption of a social pact. To this task we shall devote the present paper; but before addressing ourselves directly to the question at issue, it is imperative that we premise one or two remarks, to prevent any possible misconception of our meaning.

To begin with, we must not be understood as denying that the first Civil Societies which were established in the world, sprung from a pact of some kind or other. History does not inform us, with any degree of certainty, how they were actually formed; but, howsoever their formation was effected, it is clear that in the transition of society from the Patriarchal system, or that of Chieftainship, to Nationalities, it was necessary that families, hitherto independent of each other, should, for their mutual advantage, have consented to become united, and be ruled by some authority, which had no title antecedently to such consent. But what we contend is this: that such compact was not absolutely discretionary; that it sprung from a necessity of man's nature; and that, when it was once entered upon, and society became thus constituted on the basis of authority, the person entrusted with the authority held it from God, and independently of the will

¹ See quotations in IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for March, 1881.

of the people:¹ just as, for instance, the consent of two contracting parties is required to constitute conjugal society; but once that consent is given, the essential rights and duties annexed to the conjugal state follow *ipso facto*, not in virtue of the consent, but in virtue of the *natural law*; and these rights and duties continue to exist, even though the contracting parties should wish ever so much to renounce them.

Again, in this paper we have no controversy whatsoever with those Catholic theologians who, while strenuously defending the divine origin of Civil Society and the Civil Power, trace that power from God *immediately* to the community, and *mediately*, through the community, to the head of the State. In the opinion of these divines, (and they are both numerous and eminent), the limits of the power entrusted to the head of the State may, under certain circumstances, be defined by compact between him and the people. Nay more, they may stipulate for its reversion to them under specified conditions, or at a determined period. But this is rather a political than a social contract; and those who hold this view rigorously maintain the divine right of the civil government, fixing that right, however, rather in the office, than in the individual who fills the office for the time being.

These two kinds of pacts of which we have just now made mention, are quite different from the social pact of Rousseau and his modern disciples; and the precise difference between the followers of the Philosopher of Geneva and ourselves is this—that in tracing the formal

¹This holds true, not only of the first formation of Civil Society, but, likewise, of the formation of all bodies politic at subsequent periods of the world's history, and to the end of time. In the case, for instance, of new colonies, the union of the people in a body politic presupposes some kind of voluntary agreement among themselves, for men are free, intelligent agents; but, once this union is effected, the authority to govern them does not exist simply in virtue of the agreement, as Rousseau maintains, but it springs *necessarily from the very nature of things*, and consequently from God, the author of nature. So that the very moment the people agree to constitute themselves a civil community, that moment, and *ipso facto*, authority to govern themselves exists among them, even though, *per absurdum*, they should wish their community to exist without any such authority. This is the teaching of Suarez, who writes: "Prius est tale corpus politicum constitui, quam sit hominibus talis potestas, quia prius esse debet subjectum potestatis quam potestas ipsa, saltem ordine naturae. Semel autem constituto illo corpore, statim, ex vi rationis naturalis est in illo haec potestas—per modum proprietatis resultantis."—*De Legibus*, Lib. iii. cap. iii. n. 6.

reason of the existence of Civil Society to a pact, they base the *moral value* of authority and law on a purely human convention, whereas we base it on the law of *nature*, which proceeds from God, and, therefore, claim for authority a moral power *superior to the human will*, and capable of imposing on it a moral obligation.

Having thus removed the possibility of misunderstanding our meaning, we shall now proceed to prove—first, that Civil Society is a necessity of man's nature, and consequently ordained by God, the Author of nature. From this it will follow legitimately, as a corollary, that civil authority, which is an *essential* property of a body politic, and without which Civil Society is *impossible*, is, also, ordained by nature, that is, by God, the Author of nature. Next, we shall prove, in the second part of this paper, that Rousseau's invention of a social contract not only has no foundation in fact, but is, moreover, impossible; and from this we may infer that the various revolutionary theories based upon this hypothesis are equally untenable.

I.

Since Domestic Society is unquestionably *more natural* to man than Civil Society, to avoid confusion, and ensure greater method in our demonstration, we shall divide it into two parts: showing, first, that the social state, simply, is a necessity of man's nature; next, that of all social states, civil or political society alone adequately satisfies man's natural requirements. We may, therefore, state the whole *general argument* in the form of a syllogism, of which we shall prove the premises, thus: Man is by nature a sociable creature: But Civil Society is the only social form which adequately satisfies the requirements of man's nature: Therefore, it is a necessity of man's nature that he belong to Civil Society.

A. In proving the major proposition of this argument, we must remind our readers, that our knowledge of the nature of anything can be derived only from a study of the actions or external manifestations which make that nature known to us, according to the old axiom of the school-men, *modus agendi sequitur modum essendi*. If, therefore, we find all men, *as a species*, agreeing in these things which render society necessary for them, we may legitimately conclude that society is natural to man; since, as St. Thomas says, "all men do not agree except in what is

natural to them."¹ Now, it is no difficult task to establish conclusively that all men *do* agree in these things which render society necessary to them.

(a) In the first place, society is *physically* necessary to man for the acquiring and preservation of his existence. Man cannot begin to exist without the consent of two intelligent beings, who enter into a union for this express purpose. Here we have at once conjugal society, the most elementary and the most natural of all social forms. But not only does man stand in need of society to acquire life, in the first instance, but without its aid and protection he could not continue to exist, at least during his early years. It is a fact which needs not demonstration, that of all animals born into this world, man is, at his birth, by far the most helpless, and the least provided by nature with the means of self-preservation. Nature furnishes the irrational animals with clothing through the operation of purely natural laws; she endows them with an unerring instinct to guide them in the selection of proper food and suitable dwelling-places; and in countless wondrous ways she supplies them with the means of self-defence. No such provision has been made for man; and, for many years after his birth, he is absolutely dependent on the experience and love of his fellows, for the means of preserving his physical existence. It follows, then, that the social state is necessary to man by a physical necessity of his nature, altogether independent of his own will.²

(b) But even were we to suppose that, at some period of his life, man could become absolutely independent of society, as regards his physical wants, yet would the social state remain still *morally* necessary to him, because of the affections with which he is endowed by nature. These affections vary with the different stages of life; but at no period, from the cradle to the grave, is man free from these natural tendencies which make him shrink instinctively from solitude, and draw him towards his fellow-man, with

¹ "Non enim omnes homines conveniunt nisi in eo quod est eis naturale." 2. 2. q. 57. a. 3.

² The argument here put forward has been employed by St. Thomas, with his usual marvellous lucidity and force, in his work, "*De Regimine Principum*," lib. i., cap. i. But, in truth, the train of thought is such that it must suggest itself naturally to any reflective mind; and, long centuries before the time of the Angelic Doctor, we find Plato putting the self-same observations, in almost identical terms, into the mouth of Protagoras, when expounding the fable of Prometheus and Epimetheus on the origin of mankind. (See "*Protagoras*," cap. xi.)

an inclination so powerful, that any ordinarily-constituted individual, who may choose to withdraw himself altogether from the society of his fellows, cannot do so without supernatural aids. In youth, there are the intense natural affections which bind together parents and their children, as well as the collateral members of the same family. With manhood there comes a natural feeling, stronger still, which impels man to form a conjugal union with one of his own species; while at this time, also, he is very susceptible of ambition, and longs for wealth, position, and power, all of which pre-suppose society. Finally, when old age comes on, the decay of physical strength not only renders man once more incapable of providing for his own wants, but, by removing him from the sphere of active existence, produces a sense of helplessness, loneliness, and dependence, which can find its only natural solace in the sympathy and loving solicitude of relatives and friends. The existence, then, of these affections, which nature has implanted in the human breast, forces us to conclude, that the social state is for man a natural necessity.¹

¹ Father Taparelli has described the ties which bind man to society, in a passage of such singular beauty that we owe no apology to our readers for transferring it to our paper:—"Osservate come l'intento del creatore si manifesta efficacissimo insieme e soavissimo in modo che l'uomo quasi non può transviare. Nascendo sarebbe egli incapace di vincoli morali, ma lo tiene in società la debolezza, il bisogno. A seconda che scema il bisogno, si accende nel suo cuore l'amor filiale e la riverenza suggerita dalla superiorità ch'ei comincia nei parenti a ravvisare; e in un cuore ancor tenero qual forza hanno mai questi sensi! Ma s'accendono a poco a poco altre passioni; onore, amore, risentimento, indipendenza, mille affetti diversi cominciano a straziargli il cuore, e corrispondenti all'ardor giovanile crescendo le forze sembrano allettarlo a spezzare il giogo paterno . . . Sarebbe questo il momento in cui già ingagliardito di mente e robusto di corpo, potrebbe isolarsi, abbandonar la società, spezzarne le leggi; ma appunto questo è il momento in cui la ragione sbocciando dal germe incomincia a mostrargli il dovere. Gli riescono gravi e inutili gli ammonimenti di sì augusta Maestra? a proporzione che egli vi insordisce pungono le passioni più ardenti; e se il dovere non riesce a domarlo ciò avviene appunto perchè si dà vinto a passioni che lo incatenano bene o male in società. Al piacere, alla gloria succederà l'amor di comandare o di arricchire nella virilità; e finalmente passato il fiore del vivere, or per amore dei figli e degli amici, or per apprensione di una abbandonata vecchiezza verrà trattenuto nella società, finché essa raccogliendone le ossa in un sarcofago, continuerà a beneficiarlo ancor dopo morte col pianto di che lo consola, colla tutela che concede al suo cenere, cogli onori di cui lo circonda, colla amorevolezza onde rassoda le sue ultime volontà. La società è dunque istituzione del Creatore, che vi trae l'uomo con ugual forza e soavità."—*Saggio Teoretico di Dritto Naturale*, Cap. ii. n. 334.

(c) Even in his face we can read man's nature. The conformation of the human countenance is such as indicates that man was intended by nature to hold communication with his fellows, since there is no feeling of the human soul which cannot be externated by the expression of man's features and look, and which is not of itself calculated to excite corresponding feelings in others. No effort of art is required to do this: for nature herself effects it, even among the most untutored savages, and everywhere in a uniform manner. Now this natural power of manifesting one's feelings would be useless, were not man intended by nature to live in society.

(d) But, above all, the faculty of speech, with which nature has endowed man, conclusively proves that he is created for society. For, while brutes can utter merely a few confused and inarticulate sounds, mostly expressive of pain or pleasure, man is gifted with the power, not only of giving adequate expression to every feeling of his soul, but even of conveying to others a clear perception of the most delicate operations of his own mind. Now this faculty would be perfectly useless if man were not destined for society: nay, more, the very power to exercise it presupposes society, since we learn to speak only by hearing others speaking. Therefore, we legitimately conclude that man, by the design of nature, and without any concurrence of his own will, is a sociable being.

Before we proceed to demonstrate the second portion of our argument, viz.: that not only Domestic, but Civil Society, is natural to man, it may be well to reply here to an objection sometimes put forward against the truth which we have been proving up to the present. The objection is this: that, if the social state be natural to man, the life of a hermit or anchorite would be opposed to the natural law.

To this objection we might reply, in the first place, by denying that there ever could exist a man so entirely cut away from society as to have no relations whatsoever with it, either past or present, actual or habitual, physical or moral. But even taking it at its utmost value, it amounts to no more than this: that exceptions to the physical and moral laws of nature are possible—a position which we freely admit. However, lest we may thus seem to be rather shirking the difficulty than supplying an honest solution, we shall come more directly to the point. We must distinguish, then, in human society, that which is *essential*,

and therefore universal, from that which is *accidental*, and therefore particular. That men, *as a species*, and *collectively*, are necessitated to live in society is an *essential* provision of nature, *which is ever certain to be satisfied*, because of the affections and inclinations which she has implanted in man; but that this or that other *individual* in particular, lives in society, or belongs to this rather than to another community, is an *accidental* circumstance depending upon various fortuitous combinations, and in nowise affects the general law. We may illustrate this by a familiar example. It is a law of nature that, to provide himself with the means of sustenance, man must labour, and cultivate the earth. Will any one pretend to infer from this, that, therefore, every *individual* member of the human species is bound to take spade and shovel in hand, or, failing to do so, violates the law of nature?

B. Having shown that the social state is natural to man, primarily by the fact that, without any concurrence of his own will, he is born a member of the family, we now proceed to demonstrate the minor proposition of the argument set down at page 273, viz: that Civil Society alone adequately satisfies the requirements of man's nature; in other words, that man is naturally formed for a wider social sphere than is to be found in domestic or family society; and that his natural sphere is Civil or Political Society, by which we understand: "a sufficiently large community of men, composed of different families, united for the common good, under one supreme authority, and bound together by the same laws."

(a) In the first place, Civil Society is *physically* necessary to man, though not in the same degree as the Family. For it would be impossible for single families, if completely isolated, to acquire all that knowledge, or to discharge all those duties, which are necessary to supply perfectly the physical wants of man; while, at the same time, nature, which *per se* always tends to what is more perfect, impels man to provide *amply* for his physical wants, so as not merely to exist, but *to exist well and comfortably*. Therefore, it must have been the design of nature that several families should unite, so as to ensure a division of labour and duties, some devoting themselves to one and others to a different pursuit, yet all affording help to one another, and co-operating towards the common good.

(b) But, setting aside his physical necessities altogether, man has other wants which render Civil Society *morally*

necessary to satisfy the requirements of his nature. Some of these have reference to his reason, others to his will.

The specific essence of man consists in that he is a *rational* being, and it follows, consequently, that the most important natural function of his existence is to develop his intellectual powers. Now, though all men possess, from their birth, the germ of reason, it is evident that the due growth and full development of this germ must be almost exclusively the work of society. For what, as a matter of fact, is the object towards which the human mind is ever tending with a craving which refuses to be satisfied? It is the knowledge of *Truth*. Now, without the interchange of ideas between men, any individual could not obtain more than an extremely limited store of knowledge; and the human race would consequently be doomed to a condition of perpetual infancy. It is society which preserves to man the inheritance of the wisdom of past ages, and freely places it at his disposal, when his mind has attained sufficient strength to take in its meaning. It is society which stimulates him by praise, by rewards, and by countless other incentives, to put forth his full intellectual vigour. It is society which collects and transmits to posterity the accumulated researches of its individual members; thus securing the regular, unbroken continuity of human thought from age to age, until the crude speculations of one century become, after long ages of patient investigation and unremitting mental toil, the perfected and demonstrable discoveries of another. Therefore, from that irresistible impulse, which man feels to acquire knowledge, we may legitimately infer that he is intended by nature to hold unlimited communication with his fellow-men; and this, of itself, pre-supposes the existence of Civil Society as necessary to supply a *natural* want.

Not only does the perfectibility of man's reason demand the help of society, but the perfectibility of his will, likewise, stands in need of the same powerful assistance. As *Truth* constitutes the natural object of man's intellect, so *to do good* is the natural object of man's will. Now, society furnishes man with powerful aids and incentives to good. Not only does it present to him objects on which to exercise his natural inclination towards beneficence, but it stimulates him in the performance of good, by praise, reward and example; while it deters him from evil by various motives, which could not exist outside of society. Indeed, without the help afforded by society, the moral

condition of mankind would be deplorably bad. Even as it is, notwithstanding all the restraints imposed by education, by considerations of public decency, by natural affection, by the fear of punishments, by public opinion, and by religious and social influences, man is still capable of sinking to a condition of moral degradation, which lowers him even below the brute creation. What, then, would become of him if all the restraints imposed by Civil Society were removed? Again, man's will naturally tends to love his fellow-man, and to exercise this tendency by deeds of beneficence and generosity; nor is this feeling confined to the members of his own immediate family, but it extends to the entire human species, uniting all men in the bonds of an universal sympathy. Now this propensity of our nature cannot be gratified except in Civil Society. Therefore we are forced to conclude, that nature, which does nothing without a purpose, intended man to live in a body politic.

(c) Furthermore, that man was created for Civil Society, is proved by the fact that it is the only social system which adequately secures to him his natural rights. Without the aid of the public force, individuals could not effectively ward off unjust aggression; nor could disputes regarding the rights of property be satisfactorily determined without the assistance of the public tribunals.

(d) Lastly, the voice of nature is sufficiently declared in the *fact*, that ever since men became sufficiently numerous to form communities, they have lived under some form or other of political government. This is a universal fact, to which history does not furnish an exception even among the most barbarous nations. Therefore, Civil or Political Society is natural to man, since, as Cicero truly observes: "Omni in re consensio omnium gentium lex naturae putanda est."—*Tuscul. Disput. Lib. i. cap. xii.*¹

¹ "It must be borne in mind that the arguments put forward in the text, are intended to prove merely that men in *general*, or considered as a *species*, are necessitated by nature, and independently of their own will, to unite in Civil or Political Society. The immediate cause why this or that people in *particular* formed themselves into a Political Society, must be sought in some antecedent *fact* connected with their history; and thus the question belongs to the domain of the historian rather than to that of the philosopher. However, following the order of nature, we may directly trace Civil from Domestic Society as a natural growth, and a consequence of that impulse whereby man is urged to propagate his species. For when, in the infancy of the world, brothers married and had offspring, the family became too numerous to be contained

COBOLLARY. *Since human nature requires that men should live in society, it follows of necessity that the Author of nature must have provided men with the means of making society possible. But society cannot be possible without the establishment of Civil Governments. Therefore the authority of the Civil Government is derived from the Author of nature, that is, from God.*¹

We might, if we chose, support by the authority of revelation the doctrine here deduced from reason alone, but we refrain from doing so, for two reasons : First, because our adversaries in this question are not the men to attach much importance to proofs derived from Scripture ; and, secondly, because it is unnecessary. For, as we have proved, the Civil Power is *natural* to human society, and, therefore, like the law of nature, its existence ought to be

any longer under the same roof. Hence new dwellings had to be constructed ; yet not at such a distance from one another as that all social relations should be broken off ; for mutual love and mutual wants would still bind the families together. With the gradual increase of population, houses, also, would continue to multiply ; and thus, by degrees, villages towns and cities would spring up, all still maintaining social relations with one another, but requiring some central authority to preserve the, bond of unity, and secure the co-operation of all towards the promotion of their common interests. It is thus that St. Thomas explains the *de facto* origin of Civil Societies (*Politic. lib. i. lect. 1*) ; and, long before the age of the Great Doctor, Cicero put forward the same view in the following passage : “ *Prima societas in ipso conjugio est : proxima in liberis : deinde una domus, communia omnia. Id autem est principium urbis, et quasi seminarium reipublicae. Sequuntur fratrum conjunctiones ; post sobrinorum sobrinarumque : qui, cum una domo jam capi non possint, in alias domos tamquam in colonias exeunt. Sequuntur connubia et affinitates ex quibus etiam plures propinqui. Quae propagatio et soboles origo est rerum publicarum.*”—*De Officiis, Lib. i. cap. xvii.*

Though this is the explanation suggested by nature herself, to account for the first origin of civil societies, yet we may readily admit that particular nations may have been originally formed under other circumstances : for instance, by the accidental meeting in one place of several families, bound together by no ties of consanguinity ; or by the arrival of several strangers in some territory, hitherto occupied by a single family ; or by the right of conquest, when several independent families were subdued by some one more powerful than themselves ; or, in a word, by many other accidental combinations, which need no special mention.

¹ We must beg the reader to remark that, for the present at least, we do not enter, however remotely, into the question of the *manner* in which the Civil Power is transmitted from God to the head of the State. Neither does the doctrine laid down in the text imply by any means that the *form* of the Civil Government is divine, since it is unquestionable that it is purely a matter of human choice ; but once the choice has been made, the authority to rule comes from God, and not at all from the will of the people.

evident to us by the light of reason alone, and without the assistance of revelation. As a matter of fact, the divine origin of the Civil Power was known to pagan nations from the earliest times. We need not multiply proofs of this statement, but one of them is worth special attention. If we except the Bible, there is no book extant which carries us so far back in the history of the world, and gives us such varied and interesting information regarding its early inhabitants, as Homer. Now, Homer everywhere represents the people of the age of which he sang, as firm believers in the divine origin of the Civil Power. After explaining the Achaian polity as described in the "Iliad" and the "Odyssey," the greatest living Homeric scholar writes thus: "This simple polity is founded under a sanction distinctly divine. It is Zeus, who gives to the ruling office the power that it enjoys. His wrath descends upon the men who pervert justice. We find in Homer the idea expressed, so prominent in the Old Testament, that the sin of the ruler brings suffering on the country."¹ And again, speaking of the functions of the king, he says: "In honour his position was higher still: *the titles Zeus-born and Zeus-nurtured appertained to his office.*"²

II.

Having demonstrated that the state of Civil Society is a necessity of man's nature, it is not necessary that we should lose time in refuting the theory of Rousseau, who traces the origin of Civil Society and of the Civil Power to a free pact, entered into by men for purposes of protection and security. We shall, therefore, dismiss the subject with a few brief remarks.

(a) In the first place, if this pact were ever made, it certainly would have been one of the most momentous occurrences in the history of the world, inasmuch as it involved the surrender of all that man holds dearest—liberty, property, life itself. All social rights depend upon it. A fact of such supreme moment could not have been passed over in silence in the record of the world's annals. Now, where, we ask, is the proof that any such pact, as Rousseau and his school defend, was ever entered into? It is not forthcoming: nay, all proof tends in an opposite

¹ "Homer," by the Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, chap. ix., p. 114 (Macmillan).

² Ibid. p. 115.

direction. Therefore, we are justified in treating the *social pact* as a gratuitous assumption.

(b) Again, the powers essential to the Civil Government are such that they could not possibly have proceeded from a pact such as Rousseau supposes. Balmez puts this point so much better than we could expect to do, that we shall quote his words:—

“The faculties with which the Civil Power is, and always has been, considered to be invested, are of such a nature that they cannot have proceeded from a pact. The right of life and death can have come only from God. Man is not in possession of this right. No pact merely human could invest him with a power which he has not either in relation to himself or to others. I will endeavour to demonstrate this point with all possible precision. If the right of taking away life emanates not from God, but from a pact, it must have originated in the following manner: Every member of society must have said, expressly or tacitly, ‘I consent to the establishment of laws to decree punishment of death for certain crimes; and if I should at any time transgress them, I am willing from that moment to forfeit my life.’ In this manner, every individual will have given up his life, supposing that the conditions specified are realised; but no individual having a right over his own life, the resigning of it becomes radically null. The joint consent of all the members of society does not obviate the radical and essential nullity of each one’s right to give up his life; the sum of their resignations is, therefore, equally null, and consequently incapable of producing any right whatever. It will be said, perhaps, that man, properly speaking, has no right over his own life, when an arbitrary right is implied, but that when he chooses to dispose of it for his own advantage, the general principle should be restricted. This reflection, at first sight plausible, would lead to the terrible consequence of authorising suicide. In reply, it will be said that suicide is no advantage to him who commits it; but if you once grant to the individual the right of disposing of his life, provided he reap an advantage from so doing, you cannot constitute yourselves judges to decide whether or not this advantage exists in any particular case. . . . What will you answer, if he tell you that he prefers death to misery, to *ennui*, to grief, or to such and such misfortunes which torment him?”¹

(c) Furthermore, the nature of the various hypotheses, to which Rousseau is forced to have recourse in order to construct his theory of a social pact, is such as reveals its utter absurdity. For he supposes (1) that the natural condition of man is that of a wild and independent savage

¹ Balmez, “European Civilization,” chap. i.

in the woods, and that, under no circumstance, is the social state natural to him—a position which, in the first portion of this paper, we have shown to be manifestly false. He supposes (2) that wild and savage men, living lives of unfettered independence, could of themselves have conceived the idea of Civil Society, and become so fascinated by it as to resign, without a murmur, all their natural freedom, and, of one accord, submit tamely to the many restraints imposed by society—an assumption which makes too great a demand on human credulity. He supposes (3) that all men enjoy from nature independence: a doctrine which is perfectly true, if it mean merely that no man is born the slave of another; but is false, if it mean that man is independent in his operations. For, to go no farther, nature herself makes man, in domestic society, *subject* to those who gave him life, and imposes on him by the dictates of the Natural Law *the duty of obeying* them. He supposes (4) that, in making this pact, individuals transferred all their rights to society. Now, this is not only false, since there are several rights of individuals which, by the law of nature, are inalienable; but it would, moreover, lay the foundation of a most intolerable system of tyranny, whereby the State would absorb all private rights. Such being the main props with which Rousseau sustains his *Contrat Social*, we may easily infer the inherent weakness of the theory based upon them.

(d) Finally, if we consider the consequences which necessarily follow from this system, they are such as forbid any rational man to entertain it seriously for a single moment. These consequences have been already noticed in the early part of this paper, and have unfortunately become only too familiar to the world, through the periodical outbursts of revolution and anarchy which have convulsed society, with more or less frequency, during the greater part of the present century. The thinkers of the revolutionary school proclaim the sovereignty of the people as the surest bulwark of liberty; but history proves, beyond the possibility of doubt, that the very worst forms of despotism, which ever oppressed the world, have proceeded from the Sovereign People; or, perhaps, we might say with more truth, from self-constituted representatives of the people, assuming to act in the people's name.

Having now established, we hope satisfactorily, the true doctrine of the origin of society, the false nature of many of the Principles put forward in the Declaration of '89,

will be apparent to every one. However, we shall not, on this account, dispense ourselves from a detailed examination of them; and, in the next number of the RECORD, we propose to examine the first article of the Declaration, which propounds the doctrine of the revolutionary school on the vital questions of *Liberty and Equality*.

W. H.

SCIENTIFIC NOTICES:

AFTERNOON SCIENTIFIC LECTURES.

WE must thank the Royal Dublin Society for the course just completed. Like its predecessors, it has special characteristics which we shall briefly note, for it is a chronicle of the present state of science, and a kind of landmark by which we may observe our progress from year to year. This fact is, in itself, no small testimony to the value of these popular lectures, showing how thoroughly alive the Society is to its duties to science, and its obligations to the world in the midst of which it flourishes. In the rapid advance of scientific investigation it is, of course, exceedingly difficult to avoid being left behind; so varied are the subjects and so numerous the inquiries which contribute to the rush forward. But when a Society undertakes not only to have a fair share in the work in its meetings and private studies, but to set before "outsiders" in public lectures the outcome of all this, it is, indeed, to be congratulated when it can, year after year, fulfil this voluntary obligation in a satisfactory manner. Of course there are subjects of investigation which can hardly be treated in this popular style, but what can be so handled is scarcely ever neglected by the lecturers who take this somewhat difficult matter in hands.

Last year Dr. Crookes was induced to bring his apparatus, and his personal explanation of Radiant Matter, before us; while this time we have had the greatest and most renowned philosopher of the day, Hermann Helmholtz, to wind up and give additional eclat to a course of no ordinary interest. We know not what special considerations induce the Society to give the course on the Wednesdays and Fridays in Lent: so we venture to suggest one, which, to us at least, seems sufficient. We

have grown accustomed to regard them as the contribution of science to the work of the holy season; a kind of Lenten Exercises, with their appropriate moral. We hope it is too late in the world's "day," for it to be necessary for us, or any one else, to defend real science from the charge of infidelity; or to show that scientific investigation is the handmaid to religion, and as such always regarded by Holy Church. It is just, then, that science should put in its claim to notice in the season, when religion is inviting special attention to man's relation with his Creator; and should raise its voice in vindication of eternal truths, when infidels, whom the Scripture calls "fools," are misusing science by misinterpreting it, to just the opposite end.

This seasonable motive of science appears to have made itself felt by the lecturers in the course just completed. No one can have heard their united testimony to Christianity, and their recognition of the divine foundation upon which science is raised, without observing this. Not, of course, that there was any affectation of "preaching" directly, which would have been out of place; but the professed recognition was there, which surely was all that could be desired.

Our duty is obviously not one of criticism: it will be enough, in the brief space at our disposal, to note one or two of the special features of the course.

The Astronomer Royal, Dr. Ball, opened with two lectures on "The Distances of the Stars." Here at once we came upon what is deservedly so highly prized in the present day, original research. Dr. Ball can, of course, speak well and learnedly upon any branch of astronomy; but, like most great men, he has his own especial field of investigation, his own peculiar province in the wide world of celestial space. Indeed, he may be said to have inherited it with the other traditions of the Dunsink Observatory, from his distinguished predecessor, Dr. Brunnow, whose renown is chiefly built upon this curious and difficult study. The long and close observations, and the delicate measurements which are involved in such inquiries, would scarcely have availed to bring about such satisfactory results, had not Dr. Ball had the original genius to devise new methods of observation which could check, correct, or (as it proved) confirm what he had before elicited. These conclusions the audience had to draw for themselves; for the clear exposition and modest style of the lecturer kept back, for the time at least, all thought of him who had

done the work in the contemplation of what he had achieved.

Next came Dr. Emerson Reynolds, with one of the most startling and popular discoveries of the day—Hot Ice! He prepared his audience by passing, pleasantly and cleverly enough, through the better known region of cold ice. Dwelling awhile upon that curious and most beneficial law of Providence, which causes water to condense into heavier and smaller dimensions as it passes downward in temperature towards the freezing point, but suddenly stays that process, and changes it into its very opposite, when it arrives within four degrees of that point, and causes it to expand, until at freezing point itself it bursts into still greater volume, and floats as ice upon the liquid surface. He himself has proved chemically, as the new Provost of Trinity has done physically, that no change in the constitution of water takes place on either side of this mysterious point of 4° C., and bows reverentially before the Divine Will, which so disposed for man's special advantage.

But what is hot ice? the reader may ask; and so, with similar impatience it may be, the audience waited to see. At last was brought in a large copper vessel buried in what was found to be a bath of freezing mixture, a bed of mingled salt and snow (which the late inclement season provided abundantly enough). A glass tube, slightly bent in the middle into a very obtuse angle, projected from one side, and in the bend was a quantity of ice.

The powerful flame of a Bunsen burner of gas was at first cautiously applied to the glass elbow, inside of which the ice rested. No effect was produced; the ice remained ice, and seemed to laugh to scorn the fiery action of the flame: it was evidently very obstinate ice. The tube was now sufficiently heated to bear, without any danger of cracking, more continuous heat; and so the burner was left underneath, and the flame attacked the glass; but no impression was made upon the ice, which quietly rested on the adjacent inner surface of the tube. It was a thing, as Byron said of water under other circumstances—"It was a thing to see, not hear." The glass had reached a white heat, and now motion was observed in the incorrigible ice: it gave a start, a sort of kick, and then rested; to kick again, but not to melt. No drop of water showed itself from first to last, but the ice gradually grew smaller; sublimating, as chemists say, which means, passing at

once from ice to steam, without troubling itself with going through the intermediate stage of water. That is what we saw ; but perhaps the reader may wish to hear some explanation of what had taken place before the copper vessel came before us, and how this strange result of hot ice was brought about.

We suppose the usual way of making the experiment was followed in this highly successful instance. A quantity of water is poured into the copper vessel through the bent glass tube, and sufficient is left in the bend nearly to fill it. The water is then boiled in the copper, and passes off, of course, in steam through the tube, until nearly all the water in the copper is boiled away. Then the end of the glass tube is sealed up, and nothing can afterwards enter or escape.

The copper is now buried in a freezing mixture (as we saw it), whereupon the steam, which fills the vessel, cools down into water, and is reduced to the freezing point. But the steam is water expanded, in the proportion of one cubic foot of steam from one cubic inch of water ; that is to say, it occupies about seventeen hundred times the space the water would fill ; and so, when it cools down into its dimension as water, it occupies only one seventeen hundredth part of its former space, and thus the copper vessel is comparatively empty—empty, that is, in a strict sense, and not with the emptiness which implies the presence of air. What comes of this with respect to the water which was left in the bend of the glass tube, and which is surrounded, if we may so say, by an atmosphere of next to nothing ? It freezes at once, and ice it must remain. Why ? Because it is ice under unusual conditions. It has no atmosphere or other pressure upon it. Warm it : it cannot turn into water, because water cannot exist as water without a sufficient pressure upon it to keep it from boiling, and so passing into steam. This is shown by the jerking motion of the ice which we observed. The flame being applied to the glass, sends its heat through that glass to the under side of the ice, which rests upon and sticks to it. The action of that heat is to melt some of the ice into *liquid*, because the surrounding ice presses upon it, and keeps it for a moment in that form ; but as soon as that pressure is sufficient to move the ice, the morsel of liquid flashes into steam in the surrounding vacuum, and the ice steadies itself again. The temperature to which ice can thus be raised, and still remain ice, has been carefully

measured and found to be 122° Centigrade, that is to say, 22° C. above boiling point, or taking the Fahrenheit scale, with which people are more familiar in these countries, seventy-one degrees above boiling point!

After one of Professor Barrett's amusing lectures on "Phosphorescence," in which the enthusiasm of the experimenter communicated itself to the audience, who shared his anxiety in the success of the clever experiments, we had Mr. Howard Grubb on his "Great Refracting Telescope," which he has just completed for the Vienna Observatory. Of course we do not mean that he rode his great instrument, or otherwise brought it into the theatre of the Royal Dublin Society. He described its character and dimensions, its peculiarity of construction, and interested us in the personal history of his great achievement. But he did more than this. On the principle that if the mountain will not come to Mahomet, Mahomet must go to the mountain, he invited us, one and all, to visit him in Rathmines, and showed us the enormous instrument in what we may call its gigantic cradle. Infant it can hardly be called, save in the Woolwich sense, where the greatest of guns is called by that endearing but preposterous name. We saw its marvellous mechanism, and tested it. It moves in any required direction with the least possible amount of pressure: but when rest is required it stands as firm and immovable as if it could never more stir, so exquisitely and yet firmly is it balanced. It would require a whole paper—not to say a whole RECORD—to describe it fully: indeed a good sized octavo has been devoted to this work, to which we refer the inquiring and requiring reader. We were specially privileged, through Mr. Grubb's good nature, to use the telescope on a clear moonlight night, and to approach by its means so near our Satellite that we had its surface presented to our view on a very grand scale. *Tycho* came out with wonderful effect, with its diameter of fifty-four miles, shut in by circular walls, sinking some three miles into the lunar surface: a wonderful cavity. Dublin has indeed reason to be proud of the possession of the most renowned telescope-maker in the world. No wonder, after the complete success of his great reflecting telescope for Melbourne, Vienna should send to Dublin its scientific men, who, having searched the world and made the fullest personal investigation, chose Mr. Howard Grubb to devise and construct the greatest equatorial refracting telescope yet manufactured. Its

length is 36 feet 6 inches; it is 3 feet 6 inches in diameter at its centre, whence it tapers towards both ends. The diameter of the object glass is 27 inches, the largest yet made; while the weight of the telescope and compensating balance is between seven and eight tons. Yet so exquisite is its construction, and so perfect its balance, that it can be turned by the pressure even of a finger. There are arrangements for viewing the graduated circles of Mr. Grubb's invention, which must be seen to be appreciated. The magnifying power of the instrument is, of course, very great, extending to two thousand seven hundred: but this could only be used in a very different state of atmosphere from that we have at Dublin, where four hundred is about the limit. The former would bring the moon within less than a hundred miles of the earth, the latter within about six hundred. But the real value of so very large a telescope, when applied to the moon, is not in its power of magnification, but in the different character of the picture it presents to the eye, compared with what an ordinary large one gives. The greater the instrument the finer and more minute is the image which each point in the moon makes in the corresponding point in the picture; and as, of course, the whole image is made up of these points, the result is that in the very large instrument the picture is delicately drawn, and in greater detail than in the comparatively rough sketch which the other gives. Mr. Howard Grubb has very happily expressed this by saying, it is all the difference between a drawing with a sharp pencil, and one with a blunt point.

Dr. Haughton's lecture excited no small interest: it was announced as "An Answer to Claud Galen's question: Is man the wisest of Animals, because he has hands; or, has he hands, because he is the wisest of Animals?" Many people thought that Claud Galen was some dangerous modern sceptic, whom the brave Professor of Geology was about to encounter; and these perhaps were somewhat disappointed to find that the questioner was no other than the old Greek Physician, who had uttered his interrogatory some seventeen centuries ago. The amusing lecture began with an assault upon Archdeacon Paley, and served up a somewhat stale piece of scandal about the unacknowledged indebtedness of that celebrated writer (or compiler), to a Dutch writer, Nieuwentyt, for his well-known treatise on "Natural Theology." He might have said much the same respecting Paley's "Evidences of Christianity," which was compiled from the larger work of Lardner.

The appositeness of the story to the question in hand was not quite obvious, unless, as the lecturer frankly acknowledged, that most people now-a-days imitate the example of the Archdeacon, but suck the brains of Germans instead of Dutchmen; what followed was intended as a case in point.

We did not hear much about Galen and his long unanswered question, nor do we remember if it was left as it was found; but Dr. Haughton gave a very thoughtful and interesting account of the muscles of birds and animals, and showed how they were striking proofs of *design* in their remarkable illustration of the most powerful adaptation of means to their required end; compressing the greatest power into the smallest space, following most completely the recognized laws of mechanics, and obtaining the result with the least possible exhaustion of muscular fibre. So those who came to hear a refutation of infidelity were not sent away unsatisfied; and might connect in due order Nieuwentyt, Paley and Haughton, as illustrators of design, from the celebrated watch which the second borrowed from the first, to the bird's wing and lion's hind leg, which the third, perhaps, took from his favorite Zoological Gardens.

Professor Noel Hartley brought us again into the field of individual research, in his two lectures on "Air and Ozone, and the blue tint of the Atmosphere." Here we had clearly set before us the outcome of the labour of several years in a new, interesting and important department. Ozone is in one sense in everybody's mouth, would that it were so literally as well as figuratively, and that we breathed ozone as much as we talk about it. We saw its generation before our eyes, and watched the column of oxygen contract under the influence of the electric current that played about it, until the molecules passed from one combination to the other, that is to say, until the atoms, whose union into groups of *two* had hitherto constituted molecules of oxygen, were forced into groups of *three*, and so became molecules of ozone. So we, outsiders, could thereby easily understand what power there is in these new molecules to eat away, among other things, the living matter in the air, and therefore why so little ozone is left for our consumption in these lower regions, and in crowded localities so full of noxious ingredients. We saw also the blue color of ozone even in the narrow limits of a glass tube, and thence learned the meaning of the blueness of

the sky, the pure region of ozone; and why it is that western winds are so rich in it, seeing from Maury's maps how the upper regions pour down upon us its pure breezes, vanquished, as we may say, in those blue heights, in their march above from the equator to the pole, by the fiercer current which meets them face to face with its chilling influence, and hurls them downwards in those fresh, invigorating, and yet balmy breezes, so unlike the ozoneless eastern chills, with which we are all just now so unhappily familiar, and which have deprived us of one of our very greatest statesmen.

Dr. Molloy came next with two of those crystal-clear lectures, on "Lightning and Lightning Conductors," which have made his name famous among Dublin audiences. No one grasps his subject more firmly than this Catholic University Professor, who can hold his own so well among the Protestant men of renown. He is ever careful to bear in mind the requirements of the people before him; and while his expositions are interesting to those who are familiar with the subject of which he treats, he has a really extraordinary power of bringing them within the reach of others who are strangers to philosophic investigation. He never fires over the heads of his audience, and thus secures the attention of all alike.

We content ourselves with this bare mention of Dr. Molloy's lectures, in the hope that we may soon see them in the pages of the *RECORD*, as we did those of last year upon Latent Heat.

The last, and crowning lecture of the course, was given by Hermann Helmholtz, the renowned Berlin Professor, who is confessedly one of the most remarkable men of the present day, whether we regard the wide fields of science which he has made his own, their number and far divergence, or the completeness with which he has well nigh exhausted such inquiries, and the consequent amount of light he has been enabled to throw upon them.

As the one who, among a brilliant and learned audience, could perhaps best appreciate the merits of Helmholtz, by his own profound investigations, Mr. Johnstone Stoney seemed to feel that it would have been a much simpler and shorter task to say what the great Professor does not know, than what he has made his own. Our present duty is rather to record very briefly the subject of the lecture which Helmholtz delivered, than to dwell upon the greatness of the man whose name is, above that of all other living philosophers, of world-wide renown.

To see and hear the lecturer was enough to bring a crowded audience, without considering in addition what he had to say.

Lecturing in English is no small trial to a foreigner, be his knowledge of the language what it may. Of course Helmholtz felt and showed this, not much indeed in the delivery of the written lecture, but in the extemporaneous explanations and the reply to Mr. Stoney's introductory remarks. Fortunately for many among the audience an abstract of the lecture, prepared by Helmholtz himself, was published in *Nature* (April 7, 1881), a few days before, and to this we must refer those among our readers who desire to study the subject for themselves. Some eight columns in that scientific journal hardly suffice for the close and pregnant abstract, which Helmholtz alone could make comparatively clear in that limited space. The lecture was written, and first delivered in London in April 5, 1881, as the Faraday Lecture of the Chemical Society; and, being intended for a special and learned audience, has not all those popular elements which characterize so many of the great Professor's lectures, and which have made his name so renowned beyond scientific circles. This will explain why it was difficult to follow; the time not sufficing for popularizing it for a general audience.

The Faraday Lecture must, of course, treat of Faraday; and while his predecessors, in the discharge of that duty, had regarded the subject from their own various points of view, Helmholtz devoted himself to the consideration and exposition of "The Modern Development of Faraday's Conception of Electricity." His opening words tell us what this implies.

"The majority of Faraday's own researches were connected, directly or indirectly, with questions regarding the nature of electricity, and his most important and most renowned discoveries lay in this field. The *facts* which he has found are universally known. Nevertheless, the *fundamental conceptions*, by which Faraday has been led to these much-admired discoveries, have not been received with much consideration. His principal aim was to express in his new conceptions only facts, with the least possible use of hypothetical substances and forces. This was really a progress in general scientific method, destined to purify science from the last remains of metaphysics. Now that the mathematical interpretation of Faraday's conceptions, regarding the nature of electric and magnetic force, has been given by Clerk Maxwell, we see how great a degree of exactness and precision was really hidden behind his words, which, to his contemporaries, appeared so vague and obscure; and it is astonishing in the highest degree to

see what a large number of general theories, the methodical deduction of which requires the highest powers of mathematical analysis, he has found by a kind of intuition, with the security of instinct, without the help of a single mathematical formula."

Faraday saw from Oerstedt's discovery (of the motion of magnets under the influence of an electric current) "that a motion of this kind could not be produced by any force of attraction or repulsion, working from point to point," that is, like gravitation, from a *distance*; and this led him on to his own discoveries of magneto-electricity, and subsequently to the proof that "all ponderable matter, and even space devoid of such matter, is magnetisable." So "he saw with his mind's eye, that all these systems of tensions and pressures, produced by the dielectric and magnetic polarization of space which surrounds electrified bodies, magnets and wire-conducting electric currents, all the phenomena of electro-static, magnetic, electro-magnetic attraction, repulsion and induction, could be explained without recurring at all to forces acting directly *at a distance*."

Then followed "the second fundamental problem" aimed at by Faraday, the connection between electric and chemical force. But space, unfortunately, will not allow us to follow this inquiry through its several stages, which Helmholtz pursues with exact investigation, and his usual carefully building-up until he finishes the complete edifice, and presents his audience with what Professor Roscoe calls "a new electro-chemical theory, which reveals to chemists conclusions of the utmost importance." So we must take his summary of the lecture, wherein he says:—"He (Helmholtz) tells us as the results of the application of the modern theory of electricity to Faraday's great experimental law, that the atom of every chemical element is always united with a definite, unvarying quantity of electricity. Moreover—and this is most important—that this definite amount of electricity, attached to each atom, stands in close connection with the combining power of the atom, which modern chemistry terms quantivalence. For, if the amount of electricity belonging to the monad atom be taken as the unit, then that of the diad atom is two, of the triad atom three, and so on."

We conclude, as we began, by thanking the Royal Dublin Society for a course of lectures at a merely nominal price, of such value as those to which we have briefly alluded. It is a great privilege, of which the people of Dublin do not fail to avail themselves.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.

A correspondent, referring to the matrimonial case discussed in the last number of the RECORD, requests an answer to the following questions regarding matrimonial dispensations :—

1. When the *Sponsus* and *Sponsa* happen to belong to different dioceses, is it necessary to apply to the respective Bishop of each for a dispensation in an existing diriment impediment?

2. When applying to a Bishop for a dispensation, what form is necessarily to be observed in order to secure the validity of the dispensation?

3. What is the practical value of the opinion of St. Alphonsus, in which he teaches that in a case of extreme necessity, when all preparations are made for a marriage, and neither the Sovereign Pontiff, nor the Bishop, can be applied to without postponing the marriage, any existing occult diriment impediment, imposed by ecclesiastical law, ceases to exist, and that the Parochus or Confessor may, therefore, declare the celebration of such a marriage both valid and licit in the circumstances?

First question: To whom is application to be made for a dispensation, when the Sponsus and Sponsa belong to different dioceses?

1. In answering the first question proposed by our reverend correspondent, it is necessary to distinguish the different classes of diriment impediments that may exist. Of these some are, of their own nature, common to both the contracting parties; so that they cannot be contracted by one without being communicated to the other. Impediments of Consanguinity or of Affinity, for instance, obviously belong to this class. Other impediments are purely personal, and may, therefore, be peculiar to one or other of the contracting parties. Such, for instance, is the impediment of Votum or of Ordo. In this latter case, it may happen that each of the parties has contracted a purely personal impediment. Each, for instance, may have made a vow of chastity.

2. Again, we must distinguish between the two classes of faculties which a Bishop may exercise in granting a dispensation. For, although Bishops cannot dispense in diriment impediments *potestate ordinaria*, inasmuch as these

impediments have been established by superior authority, still they can dispense in occult impediments, in cases of necessity, when certain conditions are present, by virtue of a *quasi ordinary* power that is inherent in their office.

The reason is well and briefly put by Reiffenstuel (Append. ad lib. iv. decret. § 11):—

“Ratio petitur ex pastoralis officio Episcopi, quod requirere videtur, ut possit animabus concreditis, urgente gravi necessitate, subvenire . . . ratio etiam ex eo, quod urgente necessitate, potest in casu particulari, saltem pro foro conscientiae, dispensare contra Sacros Canones, imo et contra Concilium Generale . . . accedit longaeva Episcoporum consuetudo, quae contra legem ecclesiasticam praescribit, ac etiam jurisdictionem tribuit.”

But the fundamental reason is supplied by Van de Burgt, after quoting the above extract: “hisce rationibus addi potest ratio fundamentalis, videlicet, tacita concessio Summi Pontificis.” Pars. iv. cap. i. n. 131.

3. By virtue of this *quasi ordinary* power, Bishops can dispense, not only in *doubtful* impediments, but also in *matrimonii contrahendis pro foro conscientiae*, where the impediment is certain, provided:—

(a) That the impediment is one in which the Holy See usually dispenses.

(b) That the impediment is *occult*.

(c) That marriage cannot be postponed without very grave inconvenience.

(d) That the dispensation cannot be obtained from the Holy See in sufficient time to obviate the inconvenience.

4. In *matrimonii contractis* a Bishop may also exercise this *quasi ordinary* power, provided:—

(a) That in contracting the marriage there has been *bona fides* on one side at least.

(b) That the marriage has been celebrated with the prescribed solemnities.

(c) That the parties cannot be separated without grave inconvenience.

(d) That a dispensation cannot be immediately obtained from the Holy See.

(e) That the impediment is *occult*.

5. Now from this *quasi ordinary* power, which a Bishop enjoys by virtue of his office, we must distinguish the *purely delegated* faculties, which he receives on the occasion of his appointment to his See, or which he may subsequently obtain. These faculties are more or less extensive, according to the particular *Formula* in which

they are contained.¹ The faculties of our Irish Bishops are contained in the *Formula Sexta*.

6. It may not be uninteresting to some of our readers to transcribe the faculties this *Formula* usually contains for matrimonial dispensations.

1. "Dispensandi in 3° et 4° [consanguin. et affin.] simplici et mixto tantum in contrahendis; in contractis vero etiam in 2° simplici et mixto dummodo nullo modo attingat primum gradum, cum his qui ab haeresi convertuntur, et in praefatis casibus prolem susceptam declarandi legitimam.

2. "Dispensandi super impedimento publicae honestatis justis ex sponsalibus proveniente.

3. "Dispensandi super impedimento criminis, neutro tamen conjugum machinante, et restituendi jus amissum petendi debitum.

4. "Dispensandi in impedimento cognationis spiritualis praeterquam inter levantem et levatum."

7. Now, if the impediment be common to both the *sponsus* and *sponsa*, as, for instance, if they are related to each other within the forbidden degrees of Consanguinity or Affinity, and if the Bishop in dispensing exercises his purely delegated powers, as he always does, except in cases of necessity, where the conditions already enumerated are present, there can be no practical doubt that it is *not* necessary to have recourse to each of the two Bishops for a dispensation. Either the Bishop of the *sponsus* or the Bishop of the *sponsa* can grant the necessary dispensation for both; but a legitimate and reasonable custom has determined that the dispensation should be obtained from the Bishop of the *sponsa*.

8. The reason of this is, that in granting the dispensation the Bishop exercises faculties delegated to him by the Supreme Pontiff, who has supreme jurisdiction over both contracting parties, no matter to what particular dioceses they may belong.

In support of this opinion, now universally adopted, may be cited a decision of the Sacred Penitentiary, dated 4th September, 1839:—

"Quilibet Ordinarius agendo cum facultate non Ordinaria, sed a Sancta Sede, absolute, simpliciter, et absque ulla conditione delegata, dispensando cum suis dioecesanis, potest dispensare super aliquo canonico impedimento, etiam in casu in quo una persona ab

¹ There are, or were, in use ten different *Formulae*. The lower the number of the *Formula*, the more extensive the faculties it contains.

impedimento ligata, est suae dioecesis, altera vero, alienae, quia ea facultas a Papa procedit, et sublato impedimento ex una parte cum qua dispensare valet, etiam pars altera libera evadit, quum ligamen non amplius inter utramque partem jam existat."

9. Towards the close of the last century, a clause in which the necessity of having recourse to each of the two Bishops was asserted, was struck out of the Decrees of one of our Irish Provincial Synods,¹ and was ordered to be expunged from the Statutes. Cardinal Antonelli writing to Dr. Troy, who was then (1782) Bishop of Ossory and Administrator of Armagh, says:—

"The fourth resolution, however, cannot be softened by any interpretation. That resolution prescribed that every dispensation, in prohibited degrees of relationship, should be granted by the Ordinary of each of the contracting parties. And yet the Bishops ought to have reflected, that relationship being a bond which affects two persons, and prevents them from contracting marriage one with the other, the moment one of these persons becomes free from this bond, the other, by a necessary consequence, is also set at liberty, it being impossible that one can be free whilst the other remains bound.

Whenever, therefore, the bond of relationship between a man and a woman has been removed by lawful authority, either of the Holy See or of one of the Ordinaries, no second dispensation is required; nor is it necessary to have recourse to the other Ordinary to obtain such dispensation." (For the original see the *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*, for May, 1865.)

10. Secondly, if the dispensation is granted by virtue of the *quasi ordinary* faculties which a Bishop enjoys, although there is still some controversy on the matter, still it seems to be a solidly probable opinion, that even then it is not necessary to have recourse to more than one of the Bishops concerned. The reason given by the Sacred Penitentiary, at the close of the decision already referred to, adds considerable weight to this opinion: . . . "et sublato impedimento ex una parte cum qua dispensare valet, etiam pars altera libera evadit, *quum ligamen non amplius inter utramque partem jam existit*." The letter of the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda to Dr. Troy is even more explicit in favor of this view.

11. Thirdly, if the impediment be of a purely personal character, and hence peculiar to one or other of the contracting parties, the dispensation should, of necessity, be

¹ This meeting of the Suffragan Bishops of the Province of Armagh was held at Drogheda, on the 8th and 9th August, 1781.

As the requisite solemnities were not observed, Propaganda refused to recognise it as a Provincial Synod properly so called.

got from the Bishop of the person who has contracted the impediment. Should it so happen that both the *sponsus* and *sponsa* have each contracted such an impediment, then the Bishop of each must be applied to for a dispensation.

12. It is almost unnecessary to add in conclusion, that in this whole matter attention must be paid to custom legitimately established, and to any arrangement that may have been entered into by the Bishops of a nation, or of a province, regarding such dispensations.

ED. I. E. R.

[We find it necessary, owing to pressure on our space, to postpone the answers to the remaining questions. A paper received from the Very Rev. Canon Bourke in reply to an article which appeared in our last number, must, we regret, be held over for the same reason.]

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

The Custom of Fixing a Chalice in the Hands of a Deceased Priest during the Exequiae is tolerated.

REV. SIR—What is to be thought of the custom, which prevails in many parts of our country, of fixing an empty chalice in the hands and on the breast of a deceased priest, when he is laid out for the obsequies before burial? During my college course I was present at the funeral offices of more than one of my superiors, and on those occasions this rite was not observed.

Our respected correspondent is, we presume, aware of the provisions of the Roman Ritual for the "laying out" of deceased ecclesiastics. It enjoins that they should be habited in the dress of their order, before they are brought to the church for the Exequiae. Thus the priest is to be vested, as for Mass, in soutane, amice, alb, cincture, maniple, stole, chasuble and birretta; the deacon and subdeacon in dalmatic and tunic, respectively, over the other vestments worn by them at High Mass; and the other clerics in soutane, surplice and birretta. There is no reference to the use of the chalice, missal, or any other emblem of their office; the Ritual speaks of the vestments only. The college practice to which he refers is, then, in strict conformity with the directions of the Roman Ritual.

But what is to be thought of the custom to which he refers. May it be continued?

It cannot be considered out of place to state that this custom is not peculiar to Ireland, and is by no means of recent origin. Amalarius,¹ quoting Bede, states that St. Cuthbert was laid out "habited in his priestly vestments, and having on his holy breast the 'oblata' or chalice;" and it is related, on the authority of Surius, that the body of St. Birinus was found "with the chalice placed on his breast." The custom is mentioned by most of the older writers on this subject, such as Lavorius, Sarnellus, Cavalieri, Baruffaldus and others. Moreover, it is plain from their writings that, besides fixing the chalice in the hands of the deceased priest, it was also the custom to place a missal at his feet.

Sarnellus condemned the custom as opposed to the rubrics, and attended with irreverence to a sacred vessel that was connected so intimately, as the chalice is, with the Sacrifice of the Mass. He quoted from the Council of Auxerre, which forbade the use of the altar-cloths to envelop the bodies of deceased priests, and he drew from this fact an *a fortiori* argument.

On the other hand, Cavalieri defended the custom. It is not, he says, opposed to the custom, but only an addition to them: "non contras ed praeter legem." It is a laudable custom, inasmuch as its object is to testify respect for the priestly character by pointing out, by means of its most distinctive emblem, the highest and noblest duty of a priest. He met the objection of irreverence by suggesting that a wooden chalice might be used, and he quotes with approval Beyerlinck, who states that it was formerly the practice in Belgium to use for this purpose chalices made of glass or wax or some plastic material. As to the legislation of the Council of Auxerre, he says that it refers to altar linen which was to be used again in the celebration of Mass. This would be manifestly irreverent, and not without danger of communicating disease.

The opinion of Cavalieri was approved by the Sacred Congregation in 1846, which decided that the custom may be tolerated. The case submitted to the Congregation was the following:—

"Cadavera sacerdotum in hac diocesi deferuntur induta paramentis sacerdotalibus, atque in manibus habentia calicem cum patena intra cuppam elevata. Sunt qui contradicunt, volentes

¹ Apud Cavalieri, *De Sepultura Ecclesiastica*. Dec. xix. 2, 3.

² Ibid.

quod cadavera sacerdotum perinde ac cadavera laicorum habeant duntaxat manus ante pectus conjunctas, interque digitos parvam crucem cum imagine Crucifixi. Quaeritur an liceat consuetudo in hac dioecesi servata ponendi calicem cum patena in manibus cadaverum sacerdotum, dum a domo sua deferuntur ad ecclesiam et in ea explentur exequiae, vel talis consuetudo eliminanda sit?"

S. R. C. resp.: "*Tolerandam esse utpote antiquitati conformem.*"

23 May, 1846 (5050).

It will be remarked, 1° that the Congregation does not require that recourse be had to the use of a chalice of wood, or glass, or plastic material, as suggested by Cavalieri, to escape from the alleged danger of irreverence; and 2° that the placing of the missal at the feet is not contemplated in the case put forward.

II.

Questions regarding the Tabernacle.

REV. SIR.—In O'Kane's admirable work on Rubrics, he mentions a decree of the Sacred Congregation, which "strictly prohibits a vase of flowers, or anything of the kind, to be placed immediately in front of the tabernacle" (p. 277, n. 609). May I ask whether the words, "anything of the kind," refer equally to an *altar-lamp*? And, if so, whether it would make any difference, if the feet of the lamp be so constructed that no part of the lamp would rest upon the altar-stone or relics? Also, whether such a prohibition is extended to vases of flowers, or lamps, placed before *side-altars*, in the tabernacles of which the Most Holy Sacrament does not repose? I believe the latter is often seen in churches.

1. The lamp of the Blessed Sacrament should be placed before the tabernacle, and not very far from it, so that persons, on entering the church, may easily recognise the altar where the Most Holy Sacrament reposes. The words of the Congregation of Rites are: "*lampadem esse retinendum intra et ante altare SS^{mi} Sacramenti, ut continuo ardeat.*" The word "*intra*" is directed against an abuse, which prevailed in certain churches, of placing the lamp at the remote end of the church, so as to serve a double purpose, namely, as a lamp to the Blessed Sacrament, and as a light to a room that was immediately connected with the church.

2. The lamp should be attached to chains hanging before the altar. The *Ceremoniale Episcoporum* thus describes how it is to be fixed: "*Hae (lampades) adhibendae sunt ante altare vel locum ubi asservatur Sanctissimum . . . quibus in locis lampadarios pensiles esse decet plures sustinentes lampades.*"

3. The Sacred Congregation of Rites issued a decree forbidding the placing of oil lamps directly over or on the table of the altar: "nec lumina nisi cerea vel supra mensam altaris, vel eidem quomodocunque imminencia adhibeantur." This prohibition is founded on the danger of soiling and staining the altar-cloth with the dropping of oil from lamps arranged in this manner. "Haud decet," writes Gardellini in his note on this decree, "ut in altari ad offerendam Deo immaculatam Hostiam erecto, in quo cuncta munda sint oportet, lumina ardeant ex oleo, cujus decidentibus guttis, tobaleae supra mensam extensae sordidis persaepe maculis inficiuntur. Idcirco si lampades accendi velint in honorem alicujus sancti, cujus imago in medio altaris sita est, vel lateraliter extra mensam ponendae sunt, vel pensiles e conspectu altaris."¹ This prohibition, understood in the sense explained, manifestly regards all altars on which the Sacrifice of the Mass is offered, and has no special reference to the altar-stone or the relics of the saints.

4. The Congregation has declared it unlawful to place a vase of flowers, or anything of the kind, before the door of the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament, in such a way as practically to shut out from view the little door itself. But it does not object to the use of flowers before the tabernacle, provided they are placed on a lower level, and in a more suitable place than the plane of the altar, in front of the tabernacle door. This is the decree to which O'Kane refers.

"An ante ostium tabernaculi SS^{mi} Sacramenti retinere possit vas florum, vel quid simile, quod praedictum occupet ostium cum imagine Domini Nostri in eodem insculpto?"

S. R. C. resp. "*Negative, posse tamen in humiliore et decentiore loco.*"²

5. The Congregation has also prohibited the placing of the relics of saints before the door of the tabernacle, when they are exposed for the veneration of the people.³ In this and the previous case, the tabernacle is supposed to contain the Blessed Sacrament; and the prohibition does not apply to any others.

The clause, "anything of the kind" (*quid simile*), includes pictures, statues, or emblems that would be likely to divert attention from the Blessed Sacrament. We are inclined to think that it does not apply to a lamp; but, for the reasons given above, this is not the place for the sanctuary lamp.

¹ Note to Decree, 31st March, 1821 (4578).

² 22 Jan., 1701 (3575).

³ S. R. C. 6 Sept., 1845 (5033).

6. While we are engaged on this subject, it occurs to us that this is the suitable place to call attention to a few other decrees of the Congregation concerning the care of the Blessed Sacrament.

(a) It is forbidden to fix a light directly behind the Host, to make it appear the more brightly during the exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.¹

(b) It is forbidden to use the tabernacle, containing the Blessed Sacrament, as a base for the relics or images of saints.²

(c) It is forbidden to shut up in the tabernacle the relics of saints, or the holy oils, or the little glass containing the water in which the priest may have purified his fingers after touching the Blessed Sacrament, or the sacred vessels when purified, or anything, no matter how holy, except the vessels containing the Blessed Sacrament,³ and the corporal or pall on which these vessels rest.⁴

(d) It is forbidden to place on the altar, where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, the relics or images of saints, or representations of the souls in purgatory.⁵

(e) It is ordered to cover the image or statue which may happen to be fixed over the altar on which the Blessed Sacrament is exposed for the *Quarante Ore*.⁶

III.

How to say the Confiteor, when two or more Priests recite the Office privately, "per modum chori."

I occasionally recite the Office in company with a brother priest. Ought we on these occasions to say the Confiteor twice, as is done in choir, at Prime and Compline?

You may recite the Confiteor twice, as is done in choir,

¹ "An liceat in expositione SS. Sacramenti lumen aliquod eo artificio collocare a parte postica sphaerae, ut recta illuceat in ipsam Sacratissimam Hostiam, quae exinde lucida appareat?"

S. R. C. resp. "Negative, et servetur instructio jussu S. M. Clementis, XI., PP., 21 Jan., 1705, 31 March, 1821."

² "An toleranda vel elimenanda sit consuetudo, quae in dies invalescit, superimponendi sanctorum reliquias pictasque imagines tabernaculo, in quo Augustissimum Sacramentum asservatur, ita ut idem tabernaculum pro basi inserviat?"

S. R. C. resp. "Assertam consuetudinem tanquam abusum eliminandam omnino esse." Ibid.

³ Rit. Rom. *De SS. Euc. Sac.* S. Cong. Episcop. 3 May, 1693.

⁴ *Quarti in rub. Missae*, p. 2. t. 2. sec. 4. Gardellini in *Inst. Clemen.* § v. n. 45. De Herdt.

⁵ Instructio Clementina.

⁶ Ibid.

but you are not obliged to do so. This is the meaning of the following decree:

"Cum duo vel plures officium divinum recitent, debentne ad Confiteor omittere verba illa, vobis fratres et vos fratres: misereatur tui et misereatur vestri, sicut quando unus tantum illud recitat."

Resp. S. R. C. "*Possunt et non debent.*" 12 Nov. 1831.

IV.

Spy Wednesday and Low Sunday: the Origin of these Names.

In some places Wednesday in Holy Week is popularly called "Spy Wednesday." I have never come across the word in any book. Can you inform me if such an expression is generally known, and what is its origin?

Another correspondent asks a similar question regarding the epithet "Low," applied to the first Sunday after Easter, or Quasimodo Sunday.

Neither of these names is found in the works on Liturgy. They are old English names for the days to which they refer. "Spy Wednesday," writes Dr. Brewer,¹ "is the Wednesday before Good Friday, when Judas bargained to become the spy of the Jewish Sanhedrim." "Et ait illis: Quid vultis mihi dare, et ego vobis eum tradam? At illi constituerunt ei triginta argenteos. Et exinde quaerebat opportunitatem ut eum traderet." *S. Matt. xxi. 15.*

"Low Sunday is so called," says the same author, "because it is at the bottom of Easter, which it closes."² "Low Sunday," writes Orby Shipley, "is probably so called from the contrast between the high solemnities of the festival of Easter and the lesser rites of its octave."³

V.

The "De Profundis" after Mass.

Is there any obligation to say the "*De Profundis*" after Mass? The Maynooth Synod speaks of it as a "*consuetudo pia*" only.

The saying of the "*De Profundis*" after Mass is not ordered by any Rubric. It is a practice brought in only by custom, and peculiar, we believe, to this country. But, then, it is a good custom, legitimately introduced and continued, and accordingly the Synod of Maynooth wishes that all Irish priests should observe it: "*consuetudines pias illas omni cura servandos et provendas existimamus*" (*De cura Defunctorum. n. 355.*) Consequently we think that a priest is not free from fault who would omit it *pro libitu*.

¹ "Dictionary of Phrase and Fable."

² Ibid.

³ "Glossary of Ecclesiastical Terms."

The few following decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences relating to Scapulars are likely to be interesting and useful to our readers. We give them in reply to questions that have been sent to us:—

I.

A priest, who has received in the ordinary form the power of enrolling the faithful in the Scapular of Mount Carmel, can enroll himself also:

“Quidam parochus diocesis Camaracensis facultatem habet imponendi Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo: quaerit a Sac. Congr. utrum sibimet illud possit imponere?”

S. Congregatio resp.: “*Affirmative*, quatenus haec facultas habeatur indiscriminatim, minime vero taxative, e.g., pro aliqua Monialium communitate tantum, etc.”—7th Mar. 1840.

II.

The material for Scapulars must be composed of wool. Cotton or any similar material is not allowed:

“Utrum ad Scapularia conficienda necessario et exclusive adhibenda sit *materia ex lana*, vel utrum sumi etiam possit cylinum (cotton) aliave similis materia.”

S. Cong. resp. “*Affirmative ad primam partem. Negative ad secundam.*” 18th Aug. 1868.

III.

The Scapular must be a piece of woollen cloth, and not merely woollen thread worked by the needle into the form of a Scapular:

“Utrum vox *pannus*, *panniculus*, ab auctoribus communiter usurpata sumi debeat in sensu stricto, i.e., de sola lanea textura reticulata (lavoro di maglia, tricotage), an de quocunque laneo opere acu picto (ricamo broderie), adhibito tamen semper colore praescripto?”

S. Cong. “*Affirmative ad primam partem. Negative ad secundam.*” 18th Aug. 1868.

IV.

It is allowable to ornament Scapulars with other woven pieces or with needlework, even though the ornamentation be of a different colour from that of the Scapular. It is essential, however, that the necessary colour of the Scapular should predominate. The ornamentation need

not be worked in woollen thread; silk thread, or silver or gold, or thread of any other kind, is allowed:

1. "Utrum validum sit Scapulare ex panno laneo coloris praescripti, quod intexta vel acu picta habet ornamenta pariter ex lana sed diversi coloris?"

2. "Utrum validum sit Scapulare ex panno laneo coloris praescripti, quod intexta vel acu picta habet ornamenta ex materia non lanea, v.g., ex serico, argento, auro, &c.?"

S. Cong. resp. "Ad 1^{am} *Affirmative*, dummodo ornamenta talia sint ut color praescriptus praevaleat.

"Ad 2^{am} *Ut in praecedenti.*" 18th Aug. 1868.

V.

Scapulars should be oblong or square, in accordance with the custom hitherto observed in making them, and should not be changed into an oval or round or poly-angular shape:

"Hucusque generalis viguit usus conficiendi Scapularia formae oblongae, vel saltem quadratae. Nunc autem quibusdam in regionibus introducitur usus conficiendi Scapularia formae rotundae vel ovalis, imo et multangulae. Quaeritur itaque utrum alia forma praeter oblongam et quadratam obstet validitati Scapularis?"

S. Cong. resp. "*Nihil esse innovandum.*" 18th Aug. 1868.

VI.

When many Scapulars are worn together (per modum unius), each Scapular must consist of two separate and independent pieces of woollen cloth; one lying on the breast, and the other between the shoulders. One piece of cloth, on which are ornaments either woven or worked by the needle of different colours to represent the different Scapulars, cannot be validly used for many Scapulars:

"Per multis in regionibus laudabilis viget usus a S. Sede approbatus gestandi per modum unius plura simul inter se diversa Scapularia, quo in casu variorum Scapularium panniculi alii aliis superpositi duobus tantum funiculis assuuntur, ita tamen ut singularium Scapularium panniculi dependeant tam a pectore quam a humeris. Non raro autem haec Scapularia unita sic conficiuntur ut loco plurium panniculorum diversi coloris, unicus tantum in utraque funiculorum extremitate panniculus habeatur, in quo conspicitur ornamentum intextum, vel acu pictum ex diversis coloribus ad significanda plura diversa Scapularia."

"Quaeritur utrum haec Scapularia sint valida?"

S. Cong. resp. "*Negative.*"

VII.

Many Scapulars may be validly connected with only one string. The Scapular consists of two pieces of woollen cloth; one of which must be worn on the breast, the other between the shoulders. It will not do to wear both pieces on the breast, or both between the shoulders:

“Presbyter quidem facultatem habens Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo et Scapulare Caeruleum Conceptionis Immaculatae compluribus dedit personis. Quae duo Scapularia ita confecta et aptata fuerant, ut ambae partes unius Scapularis cum partibus alterius adunarentur, eademque chorda jungerentur. Per errorem vero ambo Scapularia ita male confecta fuerunt ut nullum constituerent determinatum Scapulare, binae enim partes ejusdem coloris ita componebantur, ut pars pectoralis nonnisi caerulea esset, et pars quae ad tergum descendebat nonnisi coloris lanaei vel viceversa.

“Unde Sacerdos Franciscus sequentium dubiorum supplex postulat solutionem:

1. “An Scapulare dictae formae pro utroque Scapulari valeat?

2. “Nunquid supplendum; vel emendandum sit?”

S. Cong. resp. “Ad. 1. *Negative et ad mentem*: Mens est valere dummodo partes uniuscujusque Scapularis ita disponantur ut una ab humeris, altera a pectore dependeat, licet omnes uno funiculo connectantur.

“Ad. 2. *Provisum in primo.*” 29th Aug. 1864.

R. B.

CORRESPONDENCE.

I.—LETTER FROM THE BISHOP OF ARGYLL AND THE ISLES.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, OBAN, N.B.

Easter Monday, 1881.

REV. DEAR SIR—I have no wish to enter the lists against the learned Bishop of Ossory, especially in a field in which he justly enjoys so high a reputation. Still less would I seek to ignore or depreciate the great and lasting services which have been rendered by Irish Missionaries to the cause of Catholicity in the Highlands of Scotland. But I trust that I shall not be thought wanting in courtesy towards his Lordship, or in gratitude towards his countrymen, if I venture to dissent from certain statements put forward by him in two recent numbers of the RECORD.

In the issue for last February, there appeared a contribution from Dr. Moran on "The Fruits of Irish Faith in Modern Times," giving a detailed account of the manner in which the faith has been, in recent times, revived and spread in the south of Scotland, owing to the immigration of Catholics from Ireland. Towards the end of the article, a short paragraph is devoted (p. 74) to the Diocese of Argyll [and the Isles]; in which the following statement is made: "Even at the present day, if the Irish were withdrawn from this diocese, all its Catholics would find accommodation in a small room." The only natural inference from this statement, taken in its context, was that in this diocese, as in the south of Scotland, Catholicity had all but died out after the Reformation, and that what now existed of Catholicity in it, was almost entirely a recent importation from Ireland. On reading it, I lost no time in writing to the learned Prelate to correct what I knew to be a most unintentional misrepresentation. Perhaps I may be permitted to give a short extract from my letter:—

"Some of the mistakes are, after all, immaterial; but I think it worth while to make a short statement of the actual facts, which will cover the ground traversed in the paragraph in question. I shall keep as far as possible the same order.

"1. The Diocese of Argyll and the Isles comprises (a) all the islands (except the Cumbraes) lying off the west coast: these were all evangelized by Irish saints; (b) the County of Argyll; and (c) the southern half of Invernesshire.

"2. At the present day, the Catholic population of this diocese is almost entirely native, i.e. Highland. The County of Argyll is an exception; yet even in it there is a native congregation, at *Glencoe*, of fully 150 souls; and of our small congregation at Oban, about one-half is made up of Highlanders. In *Invernesshire*, the missions of *Lochaber*, *Badenoch*, *Moidart*, *Arisaig*, and *Morar*, are all peopled with native Highland Catholics, to the number, in all, of about 2,700 souls. In *Eigg* and *Canna* there are about 200 Catholics, all natives. Between *Barra*, *South Uist*, and *Benbecula*, in the outer Hebrides, there are about 6,000 native Catholics. Putting the whole Catholic population of the diocese at 10,500, the Irish element (found almost entirely in Argyllshire) will not amount to more than 1,300 at most.

"3. The dimensions of our Cathedral (such as it is) are 60 feet by 28 feet.

"4. My worthy assistant, the Rev. Michael Sheehan, recollects no excursion made by him to any islands, except one visit to *Kerrera* (just outside Oban Bay), and another to *Mull*. The latter island is regularly attended, and has always been, by the priest most conveniently situated for the purpose Altogether, between *Mull* and *Kerrera*, Father Sheehan came in contact with three Catholic families only, and all these three were Highland.

"5. There is no Catholic family, as far as we know, in Iona. There is, however, a respectable Irish family in Tyree, of the name of Slaven, and it is it, probably, which is intended. This family has been regularly visited, once or twice a year, by the priest of Morvern, the Rev. D. M'Kay."

Dr. Moran, in the next issue (March) of the RECORD, makes a brief acknowledgment of my letter, and adds, what all must feel to be quite unnecessary, that he had no wish "to disparage in the least the merits of these brave Highlanders whose devotedness to the faith, amid so many persecutions, is beyond all praise"—(p. 181).

Apparently his Lordship concedes that the Catholicity of the West Highlands at the present day, is not an instance of the "Fruits of Irish Faith in *Modern Times*," in the same sense as the Catholicity of the south of Scotland. He considers, however, that from another point of view, it is still "an illustration of the steadfastness, and the fruitfulness of the Irish Faith." For it is proved (his Lordship alleges) by Mr. Skene, in his introduction and notes to the Gaelic Poems of the Dean of Lismore's collection, "that all the families known as Highlanders, in the Isles and in Argyll, are a comparatively recent Irish colony."

Now, I have consulted the authority to which we are here referred, and I beg respectfully to submit that, speaking of the present Diocese of Argyll and the Isles as a whole, Mr. Skene's authority is altogether against the view expressed by Dr. Moran. From the "Introduction" in question I gather:—

1. That the present County of Argyll, and the islands opposite it, Mull, Islay, Jura, &c., were, indeed, permanently occupied by the Scots from Ireland, early in the sixth century. The mainland and islands north of these still continue to be inhabited by the native "Cruithne."

2. In the ninth century we find the two populations united into one kingdom, under a Scottish dynasty. "Of the events which brought about this great change" (Skene says) "authentic history tells us nothing."—(Introd. p. xxvii.) He considers it, however, most improbable that the change of dynasty was accompanied by a displacement of the original population.—(*Ib.* p. xxviii.)

3. In the islands north of Argyllshire, the element most largely blended with the native was, probably, the Norwegian.—(*Ib.* p. xxx.)

4. It is quite doubtful whether Somerled, Lord of the Isles, was of Irish extraction or not; but, admitting that he was, there is nothing to show that the population of the islands over which he held sway ever ceased to be, in the main, the descendants of the original natives.

5. Tradition says that on the marriage of a Lord of the Isles with a daughter of the great Irish house of O'Cathan, towards the close of the thirteenth century, twenty-four families followed this lady from Ulster to the Scottish Highlands, and founded as many

houses there. It is not stated in what part of the Highlands these families settled. I can find no further trace, in Skene, of the introduction, to any extent, of the Irish element into the West Highlands.

I trust I have not omitted any point of importance bearing on this subject. If I am correct in my interpretation of Mr. Skene's view, it follows that the only portion of the West Highlands and islands which can be said to have been occupied and colonized, or to any great extent blended with the Irish element, is the present County of Argyll, with the adjacent isles, and that the mainland and islands north of these continued to be inhabited by a mainly native population, with (in the islands) probably a considerable infusion of the Norwegian element.

Now, it is in Argyllshire, and the islands belonging to it, that the faith most completely died out after the Reformation. The districts which have always preserved the faith lie, almost without exception, north of the limit beyond which, according to Mr. Skene (*Introd.* pp. xxiv., xxvii.), the Scottish colony from Ireland never extended.

It is not my intention to attempt any sweeping inferences of a national character from the above statements. In the absence of more certain and detailed information, such deductions would, I think, be hardly justifiable. It is certain that the Highlands lie under a deep debt of gratitude to Ireland, first for St. Columba and his zealous followers, and next, for the devoted Missionaries, who, in later times of peril, assisted materially in keeping alive the faith in Scotland. All honour and praise to her for this! But I think that this is all that history asks us to admit. Ireland may well be proud of the part her children have taken in the spread and maintenance of religion in the Highlands, and she may leave to us the credit of acknowledging the value of the benefit conferred, and of proving our appreciation of it by the fidelity with which we have ever cherished it. Her children sowed the good seed; but the scanty records of our earlier history do not appear to show that they found it necessary also to import the fruitful soil.

In conclusion, the present Catholic population of this diocese will probably appear small to many, as it does to his Lordship. Yet we need not go back two centuries to find it numbering about 30,000 souls! To the unfortunate results of the rising of '45, and to evictions, persecution, and emigration, we owe it that Highland Catholics are not even more numerous in the Highlands at the present day.

I regret that my absence in a remote part of the diocese during nearly the whole of March made it impossible for me to write in time for your April number. Apologizing for the extent to which I have trespassed on your indulgence.

I remain, Rev. dear Sir, yours truly in Christ,

✠ ANGUS MACDONALD, Bishop of Argyll and the Isles.

II.—CONDITIONS REQUIRED FOR GAINING THE JUBILEE.

The Alms to be given.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

In your short paper on the Jubilee in the last RECORD, you set down the condition as to alms as: *alms given for some pious purpose.*

In the Jubilee Bull the words are *pium aliquod opus*, which would seem to designate some work, or institution, or public charity, as distinguished from mere almsgiving to beggars. Am I to understand you as saying, that an alms given to a poor person would fulfil the condition? Your translation of the *pium opus* would, I think, indicate this: for the relief of a beggar is "a pious purpose."
L.

[In reply to this practical query, we desire to state:—

1. That we translated the *pium aliquod opus*, mentioned in the Apostolic Letter, by the comprehensive expression "some pious purpose," so as neither to exclude, nor to pronounce definitely on the sufficiency of alms given to a poor person, in order to comply with the prescribed condition for gaining the Jubilee.

2. We observe that there is a noticeable peculiarity in the form of expression used on the present occasion, as compared with former Jubilees. In granting the Jubilee for 1879, the words used by the present Pontiff were:—*et aliquam eleemosynam in pauperes VEL in pium aliquod opus, prout unicuique devotio suggeret, erogaverint.*

In the Jubilee proclaimed by Pius IX., in 1869, there was no alternative work proposed; the only exercise of charity mentioned regarded the poor exclusively. The words were:—*et pauperibus aliquam eleemosynam, prout unicuique devotio suggeret, erogaverint.*

But in regard to the present Jubilee, as we have already noticed, the expression used is:—*atque eleemosynae nomine in pium aliquod opus quidquam conferant.*

Comparing this with the other forms of expression, to which we have called attention, we may observe (a) that there is no alternative proposed; (b) that the act of charity is not designated *eleemosyna* simply, but is referred to as done *eleemosynae nomine*; and (c) it is required to be done not *in pauperes*, but *in pium aliquod opus*.

Moreover, the Holy Father clearly indicates the direction which he wishes the alms given during the present Jubilee to take, by naming three public works of charity, and earnestly recommending them to the consideration of the faithful.

It is obvious, therefore, that pecuniary aid, given to either of these works recommended by the Holy Father, or to any kindred charitable institution, will certainly suffice for gaining the Jubilee, and for removing all doubt about the proper allocation of the Jubilee alms. But, at the same time, we are not at all prepared to say, that alms, given to the poor privately, would not answer the same purpose. We believe that such alms constitute a *pium opus*; and we know that in former Jubilees such alms were either expressly stated, or held by common consent to be sufficient. We cannot hold, therefore, in the absence of some official declaration, that the manner of fulfilling this condition has been, on the present occasion, substantially altered.

But on this, as on all other points connected with prescribed conditions, the safest course the faithful can adopt is to attend to the instructions given by their respective Bishops in announcing the opening of the Jubilee.—Ed. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

I.—DECISIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

[The following are the decisions of the Sacred Penitentiary to which we referred in our last number, in giving the conditions for gaining the present Jubilee. They were originally issued for the Jubilee of 1879, but they have been renewed and confirmed by order of His Holiness Leo XIII., for the present Jubilee. It will be observed that, as we anticipated before the re-publication of these decisions, the Indulgence of the Jubilee may be gained as often as the prescribed works are repeated, but the special faculties can be used only once, *i.e.*, the first time . . . *semel vero idest prima tantum vice quoad favores &c.*—ED. I. E. R.]

EX S. POENITENTIARIA APOSTOLICA.

SACRA POENITENTIARIA INFRASCRITAS DECLARATIONES, JAM ALIAS EDITAS OCCASIONE JUBILAEI ANNO 1879 INDICTI, ETIAM PRO JUBILAEIO VERTENTIS ANNI 1881, DE MANDATO SSMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS PAPAE XIII. RENOVAT ATQUE CONFIRMAT.

I. Jejunium pro hoc Jubilaeo consequendo praescriptum adimpleri posse etiam tempore quadragesimae, dummodo fiat extra dies in Litteris Apostolicis exceptos et adhibeantur cibi tantum esuriales, vetito usu, quoad qualitatem ciborum, cujuscumque indulti seu privilegii etiam Bullae Cruciatæ.

II. Christifidelibus cum Capitulis, Congregationibus, Confraternitatibus, nec non cum proprio Parocho, aut Sacerdote ab eo deputato, Ecclesias pro lucrando Jubilaeo processionaliter visitantibus, applicari posse ab Ordinariis Indultum in Litteris Apostolicis iisdem Capitulis, Congregationibus etc. concessum.

III. Una eademque Confessione et Communionem non posse satisfieri praecepto paschali et simul acquiri Jubilaeum.

IV. Jubilaeum quoad plenariam Indulgentiam, bis aut pluries lucriferi posse, injuncta opera bis aut pluries iterando ; semel vero, idest prima tantum vice quoad favores eidem Jubilaeo adjunctos, nempe absolutiones a censuris et casibus reservatis, commutationes aut dispensationes.

V. Ad injunctas visitationes exequendas designari posse etiam Capellas et Oratoria, dummodo sint publico cultui addicta et in iis soleat Missa celebrari.

VI. Visitationes ad lucrandum Jubilaeum indictas, dummodo praescripto numero fiant, institui posse pro lubitu Fidelium sive uno sive diversis diebus.

VII. In hoc etiam Jubilaeo locum habere, sine ulla exceptione, resolutiones dubiorum ad ipsa s. Poenitentiaria pro Ordinariis Italiae editas sub dei 1 Junii 1869.

Contrariis quibuscumque non obstantibus.

Datum Romae in sacra Poenitentiaria die 25 Martii 1881.

A Card. BILIO Poenitentiarius Major.

Hip. Can. Palombi s. Poenitentiariae Secretarius.

II.—SALE OF SPURIOUS RELICS.

[We have been favoured with a copy of the following Document which has been recently sent to some of the Irish Bishops, warning them against the recognition of those spurious or unauthenticated relics from which a new development of modern infidelity is seeking to derive an iniquitous gain.—ED. I. E. R.]

ILLME ET RME DOMINE,

Vigesimus jam fere annus est, ex quo nullum beatorum martyrum corpus e coemeteriis romanis, quae Catacumbae dicuntur, in lucem extractum, piae fidelium venerationi, legitima auctoritate propositum est. Quapropter, licet petentibus multis, ut sibi aliqua martyrum corpora concederentur, nullo modo piis eorum desideriis satisfieri potuit. Sed proximis his praeteritis annis, ejectis e suis aedibus tum viris religiosis, tum virginibus sacris, effectum est, ut plures ecclesiae diruerentur vel publicarentur, et Sanctorum reliquiae, quae jamdiu e coemeteriis extractae et arculis ligneis reconditae intra monasteriorum claustra vel sub altaribus delitescerant, una cum reliqua ecclesiarum suppellectile per Italiam publice venumdarentur. Non defuerunt homines a fide alieni et vel ipsis infidelibus christiani homines pejores, qui spe

lucri eas emerent, earumque veluti monopolium constituere adniterentur.

Quod execrabile commercium statim ac innotuit Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leoni XIII., Pontifici Maximo, venditores pariter atque emptores ab incepto deterruit eo decreto, quod ejus jussu sacra Congregatio Indulgentiis et sacris Reliquiis praeposita edidit die 21 Decembris anno 1878. Attamen, quae temporum perversitas est, homines pecuniae tantum inhiantes animaeque negligentes, cum non amplius in Pontifice Maximo eam potestatem reverentur, qua a re tam nefaria coerceri potuissent, occulte ac majori studio ab incepto opere minime destiterunt.

Interim vero plures Christifideles, ignorantia hujus decreti, Dei et religionis amore ducti, recte se agere putantes si ex infidelium manibus reliquias Martyrum redimerent, arculas ligneas quibus illae continebantur, ingenti etiam pretio, sibi comparaverunt, easque ad lipsanothecam urbanam, ut probarentur, detulerunt. Earum igitur nonnullae veteres litteras authenticas secum afferbant, aliae autem iis prorsus carebant; omnes cum signis, tum ceteris indiciiis, antiquitatis speciem praeseferebant. Instituto examine retentisque arculis, quae dubiae fidei visae sunt, quidquid iis continebatur in subterranea coemeteria delatum est. Ac dolendum profecto plures hujusmodi reliquias Romae emptas, quin ad iudicium deferrentur Cardinalis in Urbe Vicarii (qui solus de reliquiis in suburbanis hypogaeis veterum christianorum repertis, rite ac legitime judicare potest), in dissitas terras perlatas fuisse, ea forte spe ut ab exterarum regionum Episcopis probarentur.

Quum vero perditii homines ex hoc sacrilego commercii genere, non modica lucra assequerentur, novam fraudem moliri coeperunt. Etenim arculas ad instar veterum et legitimarum, cum ossibus suppositiciis, cum signis ex antiquis expressis, ita composuerunt, ut legitimis similes essent; neque veriti sunt ipsas authenticas litteras eadem fraude et arte confingere, quo pacto plures in dolum induxerunt. Has insidias et fraudes non semper licuit detegere, imo timendum est ne ipsi sacrae lipsanothecae ministri, dolis irretiti, in falsariorum fallacias quandoque inciderint. Quapropter diligenti investigationi nunc acta conficiuntur, quibus inquiritur, qui sceleris auctores et qui illis adiutores fuerint. Interim ab ipso Pontifici Maximo munus mihi demandatum est monendi Episcopos, ut martyrum corpora, quae e romanis veterum Christianorum coemeteriis prodiisse dicuntur, quaeque utcumque recognita Ecclesiarum praesulibus nunc exhibentur, generatim suspecta habeant, neque fidelium culti proponi permittant, donec novis litteris moneantur qua ratione, circa ea, se gerere debeant.

Quae res cum magni momenti sit commendatur prudentiae Amplitudinis Tuae, cui fausta omnia ac felicia precor a Domino.

Datum Romae ex aedibus Vicariatus XVI. Kalend. Februar. 1881

Addictissimus servus. &c

A. CARD. VICARIUS.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

I.—*Mrs. Ball; a Biography.* By the Rev. W. HUTCH, D.D. Dublin: Duffy & Sons. 1879.

II.—*Life of Mother Frances Mary Teresa Ball.* By the Rev. H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates. 1881.

The memory of Mrs. Ball is by no means likely to fade away in a few years. The great spiritual family to which she has given birth, the thousands of young girls in high and low station, whom the nuns of the Loretto Convents have educated, both at home and abroad, are not likely to forget the lesson of her noble life and eloquent virtues. But Mrs. Ball has, besides, been specially fortunate in her biographers; we have two lives, within two years, from men who are both accomplished writers, and are specially qualified for the task they have undertaken; and although we are convinced that Dr. Hutch's book contains a complete, accurate, and admirably written record of Mrs. Ball's life and labours, we dare say that the shorter and less detailed account in the limpid and graceful style of Father Coleridge will find numerous readers. Both biographers give us also a sketch of the life of Dr. Murray, the "Great Archbishop" of Dublin, who was the guide and zealous co-operator of Mrs. Ball in all her labours. Indeed, if Father Coleridge had devoted the whole book to the "Great Archbishop," whose life is still to be written, and leave Mrs. Ball's biography to Dr. Hutch, we should have gained much, and lost little. An account of the life and labours of that truly wise and gentle prelate, written by Father Coleridge, would be gladly welcomed by numerous readers.

Mrs. Ball was born in Dublin, in the year 1794, and at an early age was sent to be educated by the "Ladies of the Bar," at York, in England. It was an old convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary, that subsisted throughout the days of persecution. She was, however, summoned home at the age of fourteen, on the death of her father, but again returned a few years later to St. Mary's Convent to train herself in the religious "Institute of the Blessed Virgin Mary," with a view of founding a branch of that ancient Community in Ireland. She returned, August, 1821, to carry out her purpose, landing at Dunleary, on the very same day on which—

"The Fourth of the fools and oppressors called 'George'"

came to our shores. It is unnecessary to remind our readers of the labours, and the success that crowned the labours, of Mary Frances Ball. The noble cloisters of Rathfarnham, the convents of Navan, Bray, Fermoy, Gorey, as well as several others in Ireland, Canada, Africa, India, and Australia, are the lasting fruit of her prayers, and toils, and genius. The Loretto convent schools are the first in Ireland; this was known even before the Intermediate Examinations of last year proved it. Dr. Hutch bears eloquent testimony to the *solid, practical, and thorough*

education given by the Loretto nuns. This is precisely what is wanting, and what is not always to be had ; not *mere* accomplishments, which are but the ornamental *fringes* of a good education, and are more likely to feed vanity than serve any useful purpose. We heartily congratulate the Loretto nuns on their success, as well as on the literary honours paid to their great and holy foundress ; and we venture to express a hope that they will continue to labour successfully in this holiest sphere of highest utility, training up the daughters of Ireland to be gentle, and wise, and good, whether it be their lot to serve God in the school, the cloister, or the well-managed homes of happy families.

Evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Irish Land Act, by the Very Reverend Dr. WALSH, President of St. Patrick's College, Maynooth. Dublin : Gill & Son, 1881.

THE political and social questions which Dr. Walsh's most interesting and timely Pamphlet is sure to suggest to the mind of every thoughtful reader, we leave to others to discuss.

We have to notice it only in as far as it contains a statement of facts in which every well-wisher of our National College will take a deep interest. A simple enumeration of its contents will be sufficient to show at a glance to what a wide circle of readers it appeals at the present moment. It contains :

1. An Introduction setting forth the circumstances connected with its publication.
2. The Evidence given before the Land Commission of which Lord Bessborough was chairman. This evidence principally regards the eviction of the Trustees from the College farm, but necessarily deals with various incidental questions of vital importance.
3. A Copy of the Leinster Lease, which by this time has acquired such unenviable notoriety.
4. Some Letters addressed to the *Freeman's Journal*, relating to the evidence, and to questions growing out of it.
5. A decisive and crushing reply to the Thirteen Statements contained in the "rebutting" evidence of the Duke of Leinster's Agent—Charles R. Hamilton, Esq.

For obvious reasons, we are anxious to be as moderate in our praise of Dr. Walsh's Pamphlet as possible, but we feel bound to say that under each of these five heads will be found matter that may well command the earnest attention of every man who wishes to see the hereditary feud between landlord and tenant extinguished, and the reign of law and of social progress re-established in Ireland.

Catholic Sermons. By Rev. J. B. BAGSHAWE.

WE ask the attention of our readers to these Sermons. As a rule, "Sermons" are not very pleasant reading. They suggest the idea of a ponderous volume written in a cumbrous or stilted style, and smelling strongly of the midnight oil. They bear the same relation to the spoken word, that the richly furnished but close

and stately chamber does to the open, green, and exhilarating fields. No wonder, therefore, that they are not much in favour. But in Father Bagshawe's Sermons all this is changed. Instead of a ponderous volume, we have a weekly serial which costs but one penny. Instead of a stilted style, we find the matter printed, apparently just as it was, or would be spoken.

The first number of this very interesting serial was published on the 18th March, 1881. It contains a general introduction to the COMMANDMENTS, which are to form the subject of many future numbers.

We heartily recommend this short but practical publication to priests and people alike.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers :—

From FRIEDRICH PUSTET—

Rituale Romanum PAULI V. Pont. Max. Jussu Editum et BENEDICTO XIV. auctum et castigatum.

Cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix. Editio secunda accuratissima, a Sac. Rituum Congregatione adprobata. Ratisbonae, 1881.

Officium Majoris Hebdomadae, a Dominica in Palmis usque ad Sabbatum in Albis juxta Ordinem Breviarii et Missalis Romani cum Cantu pro Dominica Palmarum, Triduo Sancto et Paschate. Quam curavit S. Rituum Congregatio. Ratisbonae, 1881.

Psalmi Officii Hebdomadae Sanctae, quos Meditationum et Ferialium Initiis distinctis in Psallentium usum edidit JOSEPH MOHR. Ratisbonae, 1881.

From BURNS & OATES—

Spiritual Exercises of St. Ignatius, for general use. New Edition. London, 1881.

Life of St. Frederick, Bishop and Martyr. By FREDERICK G. MAPLES, Missionary Apostolic. London, 1881.

Among the Lilies, and other Tales, with a sketch of the Holy House of Nazareth and Loretto. By EMILY MARY SHAPCOTE, Tertiary of St. Dominic. London, 1881.

The Confraternities—their Obligations and Indulgences. By Rev. W. J. B. RICHARDS, D.D., Oblate of St. Charles. Second Edition. London, 1881.

From GILL & SON—

The Outcome of Land Reform.—The happy Peasant Proprietors of Europe. By Very Rev. HENRY E. DENNEHY, Canon of Cloyne.

The Jubilee of 1881.—Instructions and Devotions. By Sister M. FRANCIS CLARE.

Evidence given before the Royal Commission on the Irish Land Act. By the Very Rev. Dr. WALSH, President, Maynooth.

From BROWNE & NOLAN—

Lina: An Italian Lily. Translated from the French of Mrs. AUGUSTUS CRAVEN, Author of the "Récit d'Une Sœur." By The Hon. FREDERICA SPRING RICE.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
Censor Dep.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

JUNE, 1881.

WHAT FORCE HAVE INFORMAL WILLS IN CONSCIENCE ?

THIS is an interesting and very practical question, which has been often asked, and not always satisfactorily answered; and missionary priests would do well to endeavour to solve it for themselves, when occasion arises, on clear and definite principles. Yet there is very great diversity of opinion on the subject even amongst theologians of the greatest name; hence we venture, with some hesitation however, to offer a practical solution.

A will has been defined by the Roman lawyers to be :— “*Voluntatis nostrae justa sententia de eo quod quis post mortem suam fieri velit* ;” that is to say, it is the authentic expression of a man's last wish regarding the disposal of his property after his death. The word “*justa*,” which we have translated “*authentic*,” may be understood either of the *legally* authentic, that is, formal will, or, in a wider sense, it may be taken to include the genuine and authentic expression of the testator's last wish, regarding the disposal of his property, even when not executed with the legal formalities. It is in this wider sense we are to understand the word for the present.

The legal formalities required by our municipal law, as it stands at present, are very simple, although mistakes are sometimes made even in these formalities.

1. The will must be *in writing* ; except in the case of wills made “*by mariners at sea or soldiers in actual service*.”

2. It must be *signed* by the testator, or the signature, if previously made, must be *acknowledged* by the testator as

the signature of his last will and testament, in the presence of two or more witnesses present at the same time.

3. The witnesses must themselves *sign* the will in presence of the testator, and (at least for caution sake) in presence of each other.

No particular *form* of attestation is necessary, provided it appear on the face of the document that the persons signed their names as witnesses to the will. Hence the word "witnesses" before their names would be sufficient for the validity; but it is always safer to add a clause of attestation to this effect:—"Signed, published, and declared by the said A. B. as and for his last will and testament, in presence of us, present at the same time, who at his request, in his presence, and in presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses."

As to the *position* of the testator's signature, by the 15 & 16 Vict. c. 24, it is enough if "it be placed *at or after following or under, or beside, or opposite to* the end of the will, in such a manner that it shall be apparent *on the face of the will*, that it was intended to give effect by such signature to the writing signed as the will; but this signature is not sufficient to give effect to any disposition *underneath or following it*, or inserted *after* the signature is made."¹

Codicils must be executed with the same solemnities as the will itself; and the instrument once duly executed is revocable only by (a) *the marriage* of the testator or testatrix; or (b) by the execution of a new will of later date;² or (c) by the burning, tearing, or other destruction of the will (*animo revocandi*) by the testator himself, or by some other person *in his presence* and by his direction. A case has been recently decided, in which the court gave effect to the dispositions of a will that was admitted to have been destroyed by order, but not in presence, of the testator.

The question now arises, if we have the authentic expression of the testator's last will, regarding the disposal of his property after his death, but legally invalid, from the non-observance of one, or more, or all, of these formalities, what force, if any, has this informal will in conscience? The greatest theologians are divided in answering this question; and in order to understand this diversity of opinion it is necessary to bear in mind that there is another question, on the answer to which the solution of this mainly

¹ Stephens, chapter 20th, note page 599 (eighth edition).

² Or other instrument executed like a will, and revoking the former one.

depends, namely—in virtue of what law has a man the right of disposing of his property after his death? We shall discuss this last question in the first place.

I. What law gives the right of disposing of property by will?

Some canonists and theologians declare that we enjoy this right by the natural law;¹ others² of great name derive it from the civil law; and consequently with us it would be derivable from the municipal law of these realms. Haunoldus is very strong in favour of this opinion, declaring that it is “*simpliciter vera*.” A third party takes a *via media*, and derives the right of making a will from the *jus gentium*; which is true, this far at least, that it is a right recognised and conceded by all nations that have had any pretensions to civilization. We cannot enter into this discussion, first, because it is of very little practical importance; and, secondly, because we think that while apparently differing from each other, the three parties are very much in accord on the main question, at least for all practical purposes.

Regarding the first opinion it is clear that the natural law, strictly speaking, cannot give this right, and for a very obvious reason. Property is not transferred by will until a man is dead; hence a testator, whilst he is living, does not wish his property to pass from him, and when he is dead, he is incapable of dominion, and therefore of transferring it. “*Vivens non vult, et mortuus non potest, dominium transferre*.” Some *positive* law therefore is necessary to enable a man by his act, whilst living, to give effect to any disposition of his property after death.

Now this positive law cannot be the municipal law of any nation; the municipal law may restrict and regulate the exercise of this power for the public good, but it cannot abrogate it, and therefore never granted the substantive right; and its attempted abrogation would be invalid, because fatal to the welfare and happiness of society. It is therefore independent of (as far as the substantive right is concerned), and anterior to the municipal law; its roots are fixed in the soil of society itself. When men began to form states it was found by experience that the peace of families, and the general good, required that industrious men should have this power of disposing of their property. Otherwise they should either transfer it during life, and

¹ Molina, Vinnius, &c.

² Haunoldus, Zallinger, Schmalzgrueber, &c.; with some restrictions however.

thus reduce themselves to beggary, or a general scramble would take place for a man's goods after his death, at least when he had no definite heir to succeed him. Either alternative would be disastrous to the best interests of society, and hence we say this power of making a will is derived from the law of nations.

"Est autem hoc jus gentium minus proprie dictum; quia ad jus gentium proprie dictum, ea duntaxat pertinent quae gentes servare tenentur inter se (international law), et quae omnium, aut fere omnium, gentium usu ad earum commune bonum et felicitatem promovendam, recepta sunt.¹ Atqui testamenti confectio, licet plerumque gentium moribus recepta sit, ipsam tamen communis boni et felicitatis promotionem, et societatis inter eas conservationem immediate non respicit."

The power of making a will therefore is entirely conformable to the natural law; the substantive right is directly traceable to the law of nations; the municipal law in the public interest can regulate the conditions of its exercise, but may not wholly abrogate the right, which is derivable from a higher source. We can now discuss with greater ease the second question:—

II. How far has an informal will any binding force *in foro conscientiae*?

It is admitted by most theologians that after the just sentence of the proper authority declaring its invalidity *in foro externo* the will can have no force in conscience. For the law requiring the observance of certain solemnities is both just and necessary, hence when the law pronounces its judgment in any particular case, the parties are bound in conscience to give effect to the sentence. The legatee under an informal will must in all cases hand over the legacies to be distributed according to law by the administrator, and cannot under any circumstances, when the sentence is a just one, make himself occult compensation.

The question then is not what force has the informal will *post*, but *ante sententiam*. As might be expected, the theologians give different answers to this question, according to their different notions about the nature of the will.

Those who hold that it transfers property by the natural law will consequently hold, that the instrument, informal merely by municipal law, really transfers the dominion in

¹ Schmalzgrueber. In Lib. 3, Decret. De Test. n. 5.

all cases until the law declares the contrary by its sentence.¹ Hence, if this opinion were true, even a son disinherited by an informal will would be bound to give up the property of his father to the legatee although a stranger, at least when there was an authentic instrument which he knew expressed the testator's *real* will, and had not been yet declared to be invalid by competent authority.

On the other hand, there is the opinion of those who derive the testamentary rights exclusively from the municipal law, and who naturally hold that the will, if not executed with all the formalities of the law, is nothing but waste paper, and therefore if a man is certain of its invalidity he cannot even *ante sententiam* lay any claim to any property, even in his possession, by virtue of the informal will. This opinion, although speculatively probable, is not safe in practice.

The third opinion, adopted by Suarez and St. Liguori, applies the principle, *melior est conditio possidentis*, to the holders of the goods of the deceased, until the sentence of the law is definitely pronounced.² Hence, if the heir-at-law or the representatives of the deceased are in possession, they can hold the property with a safe conscience, until the judge declares in favour of a doubtful will, and grants probate of the same. On the other hand, if the legatee should happen to be in possession, or should obtain possession without fraud, or other injustice, as for instance, from the executor of an informal will, he can retain the property until the will has been declared invalid, by the proper authority; and if, from any cause, the case never comes before the court, he can act as lawful owner. Neither is the legatee or executor bound to give any information to the heir-at-law, or other representative, of their own defective title, under the informal will; let the interested parties find it out for themselves. Of course in this country, probate will not be granted, if the instrument is manifestly invalid on the face of the document; but sometimes probate has been granted when the will was, although apparently a valid instrument, really invalid, and known to be such by one of the parties, because, for instance, both witnesses did not sign in presence of the testator,

¹ Lugo seems to hold this opinion and to permit occult compensation even *post sententiam judicis*; but he merely quotes others and in reality holds that the will is of no force even *ante sententiam*.

² This opinion is also held by Sotus, Layman, Billuart, Pirhing, Gury, Ballerini, Crolley, and several others.

or from some similar cause. This opinion is the safest in practice, and is well founded in reason and authority, besides having the advantage of leaving things as they are, until the law, when it is invoked, settles the controversy. We suspect it is the opinion that sensible men, no matter what their speculative views, always followed in practice.

But here a very important question arises—what is meant by this informal will in virtue of which *ante sententiam* the *bona fide* possessor can hold the property until the law declares the will invalid? Are any formalities necessary for this instrument? Must it be at least in writing, or must it also be signed by the testator and by the witnesses, so as to be apparently a valid instrument? The late learned Dr. Crolly of Maynooth, whose opinion on these questions is entitled to the greatest respect, declares very distinctly that the will, in order to have this force in conscience, must be *apparently* a valid will, and must have been regarded by the testator as valid; and he adds furthermore, that a manifestly invalid will has no force whatsoever in conscience.

“Suppono testatorem putasse testamentum minus solemne ratum et validum esse; quia si ipse scienter testamentum fecerit quod in foro civili nullum et irritum esse cognoverit, hoc nullo modo testamentum dici potest &c.” De Contr. n. 388. And again, n. 389. “Puto testamentum manifesto irritum nullam vim habere, ne in foro quidem conscientiae, *quia* praescripta, quibus observatis, testamentum prima facie in foro civili ratum esse censebitur, sunt *simplicissima*.”

With this very clear and emphatic opinion we are sorry to say we cannot agree. We venture to think that the principle, *melior est conditio possidentis*, applies not only to the apparently valid will, but to every *authentic* expression of the last will of the testator regarding the disposal of his property after his death. By *authentic* we mean, not only that it is the genuine expression, but also that it is capable of satisfactory proof; otherwise there would be no security against fraud. And it must be the expression of the absolute, ultimate, and efficacious will of the testator, not the mere expression of a future purpose, or conditional desire, not a *vellem* but a present *volo* to which he wishes, as far as he can, to give effect. We think an informal will, in this sense of the word, need not be an apparently valid instrument, nor signed by either the testator or the witnesses, nor reduced to writing at all, provided it is otherwise capable of proof. The reason is because, as we

have seen, the will really derives its power of transferring property from the *jus gentium*; now the *jus gentium* requires no particular solemnities beyond the authentic expression of the testator's wish. This is sufficiently evident from the great variety of legal solemnities employed at different times and in different places. The civil law required for a *testamentum clausum*, or written will, no less than seven male witnesses of the age of puberty, summoned for the purpose; and required moreover, that the testator subscribe the will in his own handwriting, or if not, that an eighth witness subscribe the name in his stead, and that all the other witnesses should afterwards subscribe *per se* or *per alios*. Yet for a *nuncupative* will the civil law only required seven legal witnesses to hear the testator declare his intentions by *word of mouth*, or assert that the written document was his will.

The canon law only requires the parish priest and two or more witnesses to the testator's *verbal* declaration, in order to make it a valid will, and even our municipal law, in the case of soldiers and sailors, admits the validity of a verbal will. The *jus gentium* therefore never required writing as a necessary condition of validity, but the laws of all nations required satisfactory proof of some kind regarding the disposition of the testator's property. It is not because the *voló* was expressed in writing, or signed by the testator or by others that it acquired, *jure gentium*, the power of transferring property, but because it was the genuine wish of the testator and provable as such. This may be illustrated by a case that actually occurred.

A dying man, after receiving the last Sacraments, emphatically expressed his will in the presence of the priest and several other persons, to leave his house and land to his illegitimate daughter, then married and living in the house. He was advised, for caution sake, to get a will duly made and executed to that effect, and actually sent for a clerk to write the will, but before his arrival the man became unconscious and died. The brother of the deceased was his heir-at-law, and, hearing that a will was made, at first took no steps to recover the property; but when he learned the truth, he at once took steps to eject the niece and her husband and family. Now was not that woman in conscience justified in remaining in the possession of the house and land as long as the law allowed her? And if her uncle had never learned the truth regarding the will, we think she could, with a safe conscience, continue in the

enjoyment thereof. Many similar cases might be made, in which the making of a formal will is omitted from ignorance, or from negligence, or from inability to have it made and executed in time; and yet in these cases we may have an authentic declaration of the genuine, absolute, efficacious *volò* of the testator. Whenever there is satisfactory proof of this will in the sense explained, we are decidedly of opinion that St. Liguori's principle applies, and that the parties in possession can, with a safe conscience, retain possession until the law decides against them.

It has been said that if there were a real genuine *volò* in the sense explained, the testator would take care to make a legal will. This, however, is by no means always the case. Like many other things, making a legal will is neglected until it is too late, the consequence is that there is no will of any kind, or some informal will is unduly executed, even when the testator is most anxious to have a formal will.

The reason assigned in the paragraph quoted above is, that a manifestly informal will should have no force in conscience, as the requirements of the law are *so simple*. They have not always been so simple, and they are not now so very simple for rude, ignorant people, many of whom cannot write at all, and very few of whom know how to make a valid will, simple as it is. Besides, the records of the law courts make it abundantly clear that, even in point of form, very intelligent people sometimes make grave mistakes in this matter, so that the lawyers have good grounds for toasting the memories of those who undertake to make their own wills. But really this is not the question, whether it is easy or difficult to make a valid will, but whether, by the law of nations, a will transfers property because it is a written document, or because it is the genuine expression of the testator's wish? We think the latter is the true reason. When all the legal formalities are not exactly complied with, the instrument can have no force in virtue of municipal law; whatever force it has is derived from the natural law, or from the law of nations, and, in regard to either one or the other, it is quite immaterial whether the will of the testator be written or not, provided it is genuine and provable. The natural law, or the law of nations, never required writing as an indispensable condition for ascertaining either one or the other of these points.

We therefore think an informal will has this force in conscience, that a legatee under the will can lawfully acquire or retain possession of his legacy, when no unjust means are resorted to, until the judge declares the will to be invalid; on the other hand, the representative of the deceased is not bound to yield possession of the goods to the executor or legatees until the will is proven to be valid, at least when he has any reasonable ground to question its validity. And by an informal will we mean the authentic expression of the genuine, ultimate, and absolute wish of the testator regarding the disposal of his property, whether destitute of any or all of the requisite legal formalities.

J. H.

GERALD BARRY AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—IV.

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE INNOCENT III.—THE EPISCOPAL ELECTION COMMISSION.

IT happens, that in reviewing the law proceedings of our author, in the course of his appeal to Rome, we shall be able to have but little assistance from our editor, and must have recourse to the tract *De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae* itself. Mr. Brewer tells us in his first preface, that "the suit lingered on for four years, but it cannot be followed here in all its intricate minutiae." We have no wish, certainly, to follow it in its minutiae; but, unfortunately, Mr. Brewer goes curiously astray, as we shall see, with regard to its main course. For the trial we cannot adopt the report he gives, as we have done with regard to the great interview between Innocent and Gerald. Far from merely requiring a rectification here and there, like his long story of the audience, his account of the trial needs a thorough fashioning anew. We will, however, lay before the reader his general complaint with regard to the legal proceedings in question, and examine afterwards how far it is borne out by the narrative on which he founds it, the account of facts left us by Giraldus himself, in the already many times mentioned Dialogue.

Mr. Brewer acknowledges in his preface to his third volume, the volume in which the Dialogue is printed, that—

“For a history of the main events in the life of Giraldus, and especially of his long and arduous struggle in defence of his own election, and the independence of St. David’s, this Dialogue is the most valuable of his writings.”

What general idea of the trial Mr. Brewer formed, had best be learned from his own words in his preface to his first volume. In his preface to the third, he makes himself the following statement:—

“In the preface to the first volume of these works, I have referred so fully to the second tract published in this volume, *Dialogus De Jure et Statu Menevensis Ecclesiae*, that little needs to be said here beyond what relates to the text and the MSS.”

To the first preface, consequently, we have recourse, and copy the words that there immediately follow the sentence already quoted about the “intricate, minutiae” of the famous suit. The editor says:—

“It exhibited every phase of legal chicanery, such as the Roman court could alone exhibit in the thirteenth century, or an English Court of Chancery in its unreformed phase, when the original trunk can scarcely be distinguished from the rank tanglements of a vicious aftergrowth; and dilatoriness and delay arising from the dread of doing injustice, have passed into the worst forms of injustice.”

The reader will notice here, that Mr. Brewer is far from imputing the desire to do wrong wilfully, as the source of what he calls the legal chicanery of Rome. He believes, on the contrary, that the real source was in great measure the desire to do right; the fear of deciding unjustly. We really must acknowledge, and we are happy to have this opportunity of doing so, that it is no desire to misrepresent—nay, that is saying little—it is not even a desire to be able with truth to speak ill of Catholics, that appears to be at the bottom of Mr. Brewer’s strange misrepresentations. He seems quite as glad to say anything in our favour as against us. We read in a note to his first preface, with regard to the Roman cases of appeal:—

“It is not to be denied, that these disputes at Rome were productive of great good, in making churches and monasteries careful and scrupulous in the preservation of their charters, muniments, and local histories. Without these, the history of Europe for ten centuries would have been little better than a blank.”

In a note to the preface to his second volume, Mr. Brewer says of certain stories in his author:—

“These anecdotes are of importance, as showing the popular impressions of Church history before the Reformation. We have not much to boast of now, for they are scarcely more correct after five centuries. Modern prejudices are just as vulgar, and equally ill-founded.”

Our editor is clearly not one of those men who feel as if they had discovered a treasure, when they have laid hold of a story against Catholics. Our poor author, Giraldus, has many scandalous little tales that Exeter Hall orators (if there are still such men) might use with great effect, and that would, we fear, be welcomed¹ even by historians of the type of Dr. Mant; petty points, that would prove nothing for the main contention to a judge or a philosopher, but which a common-law advocate, or a mere controversialist, would ring the changes on with ridiculous delight. We are afraid that Gerald himself had much of the Nisi-Prius man about him; that, without exactly inventing things himself, he was ready to bring forward anything that made for his views, on very slender evidence indeed, and was terribly prone to exaggerate its importance and its drift. But Mr Brewer did not hold any brief against us. He was rather a kind of careless Gallio with regard to us and all our mediæval ways.

He had, no doubt, prejudices, but not animosity against our Church. He was, we are convinced, perfectly ready to do us justice, whenever he believed that justice was on our side. But he, in the nineteenth century, looked down so impatiently, and from such a dizzy height, on the far-off chasm and abyss of the Middle Ages, that he could really distinguish nothing nicely there, and could no more do justice to those distant times, than the first honest gentleman we chance to meet can safely undertake to administer Scotch law.

It is wonderful how helpless Mr. Brewer considered people in the Middle Ages to have been. He explains his views with regard to the Papal courts most fully and most amusingly of all, in the following passage of his first

¹ In the *Dublin Review* for April, 1880, Father Bridgett complains that, “In a chapter devoted to the state of the clergy in the time of St. Hugh, Canon Perry has gathered out of a treatise of Giraldus a long list of possible, or actual, abuses or irreverences committed against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.”

preface; it occurs just before his compendium of Gerald's famous interview about the register with Innocent; indeed, that whole interview is brought in by Mr. Brewer as an illustration of the difficulties of cases of appeal in mediæval times.

"The prosecution of the suit was inexpressibly tedious, even for Rome." [The reader will remember that, as we have already seen, Mr. Brewer says it "lingered on for four years;" really not quite the length usually assigned to a case in Chancery "in its unreformed phase."] "In that quarter, the genius of Innocent III. had neither attempted nor desired reform. Such delays were profitable to the Roman chancery; but they might, and doubtless did, arise in a great degree from ignorance, on the part of the judges, of the rights of the litigants who appeared before them, and the difficulty of arriving at a just decision."

Mr. Brewer now proceeds to submit to the reader a number of difficulties, for a solution of which, it seems to us, the reader might fairly have referred him to his lawyer, or even to an attorney's clerk. We set down his extraordinary difficulties in his own words:—

(a) "How was it possible for the Papal court, or the Pope, to know the bearings of a case which turned not unfrequently on territorial or prescriptive titles?"

(b) "How could they, at such a distance, summon, or even examine, the witnesses necessary for discovering the truth?"

(c) "How decide on the value of the evidence tendered?"

(d) "How could they even remember the names of the thousands of bishoprics, with their exemptions and non-exemptions, their intricate net-work of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, or local privileges, in the different parts of Christendom?"

We fear, now that we have copied this last question, that we had ventured to form too high an idea of the capacity of an attorney's clerk. The three first difficulties such an official could, of course, reply to, by explaining the usage of receiving depositions. He might possibly even go the length of suggesting that the Bishops, or even certain members of the inferior clergy, might, in different parts of the world, act in ecclesiastical cases as Commissioners for Affidavits. But the fourth question (d) would, we must admit, be too much, not only for a solicitor's clerk to answer, but even for any one, except a regular professor of mnemonics, who perhaps might be expected to declare that the whole long list might really be most easily remembered. Unfortunately, during the Middle Ages, the Papal courts had no professor of

mnemonics, and we are afraid they never got so far as to know glibly even the names of all the dioceses, much less the exemptions and the non-exemptions. What might have been a great deal more surprising to Mr. Brewer, even under our own constitution, down to our own century, we fear that no judge of the old Prerogative Court ever knew quite perfectly even the names signed to all the wills deposited at Doctors' Commons, together with the full amount of all the legacies due and lapsed, and the intricate net-work of all the settlements and inheritances involved.

It must be admitted that the old prejudice, *Littera scripta manet*, was strong in Rome as well as England; all courts of law have, indeed, been generally more famous for registers than mnemonics. We have already seen from Mr. Brewer that in the days of Gerald there was kept a register of bishoprics in Rome. Without it we believe that Innocent III. himself, with all his "transcendent genius," would have found himself at his wits' end, if required to repeat the names of all the dioceses. With it, the Pope seems to have got on, issuing summonses and commissions, admitting evidence brought forward, allowing it to be discussed and criticised, granting occasionally time for further testimony to be produced, on the whole pretty much as courts of judicature act to day. It was rather a surprise to us certainly to find of all men a Reader at the Rolls, as Mr. Brewer honourably entitled himself, appearing to lose sight of the possibility of records, appearing, moreover, to do so at the very time that he was going to speak of a Roman register; in fine, appearing to expect that, before a case has been regularly opened, judges should be acquainted with every thing that may be laid before them during its hearing, or established at its close.

We have now to turn from our editor's strange ideal of a judge, to contemplate the actual conduct of Pope Innocent in Gerald's suit, as Gerald himself describes it for us.

After the famous interview about the register, the first thing Gerald did about the claim of independence for the see, was to write and present an historical memoir on the subject. It is needless for our purpose to criticise this merely *ex parte* statement. The Pope having received it, and, as would appear from Gerald's words, heard it read, observed, as was proper, that Gerald must wait for his adversary to appear, and that then neither audience nor

justice should be denied¹ to Gerald. All this is dignified and kind, and what ought to be expected, and above all it is very intelligible. But what Mr. Brewer really thought about the business, it is decidedly a puzzle to make out. He tells us, on the faith of his own modern discernment, without the least authority from Gerald, that "the most effective part of the whole argument was an engagement undertaken by Giraldus, that if his petition were granted, and St. David's subjected immediately to Rome, the Welsh should freely submit to the payment of Peter-pence," &c. From the word "effective" it should seem as if Mr. Brewer really believed that Innocent thought seriously of Gerald's case. From the way we have already seen Mr. Brewer represent the unlucky archdeacon as a kind of deluded live plaything of the Pope, we should have imagined that any notion of earnestness in Gerald's cause on the Pontiff's part, was considered by Mr. Brewer as a quite preposterous idea. Fortunately it is easier to know what the Pope did, than what exactly Mr. Brewer thought about it.

At last "the adversary" appeared. He was a cleric of Hubert Archbishop of Canterbury, the powerful Prelate who had, from the first, protested against Gerald's election to St. David's; but this cleric was the reverse of a plenipotentiary. He said nothing about the claim of independence, he was simply commissioned by the archbishop to explain to the Pope that there had been a new election for St. David's, when the royal assent had been refused to the election of our archdeacon. Even this he was only told to say in case he found Gerald at Rome. This was scarcely the kind of representative the Pope thought the archbishop should have sent to the trial of an appeal at Rome. The good cleric had fine presents, Gerald says, "*ut creditor*," from the archbishop to the Pope. But any presents he may have had, and from whomsoever he had them, notwithstanding, Innocent at once pronounced everything done in England against the election of the archdeacon, after the archdeacon had appealed to the Holy See, to be simply null and void. Turning to the archdeacon, who was present, he declared that if he did not soon hear some other message, he would, without fail, proceed to other measures. Mr. Brewer seems to have had no idea that in all this, Innocent, the great

¹ "*Quibus auditis, Papa respondit, quoniam adversarius expectandus erat, qui cum venerit, audientia tibi justitiaque non negabitur.*"

Pontiff, who held the power of Rome so high, was anxiously asserting the rights of his tribunal of appeal. Mr. Brewer thought the Pope was only acting a part, soothing ambition with visionary mitres, or, if he was in earnest, could be so only in expectation of Peter-pence.¹

¹ It is to us very wonderful what a difficulty English Protestant writers seem to have about admitting that a pope acts from high theoretic principle. Even Mr. Gladstone, when he found himself accused of having misrepresented texts in his famous "Expostulation," replied, in "Vaticanism," that his summary account of them gave their real meaning, set forth in fact "what the Pope intended to condemn." He wrote with an air of slightly subdued indignation: "We are asked to believe that what the Pope intended to condemn was a state of things which never has existed in any country of the world." It appears then that Mr. Gladstone had positively a difficulty about admitting that the dogma-loving Pope could really set about condemning a state of things that did not actually exist. Even though that unreal state of things might be publicly maintained to be a worthy ideal, a proper aim for nations, Mr. Gladstone had still a difficulty about believing that the Pope's condemnation could be directed against it before it became an "accomplished fact." The mere defence of it as right in theory was something so very abstract that our minister was of opinion that the Pope could not have chosen to interfere therewith. So strongly does this strange idea seem to have taken possession of the illustrious statesman's mind, so clear does it appear to have been to him that popes exert themselves about material interests only, that he proceeded to really strange lengths; he allowed himself to bring forward in defence of his views a remarkable quotation, which if only completed would prove very plainly the direct contrary. The reader shall judge whether we exaggerate.

Mr. Gladstone continues his remarks about the Pope, as follows: "Now he," (the Pope) "says he is condemning one of the commonly prevailing errors of the time, familiarly known to the bishops whom he addresses 'Probè noscitis hoc tempore non paucos reperiri, qui,' &c. "Encycl. December 8, 1864." Really this quotation even in its unfinished state . . . "non paucos . . . qui" looks to an ordinary mind as referring rather to individuals than states, and would suggest that "the state of things" alluded to by the Pope as well known was that of doctrines becoming broached by not a few persons, rather than that of states formally and practically admitting objectionable principles of law. After the sentences we have quoted from Mr. Gladstone, which he himself unites without a single intervening word, he brings in immediately a final and triumphant sentence, where he quietly confounds the "state of things," in which "commonly prevailing errors" are merely broached, with the "State," [*sic*] in which such doctrines may be legally acted on; he cries out: "What bishop knows of a state which by law allows a 'perfectly free course to blasphemy, filthiness, and sedition'?"

Though bishops happen to know of no such "STATE," they surely, nevertheless, may know of a "*state of things*," in which it is publicly asserted that such a perfectly free course ought to be allowed by law. But, according to Mr. Gladstone, the Pope cannot have been talking of anything of this kind; he must have been speaking of a ruling State,

If the appeal was to go on at all, and to be seriously tried, it seemed natural that a commission should be issued to take evidence in England with regard to Gerald's disputed election. It could not be expected that everyone with important evidence on either side would come to Rome. Such a commission was accordingly issued. Evidence was to be taken in England in proper cases and reported by the Commissioners to the Supreme Pontiff.

All this appears very natural, but it was a great disappointment to our archdeacon. The truth is, that he had begun to hope strongly that the appeal for his election would not have to be tried at all. He tells us he had been told by a cardinal, who was a friend of his, that he had made so favourable an impression on the Pope, that His Holiness was quite determined to put aside the whole question of election, and out of the plenitude of his power appoint him Bishop of St. David's; thus exercising the prerogative which Mr. Brewer might have once himself heard of in the case of the appointment of our own Cardinal Cullen to our Primatial See.

Disappointment generally makes people cross, and our

where principles which he condemns are permitted by law to be regularly carried out in practice; the Pope cannot, according to Mr. Gladstone, have been treating of such slight things as mere doctrines publicly put forward! The philosophical statesman really shrinks from admitting that a pope cares about false principles as long as they are merely taught, the Pope's anxiety, according to him, would seem to be necessarily always about some very practical material interest, and the "state of things" known to the bishops can be nothing short of a sovereign State legalizing the realization in practice of the objectionable doctrines broached! There is a plain answer to all this. Cardinal Newman very gently and kindly remarks as to the "state of things," which the Pope says is known to the bishops, "I do not find anything to show that the Pope is speaking of States and not of writers." But in reality the verbs in the Encyclical which Mr. Gladstone leaves out after "*non paucos . . . qui*" are "*audent docere*," words which leave no doubt possible as to the "state of things" in question.

Just as Mr. Gladstone would not admit his contemporary Pope was condemning theories, but found out something more material for him to aim at; in like manner Mr. Brewer suspected that the ancient Pope *he* had to deal with was less influenced by considerations of dignity and discipline than money. Yet we cannot help fancying that Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Brewer, if they had been asked whether dignity and discipline and dogma and doctrine were matters of extraordinarily great interest for popes, would both have answered in the affirmative. Nevertheless, they wrote what we have seen! What will the twenty-first century say of the state of critic's n amongst us in the middle of the nineteenth? What of Mr. Brewer's carelessness? And what of Mr. Gladstone's indignation?

archdeacon seems to have been no exception to the rule. On finding that the Holy Father would not make the expected exercise of his power, that he would simply appoint a commission to take evidence in England, and have the final pleadings heard at Rome, Gerald began to explain this arrangement as the result of an offer on the part of the archbishop, through his messenger, to procure a large grant of money from the English clergy to the Pope. Of course in itself the appointment of the commission was unimpeachable. But to a man full of the high hopes, which Gerald declares he had, it must have been a grievous disappointment, and the suddenly disappointed candidate, unable to blame the arrangement in itself, would be naturally only too prone to try and blame it in its cause.

As to the Pope's original intention, we know really nothing. It is different with regard to the matter, which, Gerald says, came under his own immediate observation. The archdeacon was, no doubt, much inclined to exaggerate. If a cardinal had told him that there was question of appointing him irrespective of election, he might, we believe, have easily brought himself to look on that appointment as a settled thing. We believe, too, that he was very ready to suspect, and we know that he made damaging statements against others on slight grounds. If he found anybody making a statement that seemed useful to him, he had little difficulty, we fear, during a considerable portion of his life about putting it forward as a fact. Later on, indeed, his conscience made him write retractions both with regard to this very Archbishop of Canterbury, and with regard to his own account of Irish history. In those retractions the extraordinary archdeacon humbly declares he had made statements on the faith of reports which might not have been the most trustworthy. But with this peculiar confession he stops short, and, we hold, not with reason. We do not believe that he used to set down cold-blooded circumstantial inventions of his own as truth.

It seems to us that we can bring forward remarkably strong confirmation of this view, of far more weight, indeed, than even the implicit testimony of Gerald himself at a time when he came forward as his own accuser. There are, be it remembered, a number of exploded fables in his works with regard to Ireland. Not one of those exploded fables is a matter which he refers to, as of his own knowledge. Amidst all the incredible wonders he relates of Ireland, Gerald never once pretends to have seen a single

one of them himself. This is, of course, a point that we shall develop further later on. We now add, that in this very case of the trial, while he represents the Pope as swayed by interested motives, of which he could not have clear evidence, he never once pretends to possess direct knowledge of anything really unworthy on the Pontiff's part. He may attribute motives; he avers no damaging fact. He never accuses Innocent of having made any positive promise and broken faith, of having at any of his many private interviews done any of those things which a downright calumniator could easily have invented, not, indeed, without danger of being disbelieved, but at least without the possibility of being refuted. Innocent, who finally rejected Gerald's suit with regard to the election, is never charged by the disappointed archdeacon with any fault, except some one of which Gerald himself could have no certainty. We are, consequently, well satisfied upon the whole, that the main circumstances set down in Gerald's books, *wherever Gerald himself must have known the truth*, may possibly be exaggerations, but are never thorough-going lies.

We feel sure that a cardinal said something to him from which he understood that he was to be nominated Bishop of St. David's directly by the Pope. And we are certain that he consequently felt the appointment of the English Commission as a great blow, not from any idea that it showed that his case was to be unfavourably tried, but because it showed that his case was to be tried at all. Gerald never once attacks the appointment of the Commission in itself. On the contrary, he appears to have been highly pleased with it as connected with his trial, though he would certainly much rather have been nominated bishop without being required to plead his cause.

Pope Innocent, in appointing the Commission, took a proper and important step for having the case which was brought before him, fairly tried. Whether he had ever thought or not of himself nominating Gerald to the bishopric, has in itself nothing to do with the Pontiff's character for rectitude. He had a right, if he thought it fitting, to exercise that authority. He had equally a right to reject all idea of doing so, and determine that no one should be Bishop of St. David's who had not been, in the ordinary and regular way, elected by the clergy, to the see.

J. J. O'C.

THE HOLY CHILDHOOD.

THIS pious Association, established now close upon forty years ago in France, for "The Redemption of Pagan Children in China and elsewhere," is annually achieving such splendid results for the spiritual and temporal welfare of thousands of destitute little ones so specially dear to the Heart of the Saviour, that it has long filled, in the mind and heart of the Catholic world, a larger space than any other, the Propagation of the Faith alone excepted. The Holy Childhood—till recently almost unknown in these countries, and with but a small number of zealous workers in its service amongst us—is just now happily taking root in our own country, and will, we doubt not, take kindly to a soil where no goodly plant of religion was ever known to fail; but being as yet but little known or spoken of, we have it in charge, on behalf of the Very Rev. the Director-General of the Society, to bring it under the notice of the readers of the RECORD, in the earnest hope of enlisting their active sympathy and zeal in so noble and deserving a cause. Begun in the year 1843 by Mgr. Forbin-Janson, Bishop of Nancy, this noble work of charity was at once taken up by all the other French Bishops, who in the warmest and most earnest manner recommended it to the clergy and faithful of their dioceses; and it further received, in 1856, the supreme sanction of the Holy See, by a brief in which His Holiness Pius IX., of venerable and glorious memory, enriched it with many indulgences, and recommended the work and its interests to all the Bishops of the Catholic world. More than once has the present Sovereign Pontiff also manifested the lively and special interest he takes in the concerns of the Holy Childhood, notably in his recent Apostolic Letter, in which, when prescribing, as one of the conditions necessary for gaining the Indulgence of the Jubilee, an alms-offering in favour of some pious work, His Holiness singles out this Association as being, with the Propagation of the Faith, the most deserving object of the alms of the faithful, "an Association," adds Leo XIII., "which We have much at heart, and which We purpose to establish and propagate in the most distant and barbarous countries, so as to enable it, in some measure, to supply all wants it may find existing." As was observed above, the good work is now well under way amongst ourselves, the Committee formed last December, in Dublin, to manage the affairs of the Holy Childhood for Ireland, having given a

great stimulus to the zeal of the subscribers, and added considerably to their number.¹

The aim and mission of this charitable Association is to rescue, baptize, and educate pagan children in China and elsewhere. What nobler work, what more meritorious mission could any one engage in? Not to speak of the more immediate wants of the little doomed innocents themselves, the experience of centuries proves that it is only *by the children* that China and its congeners can ever be won over to the sweet yoke of Christ. To most people China is, indeed, an unknown land, "that empire that, as if in sport, had taken to itself the title of 'Celestial,' because its genius is so eminently and so exclusively material. Look along those brimming rivers, which are made to irrigate a myriad gardens, and to spread incessant verdure over plains almost tapestried with ornamental patterns of minutest cultivation. Look at those quaint mountains delved into slopes and terraces, with every basketful of earth economized, and every trickling moisture curiously hoarded. See how the realm teems with human life, till there is scarcely any room left for any other life than that of man! We ponder in a puzzled way over that enormous hive of human life, where age has followed age, and God is still unknown."² The poet has truly said,

"Jealous China, strange Japan—
You are but dead seas of man."

It is known that in China, with her incredible masses of population, a father possesses the power of life and death over his own children! With what cruel and shocking results, may be gathered from the well-ascertained fact, that in the City of Peking carts are employed by order of the authorities to remove the hapless little infants exposed on the streets and byways during night—not to speak of the multitudes cast into the rivers to perish—which are then hurled pell-mell, not excepting even such as may still have life in them, into one common hole! And the thought of such innumerable souls, souls that are single to the eye of God, perishing without the grace of Baptism! Here then is the much-needed and glorious mission of the Holy Childhood. Consider that each Baptism "is a greater, a diviner, a more magnificent work than the creation of the material world." And it is chiefly through the resources and efforts of the

¹ Already twenty-six convents, colleges, and schools, have enrolled themselves in the Society of the Holy Childhood.

² "Bethlehem," p. 124.

apostles of the Holy Childhood, that even in heathen lands, amid the dense population of China, the life-giving stream "moves visibly to God's eye like a sweet silver brooklet. It has made the national atrocity of child-murder the channel in which its beautifying love might ingeniously run. Children in fair France, and in green England, and in German towns, and over the Atlantic, contribute to keep up this characteristic work of Christianity. European and American children send their baptismal missionaries to take up the exposed and dying children from the fields and from the dung-heaps, and to baptize them in thank-offering to God for the grace of Baptism, to which they themselves have reached. European and American mothers send to purchase of Chinese parents the children they would slay, or at least to purchase permission to baptize the doomed innocents, in thank-offering for their own children having attained to the grace of Baptism."¹ Glorious, consoling, heaven-inspired work! Who would refuse any sacrifice or effort to become a sharer in its assured and abounding recompense? On an average, the Holy Childhood baptizes yearly above 400,000 children, and supports and educates nearly half that number.

What are its means, its resources, to accomplish all this? None other absolutely, pious reader, than the alms of Catholic children, who, as the special apostles of this work of charity, make it their duty and glory to induce as many of their friends and acquaintances as possible to join and co-operate with them in their holy league. "If it is given us to do any good here," writes Mgr. Bax, Vicar-Apostolic of Mongolia, "it is thanks to the prayers and inexhaustible alms of that beautiful work, one of the glories of our age. It covers with its protecting wing entire Mongolia; from the frontiers of Manchooria to the desert of Gobi, the Holy Family offers an assured shelter to hundreds of unfortunate children, whom it rescues from a double death. It watches over them with the tender solicitude of a mother; not content with clothing and nourishing them, it procures them the priceless blessing of a Christian education, and, when the time is come for settling them in the world, it continues to them its protection, guidance, and encouragement. And when one considers that this miracle of charity is constantly being realised, not in Mongolia only, but in all the eighteen provinces of China—provinces vast as kingdoms—is there not good reason to exclaim, 'God

¹ "The Precious Blood," p. 257.

hath made use of the weak things of this world to confound the strong!’ For ages back, hundreds of Missioners have watered with their sweat and with their blood, the barren soil of China; powerful fleets and war-inured armies have, at various times, striven to sweep away the obstacles which in China lie in the way of Christian civilization, but alas! all to no purpose. But now there comes over the way this army of Catholic children, with a prayer on their lips and a small alms in their hands, and behold the walls of Jericho are tottering! Obstacles are being quietly but surely surmounted, against which the power of the mightiest peoples was ineffectual. Ah! well may they be proud of their noble victories, those valiant little soldiers of Christ; and may they carry on successfully and untiringly the great work they have so well begun.” Indeed the little children in France show a most admirable zeal in organizing their little circles or sections, and collecting alms for the Holy Childhood; but need we add the resources, though steadily on the increase year by year, are still totally inadequate to the many ever-increasing demands upon them.

We ought not perhaps wholly to omit noticing here an objection which is sometimes urged by even well-intentioned persons against works of this character. ‘Is not this new Association an encroachment upon the claims of an older and more necessary work; a let and hindrance to the success of the Propagation of the Faith?’ We answer in the words of the Brief of 1856 already referred to, “This new work of Christian charity, far from being in the least an obstacle to the work of the Propagation of the Faith, is shown on the contrary to help it marvellously. For, kindling as it does in the hearts of children the first feeble sparks of charity, and awakening in them sentiments of tenderness and compassion for the helpless outcasts, it moves and stimulates them thus early to labour for the salvation of souls, and so later on to take their place also in the ranks of the Propagation of the Faith.”

A word in conclusion on the organization of the Holy Childhood. It is divided into sections or circles of twelve members each, one of whom is appointed collector for the circle. Twelve of these groups form a sub-division, and twelve sub-divisions a division, having each a sub-treasurer and treasurer respectively. The spiritual director of the society is the local Parish Priest, or another priest appointed by him. The subscription due from each member is a halfpenny a month, or sixpence a year. We

have referred above to the great zeal of the little Catholic children of France; will not the children of Catholic Ireland display a like zeal in so noble a cause? Will not they too, with their mothers, and sisters, and friends, enrol themselves under the standard of this holy league, to do battle for the Lord, to get together all the alms they can, in order to save those millions of little ones who are at this moment crying to them for help from China, from the islands of the Pacific, and from the dark demon-bound land of Africa? "The little ones are crying for bread, and there is none to break it unto them." We appeal then most earnestly to all, but more especially to our venerated brothers in the Priesthood, on whom must ultimately depend the success of this movement. We appeal to them in the name of those millions of little ones who shall never see God except by their help, that by their zealous efforts and exhortations with their flocks they would do what they can in favour of this glorious cause. The warm heart of Catholic Ireland, ever "open as day to melting charity," cannot fail to make a generous response.

M. H.

[As some of our readers may be anxious to know who constitute the Central Committee for Ireland, we give the names and addresses. We are sure that any communication sent to any of the Members of the Committee will receive immediate attention. The Annals of the Society are published every alternate month.—ED. I. E. R.]

CENTRAL COMMITTEE FOR IRELAND.—Rev. P. Fee, C.C., Marlborough-street, Treasurer; Lady O'Hagan, 34, Rutland-square, President; Miss D'Alton, 49, Lower Gardiner-street, Secretary; Mrs. Clarke, Frankfort House, Blackrock, County Dublin; Mrs. Edward Hussey, 21, Belvidere-place; Miss Rafferty, Frankfort House, Blackrock, County Dublin.

THE PRINCIPLES OF '89.—IV.

“Men are born and remain free and equal in their rights. Social distinctions cannot be based save on common utility.”—*Declaration of the Rights of Man*, Art. I.

LIBERTY and “Equality” were the watchwords of the French Revolution, and, ever since, have been the talisman by which revolutionary demagogues have striven to gain an ascendancy over the masses, and seduce them from the side of social order, to take part in violent and anarchical movements. And, assuredly, no more winning words could have been chosen for the purpose, as they appeal directly to the strongest of all human passions—pride—which will scarcely endure an equal, much less tolerate a superior. The selection was judicious for the further reason, also, that liberty and equality, if rightly understood, are among the unquestioned rights of man; and it was a brilliant stroke of policy, on the part of the authors of the Declaration, to foist upon an unsuspecting public their own spurious wares, under the cover of a sterling and universally respected trade-mark.

Liberty! To what burning thoughts and aspirations does not that single word give birth in the soul of man? Through all time, it has been a name to conjure with. Poets have sung of it; orators have made it the theme of their most exaggerated rhetoric; philosophers have theorized on it, until their various systems pass reckoning; saints have prayed for it; patriots have toiled for it; soldiers have died for it, often in the face of hopeless odds: in a word, it has formed the goal of individual and national aspirations in every age and clime. And yet, strange to tell, never were words more truly spoken than those which fell from the lips of the celebrated Madame Roland, as she stepped upon the scaffold:—“O Liberty! Liberty! how many crimes are committed in thy name!” Clearly, there must be some misunderstanding, somewhere, in connection with this magic word; the universal voice of mankind proclaims liberty the most priceless of blessings, and yet crimes are daily perpetrated in its name! But the simple explanation of this seeming contradiction lies in the fact, that the enemies of social order have stolen the sacred name of liberty, and affixed it to *licence*, in the hope of thus finding some apology for their crimes. There is, then, a true and a false liberty—a genuine and a spurious equality;

and we cannot undertake a more interesting, or, in our days, a more useful investigation, than to discover which is which, and to define clearly the nature and characteristics of each. This we propose to do, partially, in the present paper, while examining the first article of the Declaration of '89 ; but, inasmuch as it would be impossible to condense into the space at our disposal all that we mean to say on Liberty, reversing the order followed by the authors of the Declaration, we shall first discuss the subject of "Equality," that we may the more conveniently resume our observations on "Liberty," in our next paper.

"EQUALITY." "All men are born, and remain equal in their rights." So say the authors of the Declaration of '89 ; but since, as we remarked in our second paper on this subject, the most distinguishing feature of the Declaration is its studied vagueness, the truth or falsehood of this proposition will depend entirely on the meaning which we attach to its terms.

The Abbé Godard, whose laudable efforts to reconcile the Declaration with the conscientious belief of French Catholics have been elsewhere noticed,¹ takes up this first article as a purely philosophical thesis, and interprets it to mean nothing more than that all men, considered in the abstract, and divested of those special conditions which belong to them as individuals, are equal, and have equal rights.² But, most certainly, this was not the doctrine which the men of '89 wished to propound. For, of what use would it have been to enunciate this abstract metaphysical truth ? The Declaration of '89 professed to be an introduction to a *practical* code of legislation for Frenchmen ; could anything, then, be more absurd than to speculate upon the abstract rights of abstract man—things that have no existence outside the brain of the philosopher ? The rights of the actual, living men, whom we meet in society, are not derived from the abstract nature of humanity ; they spring from the various relations in which individuals are placed ; nor do they cease on this account to be *natural* rights, for they still proceed from nature, but from nature as acted upon by *facts*. This, surely, was not unknown to the men who framed the Declaration of '89 ; and, therefore, we must conclude that, in proclaiming the equality of the rights of man, they did not mean of the

¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for April, 1881, p. 202.

² "Les Principes de '89 et la Doctrine Catholique," par M. L'Abbé Godard, iv., pp. 28 seq.

abstract man, but of the *concrete*, actual man, such as we find him every day in this world of ours. Again, if we suppose that the members of the Constituent Assembly wished merely to proclaim the natural specific equality of mankind, we may well ask, where was the necessity for this pompous Declaration? Why, the doctrine was as old as Christianity! No sane man in France doubted it. From the days of St. Paul, the theologians of the Catholic Church, without a single exception, had taught it in unequivocal terms; though they reject with horror the corollaries which revolutionists would draw from it. What need, then, of a fresh revelation of an old, old truth, from the lips of the disciples of Jean Jacques Rousseau? especially, after having informed us in the preamble, that they meant to bring forward only these rights of man which, hitherto, had been either unknown, or forgotten, or despised.¹ But, in truth, we do an injustice to the authors of the Declaration, in supposing them, for a moment, capable of such silliness. They attached to the first article a meaning far different from that which the Abbé Godard would affix to it, and the meaning is simply this—that all *individual* men have equal rights; that all social distinctions ought to be abolished; and that every one ought to be entitled to a share in the government. That this is the true meaning of the article is evident from the history of the time; from the whole tone of the Declaration; and from the interpretation that it has always received from the revolutionary disciples and successors of the men of '89. Let us, then, examine the truth of the article in this its only legitimate interpretation; and, even at the risk of some slight repetition, probe fully this interesting question regarding the equality of the rights of men.

If we consider man in the *abstract*, simply as “a rational animal,” it is indisputable that any two men in the world, taken at random from the mass of humanity, are in this respect equal; for, when we say that two men are thus specifically equal, by this we mean no more than that the essential attributes of human nature are in them twice repeated. Under the same respect, their abstract rights are also equal. But, unfortunately for the patrons of the levelling system, this abstract man and his abstract rights have no real existence; we don't meet them in the work-a-day world: they are pure concepts of the metaphysician's brain.

¹ See IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD for April, 1881, p. 203.

If we take the actual men of flesh and blood whom God has placed upon this earth, we shall find in them, superadded to the essential attributes of humanity, certain individualizing circumstances, which are contingent on some *facts* or other, and which vary both in quality and degree in different men. Now, men taken thus *as individuals*, are not equal by nature; and though their rights are equal, in the sense that a poor man, for instance, has as much right to his shilling as a rich man to his pound, yet they have not "a right to equal things." In brief: *the rights of all men are equal, but all men are not equal in their rights.*

This doctrine seems self-evident, but we shall proceed to demonstrate it, nevertheless. We need only cast the most cursory glance around us, to be convinced that all men have not equal *ability*. There exists a well-marked inequality among men, as regards physical and mental powers, and the energy to develop both in action. Now, a man has a *strict right* to whatever he can acquire by the legitimate use of his natural faculties. If, therefore, A has natural powers of mind, body, and energy, let us say, in the proportion of 100, while B has the same powers only in the proportion of 20; it will follow that, all other circumstances being equal, the rights of A will exceed the rights of B, in the same proportion that 100 exceeds 20.

Again: as there is unequal ability in different men, so, also, do we find in them *disparity of disposition*. We must take men as we find them. They are endowed with widely different moral qualities; and they are, moreover, perfectly free agents in determining their powers to act. No amount of metaphysics will prevent one man from being wise, and another foolish; one from being prudent, and another a ne'er-do-well. Now, will anyone pretend that, in any State, the good and the bad, the indolent and the active, the selfish and the self-sacrificing are to be placed on a footing of equality? The proposition is too monstrous to be entertained for a single moment; for common sense dictates, and justice imperatively demands, that merit should be honoured and rewarded, while evil-doers ought to be punished according to their deserts. It is thus, only, that society can attain its immediate end—the common good of all. Therefore, we may legitimately conclude that, since individual men have varying abilities and varying dispositions, so too, must they, as members of the social body, have varying rights.

But here it may be objected, that this doctrine, of the

inequality of individual men, is irreconcilable with the universally-admitted truth that *all men are specifically equal by nature*. To this I reply, with the learned Fr. Taparelli,¹ that, so far from any opposition existing between these two truths, the inequality of individuals is, in fact, founded upon their specific equality. For, let us recall to mind, for just one moment, what relation those individual differences among men bear to the specific qualities in which all men are equal. They are simply *additions* to them; additions, be it remembered, resulting from the different manner in which different men put in action the forces which they have received from nature. Now, if unequal quantities be added to equal, the result must be inequality. Let us put an example: B stands to A in the relation of a son; therefore, he stands to A in the relation of *debtor*; for the being "son," implies having received life, as the being "father" implies having given it. Now, if we regard A and B specifically, or simply as creatures endowed with all the essential attributes of humanity, both are perfectly equal, and neither owes anything to the other; but, inasmuch as in becoming an individual, B receives something from A—life, namely—A has a right, in order that equality be preserved as far as possible, to receive some return from B, which he does (though inadequately) in the shape of dependence, reverence, and love. It is simply the law of compensation, dictated by Nature herself; and we find it affecting men in all their social relations, and controlling all their rights and duties. Therefore, we see that the specific equality of men is actually the basis of the inequality which exists among them as individuals; just as the *unity* of a common nature in mankind is the basis of these infinite varieties, which we observe among individual members of the human family.

This entire subject of the rights of men, as individual members of the social body, which we have been discussing in a somewhat abstruse and unattractive fashion, has been briefly summed up, in a popular style, by Edmund Burke, in the following passage:—

"If Civil Society be made for the advantage of man, all the advantages for which it is made become his right. It is an institution of beneficence; and law itself is only beneficence acting by a rule. Men have a right to live by that rule; they have a right to justice, as between their fellows; whether their fellows are in

¹ "Saggio Teoretico di Dritto Naturale," Dissert. ii., cap. iii.

politic function or in ordinary occupation. They have a right to the fruits of their industry; and to the means of making their industry fruitful. They have a right to the acquisitions of their parents; to the nourishment and improvement of their offspring; to instruction in life and to consolation in death. Whatever each man can separately do, without trespassing upon others, he has a right to do for himself; and he has a right to a fair portion of all which society, with all its combinations of skill and force, can do in his favour. *In this partnership all men have equal rights, but not to equal things.* He that has but five shillings in the partnership, has as good a right to it, as he that has five hundred pounds has to his larger proportion. But he has not a right to an equal dividend in the product of the joint stock; and as to the share of power, authority, and direction, which each individual ought to have in the management of the State, that I must deny to be among the direct original rights of man in Civil Society; for I have in my contemplation the civil social man, and no other. It is a thing to be settled by convention."¹

But here I anticipate an objection. The more ardent admirers of the principles of '89 will probably say: "We don't object to inequality between man and man, when it arises from the disparity of merit between both; but we do decidedly object to an Aristocracy, and the more so if it be hereditary."

Here, again, we have metaphysical theories working upon human passions, and giving birth to doctrines that are every day producing social convulsions. Let us, leaving the abstract out of our calculations, look at the concrete, social man, and we shall quickly perceive how utterly groundless is the position, which is taken up by these modern reformers of society. I, by no means, intend to become the apologist of any particular *form* of aristocracy; but I maintain that, if by an aristocracy we mean a certain privileged class, elevated by rank and influence above the masses, aristocracy is inseparable from human society; since it results from the very nature of things, and from those rights which are the outcome of *facts*, combined with the eternal laws of justice. In truth, taking aristocracy in the sense just explained, let us ask ourselves, whence does it spring? From the inequality of condition produced among individual men, by the great diversity of intellectual power, physical strength, manual skill, and character, with which nature has endowed them, as well as from the

¹ "Reflections on the Revolution in France," p. 69, Ed. Payne (Clarendon Press Series).

circumstances of their birth, in relation to some *antecedent fact—founding right*. Is it not natural that the man of ability and energy will amass more wealth than he who lacks ability, or industry, or both? Unquestionably. Is it not, also, natural that the man who has accumulated most, will have most to bequeath to his descendants? This, likewise, is indisputable. Does not the possession of property bring with it, in society, respect, position, influence and power? It is impossible to deny it. Therefore, since there must always exist among men inequalities of condition, so must there ever be subordination of ranks; and, in this sense, we find aristocracies under republican, no less than under monarchical systems of government. The old Republics of Venice and Genoa had their aristocracies. In the United States—the most republican nation that the world has yet known—the planters of Georgia, Virginia, the two Carolinas, and Louisiana, form a proud and powerful aristocracy; and even in more democratic New York, there is an aristocracy of wealth, as haughty, exclusive, and lavish in their luxuries, as any that ever thronged the courts of kings in the old world.

But I will go further, and maintain that not only an aristocracy of wealth and influence, but an aristocracy of title and privilege, is, to some extent, natural to society. For, what can be more just or more natural, than that a man who brings splendid talents to the service of his country, and consecrates a life-time to the advancement of her interests, should receive from that country some recompense commensurate with his merits? Not only does justice dictate such a course, but the interests of society demand it; for such honours and rewards stimulate others to exert themselves for the public weal. Now, these rewards must take the shape either of material wealth, or of title, rank, and privilege. But it so happens, that the very men who by their position are best qualified to do good service to their country, are, as a rule, already sufficiently endowed with the goods of fortune; and, even were they not so, being men of lofty and ambitious views, they would place far higher value on title, rank, and influence. Therefore, what can be more equitable, or more serviceable to society, than that the recompense bestowed upon them should take this form? Nay, in bestowing it thus, the State is but acting on the old principle, already insisted upon, of equality and compensation, by returning what alone would be regarded as an equivalent for services received. But why should any class

enjoy a special privilege? say the levellers. I reply, because it is both just and natural that they should, *provided the privilege be based on merit, and be conducive to the public good*. It is in this sense, only, that the Catholic Church defends privilege¹; and in this sense, there is not in the entire world, nor could there be, a civilised community without its privileged classes. What, I ask, are Banking Companies, Railway Companies, Mining Companies, Steam-packet Companies? Are they not *privileged* corporations, having special laws framed for their management, and enjoying special privileges and exemptions, because that they should do so is believed to be conducive to the common interests of the State? Is there a civilised community in which there is not a law regarding patents? And what is a patent, except a grant from the Crown, conferring upon a person certain exclusive rights and *privileges* for a given number of years, because he has enriched the State with some new invention? And why is it right to give such patent to a man who has invented, perhaps, a new "insecticide" powder, yet refuse, because of an antipathy to privileges, a patent of nobility to the man who has won or saved an empire, or endowed a university, or spent a princely fortune in founding hospitals, or other institutions of beneficence? I am very far from denying that, in practice, gross abuses may sometimes exist in connection with this distribution of honours, rewards, and privileges. The recipients may occasionally be very unworthy persons; and the misplaced favour may serve only to lower in the eyes of his subjects the sovereign who confers it, and to breed contempt and discontent in the community. But, then, it must be remembered that a principle is not the less sound and true, because it may occasionally happen that its practical application is attended with abuses.

¹ On this point theologians are unanimous: so much so, that they will not admit that privilege is in any sense opposed to law, which of its very nature must aim at the common good. Thus Suarez, speaking of privilege, says: "*Assero ex parte boni communis non repugnare quin sit lex, quia licet proxima ejus materia sit speciale bonum alicujus familie, vel domus, vel aliquarum personarum . . . , nihilominus formaliter etiam debet respicere bonum commune. Nam illud bonum per privilegium concessum ita debet esse aliquorum proprium ut in bonum commune redundet*" (De Legibus, Lib. i. cap. vii. col. 162. *Cursus Completus Theol.*) The teaching of Saint Thomas is also most explicit: "*Quando cum aliquo dispensatur ut legem communem non servet, non debet fieri in prejudicium boni communis, sed ea intentione ut ad bonum commune proficiat.*" (1^a, 2^a, ques. 98, art. 4.)

The levellers, however, have one other objection to urge: why, they say, make these titles and honours *hereditary*? To this I reply, in the first instance, that we can readily conceive several cases in which the reward would not be at all commensurate with the services rendered, if it were not to descend to the heirs of the man who earned it; for the power of perpetuating these titles and honours in one's family is, perhaps, the most interesting and valuable circumstance in connection with them. In the next place, a State is not a thing established for the service of the hour, and to be, like an Arab's tent, set up and taken down in the twinkling of an eye, and at pleasure. It grows; and centuries are required to bring it to maturity and perfection. It must regard not only its present, but its past and its future; and so intimately connected are the two last-mentioned, that, as Burke well remarks, "People will not look forward to posterity, who never look backward to their ancestors." *Tradition*, then, enters largely into the life of a nation; and must it not, therefore, follow that an institution like an aristocracy, which links the centuries together, which is, in a measure, a living epitome of the national recollections, traditions, and spirit, is well calculated to promote the ends for which a State exists? Moreover, the deeds and the wisdom of her great departed worthies are the lawful inheritance of a nation; and as there can be no greater stimulus to patriotic exertion on the part of her citizens, than the prospect of handing down a name to afterages, so the prestige of a great name already won, entails on the inheritor the responsibility of emulating the achievements of his sires. Add to all this, that titles and property, by being hereditary, form a strong bond of conservatism in a State, tending to preserve it whole against the various disintegrating elements, which are sure to appear, from time to time, in the history of every State, and threaten its existence. These, surely, are motives of "common good," which may well justify in a social body the distinction of hereditary rank; and though it has happened in every age that individual nobles, far from being a service to the State, have proved but a useless burden cumbering the land, these exceptions in nowise affect the soundness of the general principle.

But, even if we consider the subject on the very lowest grounds, we would ask the enemies of hereditary nobility, whether rank and position have not a real value, just like wealth? They must admit that such is the fact. Therefore, the possessor of rank has a *right* to transmit it to his

heirs, just as he does his property, unless some positive law, founded on the common good, steps in to prevent this. But if the original possessor has a *right to transmit* his titles and rank to his heirs, it follows, necessarily, that the heirs, on their side, have a corresponding *right to receive and to hold them*; for one right creates the other.

We have already said more on this subject of equality than we originally proposed to ourselves, when we sat down to write this paper; much more we still could say; but we have written enough to show that (a) in this actual world of stern facts, individual men are not, and never can be equal—and this by a provision of nature; (b) that social distinctions are inseparable from society, and cannot be dispensed with, unless human nature be first subjected to a radical change; and (c) finally, that even a hereditary aristocracy is not only consistent with strict justice, but is conducive to the good of a state.

W. H.

(*To be continued*).

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.—II.

“When applying to a Bishop for a dispensation, what form is necessarily to be observed in order to secure the validity of the dispensation?”

This is the second question proposed under the above heading in the last number of the RECORD. We now proceed to answer it as briefly as possible. Besides the distinction we have already laid down between the purely delegated, and the quasi-ordinary, faculties which Bishops exercise in granting matrimonial dispensations, we must, in answering the present question, also bear in mind the distinction between what the *common law of the Church* on the one hand, and the *Stylus Curiae Romanæ* on the other, require to be expressed in the application for a matrimonial dispensation.

1. In applying for a dispensation which a Bishop is to grant by virtue of his purely delegated faculties, derived from some special papal grant or indult, the same form is to be observed, and the same circumstances are to be

expressed, as if the application were made to one or other of the Roman tribunals. Hence attention must be paid not merely to what is demanded by the common law, but also to the special requirements of the *Stylus Curiae Romanæ*.

The reason is, that in this case the Bishop, who dispenses in the name of another, is bound to conform to the established practice of the Court with whose authority he is invested.

Some diversity of opinion prevailed on this point, but by a decision of the Sacred Penitentiary, dated 1st June, 1858, all doubt was removed. The Vicar-General of a certain diocese set forth, that in his diocese many of the parish priests acted on the supposition, that in applying to the Bishop for a dispensation, which could be granted only by virtue of his purely delegated faculties, it was not necessary to attend to what the *Stylus Curiae Romanæ* required over and above the requirements of the common law of the Church.

He therefore asks for a decision on each of the two following questions :

1. "An episcopus, quando, vi specialis cujusdam indulti Apostolici, in aliquo impedimento matrimonium dirimente dispensat, necessario, et ad valorem dispensationis, sequi debet easdem illas regulas quas in Curia Romana observant, ubi ipse Summus Pontifex in eodem impedimento, iisdemque impedimenti gradibus, dispensat?"

2. "An copula incestuosa, quae inter dispensandos consanguineos aut affines in tertio vel quarto gradu tantum, vel etiam inter cognatione spirituali conjunctos, intercesserit, necessario et ad valorem dispensationis est exprimenda, quando in iis consanguinitatis, affinitatis, vel cognationis spiritualis impedimentis non ipse Summus Pontifex immediate sed episcopus vi specialis cujusdam indulti, quod a Summo Pontifice est adeptus, dispensationem impertitur?"

The answer to both of these questions was in the *affirmative*. Moreover, a dispensation *in radice* was granted in regard to all the marriages which were invalid, owing to the non-observance of the necessary formalities in the dispensations previously obtained.

"Die 1 Junii, 1858, S. Poenitentiaria, mature perpensis expositis, ad utrumque propositum dubium respondet, *affirmative*. Ad matrimonia autem quod attinet, quae vigore dispensationis sic uti praefertur impertitae contracta fuerunt, eadem S. Poenit. de speciali et expressa Ap. auctoritate, dilecto in Christo officiali oratori facultatem concedit eadem matrimonia in radice sanandi et consolidandi, prolesque, sive susceptas, sive suscipiendas, legitimas decernendi et renunciandi."

If the Bishop dispenses by virtue of his quasi-ordinary faculties, then, unless the Bishop specially requires it, nothing more need be expressed in the application beyond what the common law enjoins, such as the particular impediment *in specie infima*, the cause on account of which the dispensation is sought, and the other circumstances which may render the dispensation notably more difficult. But as Feije well remarks, (cap. xxxii. § 3. *De exprime ndis in Libello Supplici*, n. 697), inasmuch as it is often difficult to distinguish the special circumstances required to be mentioned by the Stylus Curiae, from those which the common law requires to be stated, the safest rule to follow is to include both, even when the dispensation is to be granted by a Bishop in virtue of his quasi-ordinary faculties. The same author adds that in truth it is difficult to see why a Bishop should not observe the Stylus Curiae when he dispenses by virtue of his quasi-ordinary faculties—that is, in reality, by virtue of the tacit consent of the Sovereign Pontiff—as well as when he dispenses by virtue of his purely delegated faculties.

ED. I. E. R.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

1. Is it possible to gain the Jubilee within Paschal time before fulfilling the Paschal precept? In other words, may a person offer the first Communion received within the Paschal time, for the purpose of gaining the Jubilee, and postpone the fulfilment of the Paschal precept to a later date?

2. May a Confessor commute the prescribed works, *toties quoties*, in favor of a person who desires to gain the Indulgence of the Jubilee more than once; or is the same rule to be applied to the commutation of the prescribed *works* as to the commutation of *vows*, and to the exercise of the other special faculties granted to Confessors during the Jubilee?

With regard to the first question, our reverend correspondent refers to the general principle sanctioned, if not formally enunciated, by St. Alphonsus, *De Legibus*, n. 164, and *De Horis Canonicis*, n. 176, which may be summed up in the words of Busembaum:—"Praecepta tantum obligant ad substantiam operis injuncti: ergo illâ positâ, non est in potestate operantis ut non satisfaciatur."

If we were to apply this principle in its full extent, we should give a negative answer to both parts of the question proposed. We should hold, that though a person may

postpone the fulfilment of a vow, or the payment of a debt, even though he performs the work promised, or gives to his creditor the exact amount due, still, where there is question of the fulfilment of an obligation imposed by the Church, and not by one's own will, it is impossible to perform the prescribed work and leave the obligation unfulfilled:—"At cum obligatio officii pendeat a voluntate Ecclesiae, non potest clericus sponte sibi imponere, quapropter dum illam implet, nequit velle non implere." St. Alph. (loco cit.)

But as a matter of fact many hold that the fulfilment of the Paschal precept may be postponed in favor of the Jubilee. This view receives a noteworthy confirmation from a decision of the Sacred Penitentiary regarding the Jubilee of 1875:—

"Ex S. Poenitentiariae responsis, certum est haud satisfieri posse praecepto paschali et Jubilaeum lucrari unica confessione et unica communione; potestne unus et alter attingi finis duabus communionibus et unica confessione?"

Resp. "*Affirmative, firma tamen remanente obligatione satisfaciendi si nondum quis satisfecerit praecepto annuae confessionis.*"

Now if the fulfilment of the *annual confession* can be postponed in favor of the Jubilee, there seems to be a solid argument *a pari* in favor of the possibility of postponing the fulfilment of the Paschal Communion.

II. In reply to the second question, we see no sufficient reason to limit the power of the confessor to commute the prescribed works *toties quoties*. The same rule, therefore, does not apply to the commutation of the prescribed works, as applies to the commutation of vows, &c. These latter faculties can be exercised only once in favor of any penitent during the Jubilee. Whether they can be exercised at all, in favor of a penitent who has already gained the Jubilee, without needing their exercise, is a question on which we can pronounce no certain opinion till some authoritative decision is given on this point.

ED. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, MONAGHAN,
7th May, 1881.

DEAR REV. SIR—In the May number of the RECORD, under the head of Theological Questions, some very useful information is given respecting Dispensations in the Impediments of Matrimony. Speaking of certain impediments, common to both the contracting parties, it is properly laid down that dispensations in such impediments may be validly granted by the Bishop of either party; and then you go on to say that “a legitimate and reasonable custom has determined that the dispensation should be obtained from the Bishop of the *sponsa*.” Now, I venture to question this last statement, both as regards the matter of fact and the reasonableness.

First, I question the existence of such a custom. All my own experience leads me to believe that the custom is to obtain such dispensations from the Bishop of the *sponsus*.

Secondly, I would question the reasonableness of a custom, such as you describe, if it did exist. In the common practice of mankind, the steps and advances towards marriage are expected to come, and usually do come, from the side of the *sponsus*. Thus, to go no further back, in the preliminaries of matrimony, when the Banns are to be proclaimed, it is always the *sponsus*, or some one in his behalf, who asks for the publication—at least when both parties belong to the same parish. Likewise, when a dispensation in the Banns is desired, this is always asked for by the *sponsus*, or some person in his name. I think, on a little reflection, you must see that such an arrangement consults better for the modesty and retiring character of the *sponsa*. And, if it be the practice, as it is, for the *sponsus* to seek a dispensation in the Banns, when desirable, it would seem to be his business also to procure any needful dispensation in a diriment impediment, seeing that all such dispensations should have been obtained before asking the *Licence*, as it is called.

If, however, the practice really be, after all, such as you allege, I shall rejoice to be disabused of my misapprehensions.

I remain, dear Rev. Sir, very faithfully yours,

✱ JAMES DONNELLY.

We must in the first place express our grateful acknowledgments to our revered correspondent, for the kind and practical interest he has manifested in the discussion of this question through the pages of the RECORD. We desire nothing so much as to have the attention of our clerical readers directed to these practical Theological Questions;

and we know of no means so certain to attain this end as an occasional word of instruction, advice, correction, or suggestion, on the part of some member of our venerated Episcopacy.

Before proceeding to give the reasons on which our statement, regarding the existence and the reasonableness of the practice of applying to the Bishop of the *sponsa*, for a matrimonial dispensation, when the contracting parties belong to different dioceses and the impediment is common to both, we desire to make two observations which appear to us to bear materially on the present question.

First, we know that in granting matrimonial dispensations, it is for the interest and convenience chiefly of the *sponsa* that the Church desires to consult. Hence so many of the canonical causes for granting a dispensation—such as, “*angustia loci*,” “*aetas oratricis*,” “*incompetentia dotis*,” “*vidua filiis gravata*,” “*pupillae conditio*,” “*infamatio oratricis*,” &c., are derived from the circumstances of the *sponsa*, and not of the *sponsus*.

“*Causae dispensandi canonicae fere semper*,” says Feije (*De Imped. et Disp. Mat.* n. 688) “*sumuntur a parte oratricis*.”

And Van de Burgt puts the matter still more clearly :

“*Ecclesia potissimum favet oratricibus ob sexus majorem fragilitatem, majoremque difficultatem suis providendi necessitatibus. Unde plures causae petuntur ex conditione puellarum ; plures causae valent dumtaxat quando existant in puellis, non autem quando in juvenibus.*” (*Tractatus de Disp. Mat.* n. 31.)

The second observation we desire to make is, that though in Ireland it is seldom necessary to have recourse to Rome for matrimonial dispensations, owing to the extensive faculties granted to the Irish Bishops, both in the *Formula Sexta* and in the special grants made to them for a certain number of cases, still it is very important in asking and in granting dispensations, to be guided by the practice and the *Stylus* of the *Curia Romana*.

Now, where the *sponsus* and *sponsa* belong to different dioceses, it is usual that the application should be made to Rome by the Bishop of the *sponsa*, and not of the *sponsus*. In the exceptional cases in which the application may, owing to particular circumstances, come from the Bishop of the *sponsus*, it is necessary to mention this departure from the ordinary practice. Otherwise it will be taken for granted in Rome that the application is made by the Bishop of the *sponsa*, to whom the dispen-

sation will be forwarded, and there will therefore be considerable delay and difficulty in applying the dispensation to the parties.

"Passim autem notavimus, Sedem Ap. consuevisse mandatum [dispensationis] committere *sponsae* Ordinario vel hujus Vicario Generali seu officiali . . . *Sponsi* Ordinario cet. literae non facile commituntur, quare, *si per eum recurratur*, addatur hujus rei ratio," (Feije, n. 731.)

"Bulla vel Breve dispensationis ordinarie mittitur exequenda ad oratorem Episcopum vel ejus Vicarium Generalem, et ad Ordinarium quidem vel Vicarium *oratricis*, si oratores ex diversa diocesi sint oriundi." (Heiss. de Mat. 57.)

This brings us to the case under consideration, in which the *sponsus* and *sponsa* are supposed to belong to different dioceses, and in which either Bishop is supposed to have power to grant the required dispensation without applying to Rome. Regarding this case, then, the modern authorities appear to us to speak with no uncertain sound. It will be sufficient to cite a few of them. We may remark, that, as many of the older theologians and canonists held that a dispensation should be obtained from *both* of the two Bishops concerned, they do not contemplate the case we are now considering.

"*Sponsae* autem Episcopum, et veri praesertim domicilii, dispensare convenit, nisi urgens necessitas aliave gravis ratio eum adire non permittat," says Feije (n. 638), speaking of the case we are contemplating. And again: "Convenit tamen ut regulariter dispensatio detur ab Episcopo *sponsae*, imo ab hujus Episcopo domicilii, nisi peculiaris ratio obstet." (Feije, n. 731.)

The advantage of this arrangement is suggested by the same author in another place (n. 628):—

"Quanquam autem tunc sufficit ut ille nupturientium cum quo directe dispensat episcopus, aliquo ex supra indicatis modis sit ejus diocesanus, seu ei subjectus, *convenit tamen* ut dispensatio detur ab episcopo *sponsae*; ideoque ad hunc pro dispensatione obtinenda nupturientes remittantur, nisi peculiaris ratio obstet, *in sponsae enim diocesi matrimonium celebrari solet.*"

Now in these last words it appears to us, we may find a solid reason for the practice which is here recommended.

The marriage is usually celebrated before the parochus of the *sponsa*. He is the person therefore specially charged to see that the causes alleged, and the statements contained in the application are true, and therefore, that the dispensation has been legitimately and validly obtained. Most of these causes, too, as we have already seen, regard the *sponsa*, with whose circumstances her own parish priest is much

more likely to be acquainted than the parochus of the *sponsus*.

The custom, therefore, of applying to the Bishop of the *sponsa*, rather than to the Bishop of the *sponsus*, appears to be legitimate and reasonable.

II. In the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique* (Tournai, 1869, p. 451), we find a very decided expression of opinion in favor of making the application to the Bishop of the *sponsa* :—

“ Pour les empêchements relatifs, il convient de s'adresser à l'Evêque de la future [*sponsae*] pour en obtenir la dispense. ‘Convenit,’ dit encore M. Feije, ‘ut regulariter dispensatio detur ab Episcopo sponsae.’ C'est aussi la règle tracée par le Concile de la province de Bourges :—‘Hanc dispensationem ab Ordinario mulieris *juxta constantem Curiae Romanae praxim* concedi decet.’ M. Caillaud (*Manuel des Dispenses*, n. 343. tom. II. pag. 269), rend aussi témoignage de l'usage sur ce point :—‘Lorsque les parties sont de différents diocèses, chaque Eveque peut valablement dispenser en vertu de l'indult ; mais l'usage est que ce soit l'Ordinaire de LA SUPPLIANTE ; c'est l'usage de la Cour de Rome.’ ”

III. In the Mechlin Treatise (*De Mat. Mechliniae*, 1872, n. 101), dealing with the case in which the *sponsus* and *sponsa* belong to different dioceses, and the dispensation is to be granted by virtue of the *quasi-ordinary* faculties which Bishops possess, the author states, that though the opinion which maintains that a dispensation obtained from *either* of the Bishops will be *valid*, is, speculatively, the more probable opinion, still many of the French Bishops, to remove all doubt about the validity of the dispensation, have entered into a formal agreement that the application, if made to the Bishop of the *sponsa*, should be regarded as certainly both valid and legitimate. “*Equidem inter plures Episcopos Galliae conventum est, ut in casu sufficiat consensus Episcopi sponsae.*”

Coming now to the custom of our own country, it is evident, from the observations of our venerated correspondent, that over a large extent of Ireland it is usual to make application for a dispensation to the Bishop of the *sponsus* rather than of the *sponsa*. But from our own knowledge, and from inquiries we have made regarding the practice prevailing in different dioceses in Ireland, we feel we can safely say that in the majority of cases in which a double dispensation is not insisted on, the application is made to the Bishop of the *sponsa*.

But this practice, wherever it prevails, is subject to certain exceptions, and hence in recommending it the

theologians usually add some limiting word or clause, such as "regulariter," or "nisi gravis ratio eum [Episcopum sponsae] adire non permittat." If, in observing this custom, it became necessary in a particular instance for the *sponsa* to sacrifice her modesty or her retiring character, without doubt, the custom should in such instances be departed from, and the application should be made by the *sponsus*, or some person on his behalf, to his own Bishop. But as regards ordinary cases, where it is unnecessary for the *sponsa* to interfere, and where all the arrangements are made by her parents through her parish priest, we trust we have succeeded in showing to the satisfaction of our Most Rev. correspondent, that there is sufficient authority for asserting that the custom of applying to the Bishop of the *sponsa* is both legitimate and reasonable. In any event, we feel deeply indebted to the venerated Bishop of Clogher for his friendly and valued contribution towards the solution of a practical theological question.

ED. I. E. R.

THE CANONS REGULAR OF ST. AUGUSTIN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

CLAREMORRIS, EASTER MONDAY.

18th April, 1881.

DEAR SIR—It is not usual for one preaching a panegyric to give reasons in support of the various views which must necessarily arise, while he portrays for his hearers the life and labors of the saint, or hero, whose praise he pronounces. On this head, however, the Rev. J. Fahy finds fault with the discourse preached and published by me on the "Life and Labours of St. Augustin, Bishop of Hippo-Regius and Founder of the Augustinian Order."

The reference made in that discourse to primitive Irish Monasticism was purely incidental. Father Fahy finds no fault with the dogmatic and moral teaching conveyed in its pages, while he pronounces those views regarding early Irish Monasticism and its connection with St. Augustin as "untenable;" "absolutely untenable;" "historical misrepresentation." And yet, those views expressed by me are the opinions held by distinguished writers on Irish Ecclesiastical subjects, namely, by Thomas De Herrera, Alemand, Ware, Harris, Archdall, MacGeoghegan, Camden, Zeuss, St. Pius V., and the authors and compilers of the Breviary which is in the hands of the Augustinian Fathers: "Breviarium ad usum Fratrum et Monialium Ordinis Eremitarum Sancti Augustini juxta formam Breviarii Romani ordinatum Ex Typis Cong. De Prop. Fide." A host of able writers, from the ninth century to the nineteenth have held the same opinions, which are

now pronounced by one man, as "untenable," and as "historical misrepresentation."

In making this pronouncement, on what certainty does he rest, and on what authority does he rely? On his own wisdom, and on the authority of Dr. Lanigan, Sir William Wilde, on special views of Liturgies, and chronological puzzles.

I will pass by the name of Sir William Wilde for the present, in dealing with a question which regards early Irish ecclesiastical discipline. But Father Fahy ought to have known that the opinions and views of Dr. Lanigan are not worth much on questions connected with St. Patrick and Primitive Irish Monasticism.

Of Dr. Lanigan the Most Rev. Dr. Moran writes:—"He abandoned the straight road of facts, and, wishing to establish a favourite theory, he involved in inextricable confusion the necessary labours of St. Patrick."

And Father Morris: "Dr. Lanigan took upon himself to reject the supernatural life of the Saint: he wanted to separate the Saint from the man, and the result is, the Apostle of Ireland in his hands vanishes."

The learned and lamented Dr. Matthew Kelly, Professor of French, Belles Lettres and History, in the College, Maynooth, speaks of Dr. Lanigan in terms much stronger, and deservedly, for common sense and common piety are very necessary even for a learned man.

Some of the best Irish writers of the present day, members—most of them—of the Royal Irish Academy, have expressed similar opinions of Dr. Lanigan, whom Father Fahy, with a strange fancy, presses to his bosom and prefers to all others.

One would naturally expect that Rev. J. Fahy in pronouncing the views and opinions of Rev. Canon Bourke "untenable," should tell out his own opinions clearly and positively. But he does not. Thrice over have I read his notice or review in the April number of the *IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*, and I fail to find any expression of opinion directly opposed to the views on Irish Monasticism, contained in the pages of the "unpretending little volume" which he criticises.

He acts like the heretics in denouncing the teaching of the Catholic Church. They assert nothing definite; they are content with protesting against her teaching. Father Fahy asserts nothing clearly or positively; he "does not see this or that," or he "is at a loss to know why." But what he really thinks, he does not tell. He appears, however, to think, that Irish Monasticism came (in part) from the East: I do not deny that. The fact is, as Alemand observes, it came from Africa, and it came in part from the East. And it is on this account that Rev. Father Fahy's negative pleading appears plausible. Even granting so much, his brilliant reasoning is calculated, in my humble opinion, to upset his own theory, for he assigns as a reason, that many Irish founders of monastic institutions were not Canons Regular, or the spiritual

sons of the holy father and founder of religious life, St. Augustin, because they themselves drew up new rules for monastic living, and laid the foundations of many splendid communities of monks in Ireland and on the Continent. Therefore, he says, they had no connection with St. Augustin or with the Canons Regular. Therefore, say I, you upset by such reasoning your own theory such as it is.

1. But does Rev. Father Fahy really deny that St. Patrick spent eight years with the Hermits of St. Augustin?

2. Does he really deny that St. Patrick was a Canon Regular?

3. Does he deny that St. Patrick founded establishments of Canons Regular and of Eremites of St. Augustin in Ireland?

4. He says that he "is at a loss to see how St. Patrick could have acquired any knowledge of Augustinian monks, or their rules."

If he allow me, I shall show him the way I have come to see how St. Patrick acquired this knowledge. But Father Fahy must not, however, be peeping through a hole in the wall of his own choosing; he must look at the question broadly and fully and openly, and not from some pet position, which he has selected, not in the dim and shadowy lights of conflicting chronological dates; not in the rear of the Vandal hordes; not from the rocky heights or sandy mounds north of the Loire, and looking down towards that majestic river, as sweet a spot as ever solitary chose—selected by St. Martin for his monks—Marmoutier. Further, Rev. Father Fahy must draw in his mind a distinction between the fact that St. Patrick lived with the Augustinians, and the place where he dwelt with them, or the special time in which the event occurred. The leading fact may be true, although the special time and place may be at this date unknown to ecclesiastical writers. Take, for instance, the adoration of the Magi. It is certain that they came from the East to adore the New-born King of the Jews; uncertain the precise time and place. Take the flight of Christ into Egypt. The fact is certain; uncertain when; and where, while in Egypt, the Divine Child abode with His Mother and St. Joseph. Take the place of St. Patrick's birth, and the precise date. It is certain that the son of Calphurnius was born; where and when uncertain still.

First, then, I affirm that St. Patrick lived eight years with the Eremites of St. Augustin.

The authorities to support the truth of this statement are, the Augustinian Breviary, Thomas De Herrera, Alemand, St. Pius V. (Bull of).

From the Breviary, 17th March, I quote the following:—

"Post, angeli jussu solitudinem petens (was it Marmoutier? it is not stated) *Eremitarum contubernio octo annis usus; eodem quoque angelo monente, Tyrreni maris insulas monachis tunc temporis PRAESERTIM Augustiniani instituti, refertissimas visitavit, quibuscum aliquandiu convixit.*" Observe the words in italics.

Thomas De Herrera, A.D. 1639, writes:—" Canonici Regulares Patricium inter suos computant, et ordinis propagatorem appellant. Faverunt huic placito Joannes de Nigravalle, &c., &c. . . . Quis autem ambigat B. Martinum illud monasticum institutum nepoti Patricio servandum dedisse cujus ille professor existerat? At Monachatus S. Martini Turonensis sive regulare institutum *idem* fuit cum eo quod S. Augustinus ex Italia in Africam invexit et in Ecclesia Hipponensi plantavit."—*Alphabetum Augustinianum*, p. 232., A.D. 1644.

To close the quotations from the Augustinian Breviary and Herrera, I give the following regarding St. Patrick (17th March): "*Sanctum Patrem Augustinum* imitatus, miraculorum gloria ac futuri præscentia illustris, plenus dierum ad superos recessit." Having imitated the manner of life of his holy father Augustin, and illustrious now by the splendour of his miracles and the foreknowledge which he showed of future events, full of days, he departed to the abode of the saints above.

Through media morally unerring such as those, exponents of a truth-telling tradition, we of the present day are assured that St. Patrick spent eight years with the Hermit Friars of St. Augustin; that he visited the islands in the Tuscan Sea; that numbers, who lived according to the Rule of St. Augustin, dwelt in community in those islands, and that with them our National Apostle abode for some time; that the Augustinian Canons claim St. Patrick as their own, and as the propagator of their institute. The conclusion thus come to is confirmed by the researches of Alemand (read p. 1, of his *Histoire Monastique du Royaume d'Irlande*), by Ware, Harris; by Archdall, even in the new edition of the *Monasticon Hibernicum*, lately published by the Most Rev. Dr. Moran, and other distinguished antiquarians.

To render this reasoning stronger still, I will give one other authority. I am of opinion that it ought to satisfy scholars of even more advanced views than the Rev. Parish Priest of Peter's Well, Galway. It is nothing less than the declaration of Pius V. of Blessed Memory, who, in a Bull, pronounced St. Patrick to be one of the saints of the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustin.

Herrera, in proving that St. Patrick himself was a saint of the Order of Canons Regular, adds:—

"Ad id (namely that he was a saint of that Order) conspirant multorum auctorum testimonia qui B. Patricium in Catalogo Sanctorum Canonicorum Regularium recensent; sufficit pro omnibus, *Unus* Romanus Pontifex, Pius V., in Bulla approbationis officiorum Sanctorum Ordinis S. Augustini, quae recitantur in congregatione Lateranensi, in qua S. Patricium signanter et nominatim inter Sanctos Ordinis Canonicorum Regularium numerat, et illius historiam quae legitur in ejus officio sub die 17 Martii, similiter probat."

Herrera devotes four pages quarto to show that St. Patrick was not only a Canon Regular and an Eremite of St. Augustin,

but that he established houses of Canons Regular and of Hermit Friars in Ireland.—“*Patricius Canonicum Ordinem in Hibernia propagavit.*”

And again: “*Duos in Hibernia regularium ordines instituisset; alterum clericorum, et alterum monachorum, utrumque sub regula Augustini.*” Herrera gives very good reasons and authorities for this opinion. L. Augustin Alemand names the very monasteries; and Harris, in twelve pages quarto, specifies the various foundations throughout the four provinces; those monasteries established by the Saints Brendan, Colman, Jarlath, Kiaran, Columba, Comghall.

Is all this historic misrepresentation?

It is difficult to imagine that so many different writers, in different times and places—Frenchmen and Spaniards, Belgians and Italians, Englishmen and Irishmen, Catholics and Protestants—have, for centuries past, conspired to misrepresent the history of Primitive Monasticism in Ireland. Canon Bourke thinks and acts in company certainly with scholars of the highest research and learning, their opinions are his opinions; and if Father Fahy is pleased to pronounce those views historical misrepresentations, one must only leave it to the learned of the present and coming age to judge.

From the testimony of writers and authorities worthy of credit, it has been shown that much of the seed of Primitive Irish Monasticism germinated under the fostering care of St. Augustin, at Hippo-Regius; and that same saving seed was by his spiritual sons sown in Ireland. It follows, that the zeal of our early Irish Missionaries, who were taught by St. Patrick, or his pupil priests and Prelates, was, in no small measure, derived from the teaching of the Prelate of Hippo-Regius. St. Augustin was, to an extraordinary degree, remarkable for the spirit of holocaustic sacrifice; he was like another Abraham, or Moses, or Elias. So was St. Patrick; so were the early Irish Missionaries.

From Zeuss and Gavanto and Merati, it is plainly seen that the hymnology and melody, practised by St. Augustin and St. Ambrose, were identical in rhythm, in form of versification, with those hymns and psalms composed and sung in the monasteries of Ireland. It was not by mere accident that St. Secundinus, St. Columba, St. Columbanus, and other Irish poets of the period, composed poems and psalms in the very same measure, and with the same poetic beauties of alliteration, assonance, and parallelism that were practised by St. Ambrose and St. Augustin. Witness the hymns composed by St. Secundinus and St. Columbanus, and the Alphabetic Psalm from the pen of St. Augustin, against the Donatists. Sameness of results point to identity of cause; and hence it is not very illogical, to conclude that Secundinus and Columba must have been taught by masters who learned from St. Augustin.

ULICK J. CANON BOURKE, P.P., M.R.I.A

LITURGY.

Privileged Altars.

We have received of late several questions relating to Privileged Altars. These numerous questions suggest to us, as a useful subject for an exposition, the more important questions regarding altars of this kind.

1.

Origin of the Indulgence of the Privileged Altar.

The origin of Privileged Altars is traced to a remote date in the history of indulgences. It is admitted on all hands that altars of this kind were in use in the time of Gregory XIII. (1572-1585). The text of the Indult in which this Pontiff, in the year 1579, declared the Altar of St. Nicholas in the church of St. Augustine at Bergomus to be privileged, is still preserved.¹ But at this point the opinions of the writers who have discussed the question begin to diverge. There are some, like Thiers,² who hold that Gregory XIII. was the first to publish this indulgence, while others³ carry back its origin even to the Pontificate of St. Gregory, in the end of the sixth century. Between these two extremes we may expect to find the truth. There is abundant testimony to prove, that Privileged Altars were known in the Church before the time of Gregory XIII. This very Pontiff, when granting the privilege to the Cathedral of Narni, states that the church of St. Gregory at Rome was already in the enjoyment of this indulgence;⁴ and, as a matter of fact, the original of a similar Indult granted by his predecessor, Julius II., in 1552, was found in the archives of the Congregation of Indulgences.⁵ Amort⁶ tells us that Cardinal Lawrence, Bishop of Albano, writing in 1524, actually mentions the Churches of St. Sebastian, St. Lawrence, Ara Caeli, St. Gregory, and St. Potentiana, as having Privileged Altars; and Pope Leo X. is quoted by the same writer, as referring, in the Indult in which he extends this favour to Monte Cassino, to the Privileged Altars of St. Gregory and St. Sebastian as already existing.

¹ *Apud Cavalieri*. Tom. iii. cap. xiv.

² "Traité des Superstitions," Tom. iv. l. 7, c. xviii. p. 291.

³ Bordonus: *apud Cavalieri*. ⁴ Amort. *De Orig. Indul.* p. 1, sec. 7.

⁵ *Melanges Theol.*, Vol. ii. p. 92. ⁶ *Ibid.*

Bellarmino¹ and Gabriel Biel² date the introduction of this indulgence from the ninth century and from the Pontificate of Paschal I. (817-824). This Pope built the church of St. Praxedes. In a chapel of this church, the chapel of St. Zenon, the pillar at which our Lord was scourged, was said to be preserved. In honour of this memorial of the Passion, Pope Paschal privileged the altar of the chapel; and Biel relates that by order of the Pontiff a slab was erected to commemorate the event, on which was written the following inscription:—

“Quicumque celebraverit, vel celebrari fecerit quinque missas pro anima parentis vel amici existentis in purgatorio: dictus Paschasius dat remissionem plenariam per modum suffragii tali animae.”³

2.

What is meant by a Privileged Altar?

Every priest understands in what sense an altar is said to be privileged. The privilege is just this:—that the Pope attaches to an altar a plenary indulgence which is exclusively applicable to the souls in purgatory. As to the conditions to be complied with, in order to gain this indulgence, suffice it for the present to say that there is but one necessary condition, namely, the celebration of Mass for the departed soul at the altar which is duly declared to be privileged.

Altars are privileged sometimes in perpetuity, sometimes for only a term of years, and sometimes for particular occasions, as for All Souls' Day, or the celebration of the Quarante Ore. It will be seen in the Rescript authorizing the erection of the Privileged Altar, whether the privilege is perpetual or only temporary.

This privilege is *local* and *personal*: local when it is attached to a particular altar; personal when it is granted to the priest himself, no regard being had to the altar at which he says the Mass. We shall treat, first, of the local, and afterwards of the personal privilege.

3.

In what sense this Indulgence is Plenary.

It is usual to print over the Privileged Altar the inscription “Altare Privilegiatum pro Defunctis,” or simply “Altare Privilegiatum.” This is the inscription recommended by the Congregation of Rites, but it is not an essential observance, so that its omission will not be

¹ *De Indulg.* Lib. i. c. xiv, tom. ii. *Controvers.* ² *In Canone Missae.*

³ *Ibid.*

visited with the loss or suspension of the indulgence. Formerly it was not unusual in some churches, which had a Privileged Altar, to post on the door of the church the inscription, "Indulgences for the Dead," and over the altar itself or on a slab near it, "Liberatio Animae Unius a Purgatorio;" or again, "The Sovereign Pontiff has granted the deliverance of one soul from Purgatory to every Mass said at this altar." Such inscriptions the Congregation strictly forbids.

These latter inscriptions are either false or misleading. Because, as a matter of fact, we cannot be absolutely sure that the soul for whom the plenary indulgence is gained, is freed from purgatory. The obstacle is not indeed on the part of the departed soul, who is confirmed in grace and retains no affection for any venial sin. Neither does the uncertainty proceed from any want either of resources or of the will to apply them, on the part of the Church, to pay to the last farthing the debt of atonement still due to God by the soul in purgatory. For, the Pope, in granting this indulgence, presents to God from the *Thesaurus Ecclesiae* satisfactions fully sufficient to free the soul at once from the pains of purgatory. From this point of view the indulgence is *plenary*. Finally, the uncertainty does not, we suppose, result from want of compliance with the conditions necessary to gain the plenary indulgence, which include only the offering of Mass at a Privileged Altar for the departed soul. But the uncertainty comes from the manner in which the Church applies this and other indulgences to the dead. The indulgence is granted *per modum suffragii*, that is to say, the Church presents full satisfaction to God for his acceptance, but we cannot be absolutely sure in what measure God accepts this offering, or that he applies it, if accepted, to the relief of the particular person according to the intention of the Pope. This depends on the good pleasure of God.¹

¹ The Congregation of Indulgences has itself explained the meaning of this plenary indulgence of the Privileged Altar:

"Episcopus S. Flori in Gallia quaerit utrum per indulgentiam altari privilegiato adnexam intelligenda sit Indulgentia Plenaria animam statim liberans ab omnibus purgatorii poenis, an vero tantum Indulgentia quaedam secundum Divinae Misericordiae beneplacitum applicanda?"

S. Congregatio resp. "Per Indulgentiam altari privilegiato adnexam, si spectetur mens concedentis, et usus clavium potestatis, intelligendam esse Indulgentiam Plenariam quae animam statim liberet ab omnibus purgatorii poenis: si vero spectetur applicationis effectus, intelligendam esse Indulgentiam ejus mensura Divinae Misericordiae beneplacito et acceptioni respondet.

28 Jul. 1840.

See also Van de Burgt, *De Celebratione Missae*.

From the definition just given of a Privileged Altar, it is manifest that, in order to gain this plenary indulgence, we have need, in the first place, of an altar that is duly privileged, and, secondly, we must celebrate Mass at that altar. We will arrange under these two heads our notes on this subject.

4.

The conditions usually required for a Privileged Altar.

Compliance with certain conditions is always insisted on, before an altar can be privileged. The conditions may vary from time to time, so that in each case the most trustworthy source of information as to what they are, is the document authorizing the erection of such an altar. Even after the conditions are known, a question might arise as to their interpretation, and we hope to anticipate the answer to difficulties of this kind by explaining the conditions that are ordinarily found in the Indult granting a Privileged Altar.

The usual conditions are two, namely:

1. That the altar is itself fixed. 2. That there is not already in the church or chapel a similarly Privileged Altar. Formerly it was usual to add a third condition requiring a certain number of Masses to be said at the Privileged Altar.¹

5.

The Privileged Altar must be Fixed, or rather a Fixture.

A Privileged Altar is always understood to be a fixture unless the contrary is expressly stated. This point has been decided by the Congregation of Indulgences:

“Quaeritur si a S. Sede indultum locale altaris privilegiati conceditur, neque ulla facta sit mentio nec in supplici libello, nec

¹ The following is a copy of a Rescript, granting a Privileged Altar to a certain convent in Ireland. It was obtained, as will be seen by the date, less than a year ago:—

“Ex Audientia Sanctissimi habita die 21 Novembris, 1880.

“Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Leo Divina Providentia PP. XIII., referente me infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis de Propaganda Secretario benigne declaravit in perpetuum privilegiatum altare majus sacelli Monialium a Presentatione in civitate — diocesis — dummodo aliud altare privilegiatum non adest, pro cunctis Missae Sacrificiis, quae in eodem altari a quocunque Presbytero Saeculari vel cujusvis ordinis Regulari celebrabuntur.

“Datum Romae ex aedibus dictae Sacrae Congregationis, die et anno, etc.”

in rescripto de qualitate altaris, sitne fixum scilicet, vel portatile ; an altare censi possit privilegiatum, etiamsi sit portatile ?”

S. C. Indul. resp. “*Negative*, excepto casu indulti altaris privilegiati personalis, quo frui potest sacerdos in quocunque altari sive locali sive portatili celebraturus.”¹ 15 Dec. 1841.

It is not necessary that the express statement of the portable nature of the altar be contained in the Rescript granting the privilege. It suffices to mention it in the petition, provided that what is asked in the petition is granted in the Rescript. This point also has been decided by the Congregation.[†]

The reader will remark that we speak of the altar as a *fixture* rather than as *fixed*; because it is not necessary that a Privileged Altar should be, in the strict liturgical sense, a fixed altar. In a fixed altar, properly so-called, the slab and the base on which it rests are equally essential parts, and it is, moreover, necessary that both these parts should be permanently united. Accordingly, they must be anointed at their juncture, to signify that they, when thus united, form the altar. Now a Privileged Altar need not be in this sense fixed. This has been decided by the Congregation of Indulgences:

1. “An in resolutione, data a S. Congregatione Indulgentiis Sacrisque Reliquiis praeposita, die 15 Dec. 1841, per verba *altare fixum* seu *locale* intellexit altare *fixum* prouti supra ex scriptoribus de rebus liturgicis definitum est?

“Et quatenus affirmative?”

2. “An vox *altare portatile*, in eadem resolutione habet eandem significationem quam ex iisdem scriptoribus superius indicavit orator?”[‡]

Resp. S. Cong. Indulgentiis, &c.

Ad 1. “S. Congregationem intellexisse *altare fixum* quidem quod a loco demoveri non possit, sed non tamen cujus superior pars sive mensa sit ex integro lapide, vel adeo calce conjuncta, ut lapis consecratus amoveri non possit; secus enim, diruto altari, quod privilegiatum concessum erat ob alicujus sancti imaginem, post novam constructionem, novo indigeret privilegio.”

Ad 2. “Intellexisse altare, ut dicitur, *viaticum*, quod constat tantum ex unico lapide integro tantae magnitudinis ut calicis pedem cum patena, saltem quoad majorem partem, capere possit, vel quod de uno in alium locum transfertur.” 20th March, 1846.

¹ S. C. censuit declarari: “Constare de privilegio, etiamsi mentio de altaribus portatilitate in supplici tantum libello sit expressa, minime vero in concessionis rescripto.” 31 Jan. 1843.

[†] The decision referred to is the one quoted above. (15 Dec. 1841.)

It is certain, then, that this condition requires, not that the altar should be fixed in the strict liturgical sense, but that it be a *fixture*. By this is meant that the structure, whether of stone or wood, is to be of a permanent kind, such as is ordinarily to be seen in most of our churches, and which we commonly speak of as the altar. The fixture is opposed to a mere temporary altar, that is raised for a particular feast or occasion, or for a passing season of devotion, such as the month of May, and which is removed as soon as it has served its purpose.

6.

The Privilege is not attached to the Altar-stone, but to the Fixture.

Having distinguished between a *fixed* altar and one that is a *fixture*, we must now call attention to the difference between the *fixture* and the *altare portatile*, or altar-stone. In the ordinary Privileged Altar, it is to the fixture, and not to the altar-stone, that the indulgence is attached. The altar-stone is, of course, necessary for the celebration of the Mass, but by no means necessary for retaining the privilege. Accordingly, the removal of the altar-stone is not followed by the loss of the privilege. As soon as its place is supplied by another, so that Mass can be said, the indulgence can be gained as before.¹

7.

In what sense the Privileged Altar must be a Fixture.

We have spoken of the altar structure as permanent, or a fixture. It must not, however, be supposed that the privilege is attached to a particular structure in so exact a sense, that if it were very much damaged or totally destroyed, and another altar substituted in its place, the privilege would be necessarily lost.

To explain what we mean, we will make some practical cases :

¹ "An indulgentia seu privilegium altaris a S. Sede concessum sit lapidi consecrato plerumque portatili in quacunq[ue] ecclesia et cuicunq[ue] altari fixo imposito, an vero determinato altari fixo, quod proinde alio consecrato lapide imposito, privilegium minime amittat?"

S. Cong. resp. "Negative quoad primam partem: affirmative quoad secundam, videlicet, privilegium, de quo supra, datum est altari determinato et in honorem alicujus sancti specialiter dicato, ita ut privilegium ipsum altari fixo exclusive inhaerent nec ad aliud altare etsi fixum transferendum." 27th Sept., 1843.

1. Suppose an old church to be replaced by a new one. The Privileged Altar, which was in the old church, is preserved and re-erected in the new church. - Is the privilege lost by this change?

In this case the privilege is not lost, provided the new church is built in the same place as the old one. The Congregation of Indulgences has decided these points:

1. "An idem dicendum erit (id est, utrum reviviscat privilegium) si ecclesia funditus destructa sit et deinceps, ea in eodem loco reaedificata, altare olim privilegiatum sub eodem titulo denuo erigatur?"

4. "Quid tandem si ecclesia non in eodem loco, sed alibi reaedificatur?"

S. Cong. resp. Ad. 1. "*Affirmative.*"

Ad. 4. "*Negative*; ut in die, 9 Aug., 1842, 30 Aug., 1847."

2. What, if the Privileged Altar itself is much changed, the church remaining unaltered in other respects?

Generally speaking, the privilege is granted to an altar having a certain title, that is to say, to an altar dedicated to some mystery or saint, for example, to the Altar of the Sacred Heart, or of the Blessed Virgin, or of St. Aloysius, or of any other saint. This title is mentioned in the Indult. Now this title must be retained in order to preserve the privilege. Accordingly, a privilege granted to the Altar of the Blessed Virgin lapses, if the priest changes the title and makes it the Altar of the Sacred Heart.

Again, a privilege is sometimes granted to an altar on account of its having a statue or picture of special devotion. If this special object which, in this case, is mentioned in the Indult, is destroyed or removed, the privilege lapses.

Finally, very frequently the privilege is granted to the high altar of a church. Of course, the particular structure ceases in this case to be privileged, if, in consequence of alterations made in the church, it ceases to be the high altar.

But, these conditions being observed, the mere change in the altar is not followed by the loss of the privilege. This is true even to the extent of removing the altar altogether and substituting another in its place. The substituted altar might be different from the former one in shape, and size, and material, and yet it continues to be the Privileged Altar. It is not even necessary that the new altar should hold the same place as the old one in the church. Finally, this is the case even though the church

is new as well as the altar, provided the new church is built in the same place as the former one.

These conclusions are plainly contained in the following decrees of the Congregation of Indulgences:—

“Fiscopus Nancejensis exponit quod anno 1835 altare majus ecclesiae parochialis de Hening privilegiatum in perpetuum declaratum fuit: cum vero idem altare marmoreum hodie constructum sit, supponitur quod privilegium peremptum sit, supplicatur hinc pro opportuna declaratione?”

S. Cong. resp. “Dummodo altare sit iterum sub eodem titulo constructum, non amississe privilegium ab Apostolica Sede constructum.” 24 Ap., 1843.

1. “Utrum, diruto altari privilegiato, privilegium non pereat, sed, reaedificato altari sub eodem titulo, reviviscat?”

3. “Quid, si praefatum altare non eodem sed in diverso ecclesiae loco denuo erigatur, licet sub eodem titulo?”

S. Cong. resp. Ad. 1. “Affirmative, ut in die 24 Ap., 1843.”

Ad. 3. “Ut in primo, ut in die, 9 Ap., 1842.¹ 30 Aug., 1847.”

II.

Second Condition: that there is no other similarly Privileged Altar in the church.

It is usually required as a condition for receiving the favour of a Privileged Altar, that there is no other altar of the kind in the church or chapel.²

Writers of authority³ commonly teach that this clause refers only to altars that are privileged in a precisely similar manner, that is to say, for the same class of persons. Thus, the presence in a church of an altar that is privileged for the departed members of a particular society or confraternity would exclude, under this condition, the erection of a second altar for the same class, but it would not be a bar to the erection of an altar that is privileged for the faithful departed generally, or *vice versa*. For example, suppose that one of the altars of the church is privileged for the deceased members of the Confraternity of the Holy Family. Later on, the pastor applies to Rome for an altar privileged for the faithful generally, without restriction to

¹ See also Decrees of Congregation of Indulgences, 13 Sept., 1723; 16 Feb., 1730; 30 Aug., 1847, 2, 4.

² The clause in the Indult usually runs thus: “*Dummodo tamen in ipsa ecclesia nullum aliud altare privilegiatum adest.*”

³ Gobat. *Thesaurus Eccles. Indulg.* Tr. iv., cap. xxvi, n. 519.

Collet. *Traité des Indug.* cap. vii., n. 16.

Sporer. *De Indulg.* n. 133.

St. Alphonsus. *Lib. vi.*, n. 339.

this or that class. The petition is granted, but in the Indult is found the usual clause: "*Dummodo tamen in ipsa ecclesia nullum aliud altare privilegiatum existat.*" Here the question arises, does the presence of the Privileged Altar of the Holy Family Confraternity nullify this grant? The Congregation of Indulgences answers that it does not, because the altars are not similarly privileged, that is, for the same class of persons.¹

If the grant of the Privileged Altars differed only as to the length of time for which they are conceded, the decision of authors is that these Indults are considered to be similar. The case is this: a Privileged Altar for all the faithful departed is erected in a church. The grant, however, is for only seven years. Long before the seven years are expired, the church receives a Privileged Altar in perpetuity for the same purpose, but in the Indult is the clause: *dummodo, &c.*

In this case, it is the opinion of the authors that the grant of the perpetual altar is invalid, if the existence of the other privileged altar was not mentioned in the petition. If it was mentioned, with the date at which it ceases, then the temporary privilege is supposed to be annulled by the grant of the perpetual privilege; otherwise two similarly privileged altars would exist in the church at the same time.

Another and a rather common case occurs to us. A church has a Privileged Altar to continue for seven years. In order that the privilege may not lapse, the priest applies to Rome for a renewal of the altar, before the seven years are out; but in his application he does not state the fact that a portion of the seven years remains unexpired. The request, however, is granted at Rome, but with the clause: *dummodo, &c.* Does the presence of the former altar nullify the grant? Authors are divided on this question. The weight of authority seems to incline to the opinion that it does not nullify the second grant, but suspends its operation until the seven years are past.

It is hardly necessary to remind our readers that the application of the probable opinion cannot be extended to the matter of Indulgences. To gain an indulgence we

¹ An existentia Altaris privilegiati certo personarum coetui concessi obesse possit concessioni alterius similis Privilegii indefiniti pro omnibus in eadem ecclesia, ratione clausulae in posteriori privilegio exaratae "*in qua aliud altare privilegiatum non reperiatur concessum.*"

S. C. Ind. resp. "Non obesse," 21 May, 1742.

must actually comply with what are, as a matter of fact, the prescribed conditions. If from any reason we do not observe the necessary conditions, though in our action we are influenced by a very probable opinion, we lose the indulgence. Accordingly, in the two cases of privileged altars we have just considered, and in all others where any doubt can enter in, we recommend a full statement regarding the Privileged Altar which happens to be already in the church, and by this means we shall secure a plain statement in the Indult of the intentions of the Pontiff as to the mode of granting the altar.

III.

Third Condition : a specified number of Masses to be celebrated at the altar.

This condition is not now commonly inserted. If it is, it is to be strictly kept, except in the following circumstances :—

(a) When religious, who assist in celebrating the Masses, are absent for a time, with the leave of their superior, to preach a Lenten or Advent course of instructions, or to attend at some ecclesiastical function, and the consequence is that the full number of Masses cannot be said: in these circumstances the privilege is not lost but only suspended.

(b) When the priests who say the Masses, are absent from sickness, the privilege is not even suspended, but continues in full force.

(c) When the Canons or secular priests are absent for a short time (*per aliquot dies aut menses*) the privilege is not interrupted.

R. B.

DOCUMENTS.

THE NEW PAPAL CONSTITUTION "ROMANOS PONTIFICES."

WE can only publish in our present number the first part of this most important and interesting document, which authoritatively determines the future relations of the Bishops and Regular Clergy in England and Scotland. It contains, indeed, no new legislation; but it gives a luminous exposition of the principles of the common law which bear on the questions at issue, and applies them with admirable clearness and precision to the special circumstances of the English Church. Inasmuch as these prin-

ciples are clearly applicable, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Church in our own and in foreign countries, the careful perusal of this Bull must be instructive to all classes of our clerical readers.

The questions at issue are arranged under three heads:—

(a) What relates to the exemption of the Regular Clergy from episcopal jurisdiction.

(b) What regards the ministrations performed by Missionary Regulars.

(c) Thirdly, what concerns temporal goods, and the uses to which they are to be devoted.

At present we can only give the first part; our readers, however, in this and the next two parts will find the following points carefully reasoned out and definitely decided:—

1. Regulars, living in houses on their missions, are yet exempt from the jurisdiction of the Ordinary, no less than their brethren living in the cloisters, even when less than six in number, except in those things that relate to the cure of souls and the administration of the Sacraments.

2. They are, however, bound, both Rectors of Missions and Vicars holding missionary faculties, to attend the conferences of the clergy and the diocesan synods.

3. They can, like other clerics, appeal to the Pope from the episcopal interpretation of synodical decrees; but only *in devolutive* (without arrest of judgment), when there is question of decrees that by common law, either ordinary or delegated, affect Regulars. In other cases they can appeal with arrest of judgment—in *suspensivo*.

4. The Bishops are at liberty to divide and dismember missions, that are not “parishes” canonically erected, according to the decree of the First Provincial Synod of Westminster; but in the case of regularly constituted parishes, new or old, if any, they must act in accordance with the decree of the Council of Trent (C. 4, *Sess.* 21, *De Refor.*).

5. In case of dismemberment, the Bishop need not give a preference to the members of the Religious Body already in charge, when making a new appointment.

6. The Bishop has the right to visit pious establishments and cemeteries under the care of Regulars, when the cemeteries are not exclusively reserved for the interment of Religious Communities.

7. The Bishop has also the right and duty, *per se aut per alios*, of visiting primary or parochial schools; but not other schools and colleges under the care of religious men.

8. It is unlawful for Regulars to create for themselves new establishments, whether churches, monasteries, colleges, or schools, or to convert existing institutions to other uses, without the express licence of the Ordinary, and of the Apostolic See.

9. Members of the Religious Bodies are bound to give an account to the Bishop of all monies received for the uses of the

mission, and of the purposes to which they have been applied, just as the Missionaries of the Secular Clergy are bound.

We now give the first part, which regards the exemption of Regulars. The two remaining parts will appear in future numbers. At another time we may enter into a detailed examination of some of the practical questions suggested by this important papal document.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII CONSTITUTIO QUAE NONNULLA CONTROVER-
SIARUM CAPITA INTER EPISCOPOS ET MISSIONARIOS
REGULARES ANGLIAE ET SCOTIAE DEFINIUNTUR.

LEO EPISCOPUS SERVUS SERVORUM DEI AD PERPETUAM REI
MEMORIAM.

Romanos Pontifices Decessores Nostros paterno semper caritatis affectu inclytam Anglorum gentem fovisse, et monumentis suis testatur historia, et felicitis recordationis Pius IX., in Litteris *Universalis Ecclesiae* iii. kalend. Octobris anno Incarnationis Dominicae MDCCCL. datis, graviter ac diserte demonstravit. Quum autem per eas Litteras episcopalem hierarchiam idem Pontifex inter Anglos restitueret, cumulavit quodammodo, quantum temporum ratio sinebat, ea benefacta quibus Apostolica Sedes nationem illam fuerat prosequuta. Ex dioecesium enim restitutione pars illa dominici gregis ad nuptias Agni caelestis jam vocata, ac mystico Ejus corpori sociata, pleniorum veritatis atque ordinis firmitatem per Episcoporum gubernationem et regimen rursus adepta est. *Episcopi quippe*, inquit S. Irenaeus,¹ *successionem habent ab Apostolis, qui cum Episcopatus successione charisma veritatis certum, secundum placitum Patris, acceperunt*; atque inde fit, quemadmodum S. Cyprianus monet,² *ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constitutur, et omnis actus Ecclesiae per eosdem Praepositos gubernetur*.

Huic sane sapienti consilio mirifice respondit eventus; plura nimirum Concilia provincialia celebrata, quae, saluberrimis legibus religiosa dioecesium negotia ordinarunt: latius propagata in dies catholica fides, et complures nobilitate generis et doctrina praestantes ad unitatem Ecclesiae revocati: clerus admodum auctus: auctae pariter religiosae domus, non modo ex regularibus ordinibus, sed ex iis etiam recentioribus institutis, quae moderandis adolescentium moribus, vel caritatis operibus exercendis optime de re christiana et civili societate meruerunt: constituta pia laicorum sodalitia: novae missiones novaeque Ecclesiae quamplures erectae, nobili instructu divites, egregio cultu decorae; permulta etiam item condita orphanis alendis hospitia, seminaria, collegia et

¹ *Adv. Haer.* Lib. iv., cap. 26, n. 2.

² *Epist.* 29 *ad lapsos*.

scholae, in quibus pueri et adolescentes frequentissimi ad pietatem ac litteras instituuntur.

Cujus quidem rei laus non exigua tribuenda est Britannicae gentis ingenio, quod prout constans et invictum est contra vim adversam, ita veritatis et rationis voce facile flectitur, ut proinde vere de ipsis dixerit Tertullianus *Britannorum inaccessa Romanis loca, Christo subjecta*.¹ At praecipuum sibi laudis meritum vindicant cum assidua Episcoporum vigilantia tum Cleri universi docilis ad parendum voluntas, prompta ad agendum sollertia.

Nihilominus quaedam ex ipsa rerum conditione ortae difficultates dissensusque inter sacros Antistites et sodales ordinum religiosorum obstituerunt, quominus uberiores fructus perciperentur. Illi enim, cum praescripta fuisset per memoratas Litteras Praedecessoris Nostri communis juris observantia, rati sunt se posse omnia decernere quae ad ipsius juris executionem pertinent, quaeve ex generali Ecclesiae disciplina Episcoporum potestati permissa sunt. Plures contra gravesque causae prohibebant, ne peculiaris missionum disciplina, quae jam inveteraverat, repente penitus aboleretur. Ad has propterea difficultates avertendas et controversias finiendas Angliae Episcopi, pro sua in hanc Apostolicam Sedem observantia, Nos adiere rogantes, ut suprema auctoritate Nostra dirimerentur.

Nos vicissim haud gravate eam postulationem excepimus tum quia nobilem illam nationem non minore quam Decessores Nostri benevolentia complectimur, tum quia nihil Nobis est antiquius, quam ut sublatis dissidii causis stabilis ubique vigeat mutua cum caritate concordia. Quo gravius autem et cautius a Nobis iudicatio fieret, non modo iis quae ultro citroque abducebantur juribus et auctoritatibus diligenter animum adjecimus, sed etiam sententiam perrogavimus Congregationis specialiter deputatae aliquot S. R. E. Cardinalium e duobus sacris Conciliis, quorum alterum Episcoporum et Regularium negotiis expediendis praeest, alterum christiano nomini propagando. Hi, cunctis accurate exploratis quae in deliberationem cadebant, et rationum momentis, quae afferebantur utrinque, religiose perpensis, fideliter Nobis exposuerunt quid aequius melius de singulis quaestionibus decernendum sibi videretur in Domino. Audito itaque memoratorum Cardinalium consilio causaque probe cognita, supremum iudicium Nostrum de controversiis ac dubitationibus quae propositae sunt per hanc Constitutionem pronunciamus.

Multiplex licet varietate implexa sit congeries rerum quae in disceptationem vocantur, omnes tamen ad tria potissimum capita commode redigi posse arbitramur, quorum alterum ad familiarum religiosarum exemptionem pertinet ab episcopali iurisdictione; alterum ministeria respicit, quae a regularibus missionariis exercentur; tertium quaestiones complectitur de bonis temporalibus deque usu in quem illa oporteat converti.

¹ Lib. *adv. Judaeos*, Cap. 5.

Ad regularium exemptionem quod attinet, et cognita sunt canonici juris praescripta. Scilicet quamvis in ecclesiastica hierarchia, quae est *divina ordinatione* constituta, presbyteri et ministri sint inferiores Episcopis, horumque auctoritate regantur;¹ tamen quo melius in religiosis ordinibus omnia essent inter se apta et connexa, ac sodales singuli pacato et aequabili vita cursu uterentur; denique ut esset incremento et perfectioni *religiosae conversationis*² consultum, haud immerito Romani Pontifices, quorum est dioceses describere, ac suos cuique subditos sacra potestate regundos adtribuere, Clerum Regularem Episcoporum jurisdictione exemptum esse statuerunt. Cujus rei non ea fuit causa quod placuerit religiosas sodalitates potiore conditione frui quam clerum saecularem; sed quod earum domus habitae fuerint juris fictione quasi territoria quaedam ab ipsis dioecesibus avulsa. Ex quo factum est ut religiosae familiae, quas jure communi et Episcopis propter hieraticum principatum, et Pontifici maximo propter primatum Pontificium immediate subesse oporteret³ in Ejus potestate esse perrexerint, ex Episcoporum potestate per privilegium exierint. Quum autem re ipsa intra fines dioecesium vitam degant, sic hujus privilegii temperata vis est, ut sarta tecta sit dioecesana disciplina. adeoque ut clerus regularis in multis subesse debeat episcopali potestati sive ordinariae sive delegatae.

De hoc itaque privilegio exemptionis dubitatum est num eo muniantur religiosi sodales, qui in Anglia et Scotia missionum causa consistunt: hi enim ut plurimum in privatis domibus terni, bini, interdum singuli, commorantur. Et quamvis Benedictus XIV. in Constit. *Apostolicum Ministerium*, iii kalen. Junii anno Incarnationis Dominicae MDCCCLIII. memoratos missionarios regulares privilegio perfrui declaraverit, subdubitandum tamen Episcopi rursus in praesens existimabant, eo quod, restituta episcopali hierarchia, rem catholicam ad juris communis formam in ea regione gubernari oportet. Jure autem communi⁴ constitutum est, ut domus, quae sodales religiosos sex minimum non capiant in potestate Episcoporum esse omnino debeant. Insuper ipse Constitutionis Auctor visus est ponere privilegii causam in "publici regiminis legibus . . . quibus coenobia quaecumque prohibentur;" hanc vero causam compertum est fuisse sublatam, quum plures jam annos per leges illius regni liceat religiosis sodalibus in collegia coire.

Nihilominus haec tanti non sunt, ut reapse privilegium defecisse judicemus. Nam quamvis hierarchiae instauratio faciat, ut res catholica apud Anglos ad communem Ecclesiae disciplinam *potentialiter* revocata intelligatur: adhuc tamen res ibi geruntur

¹ Concil. Trid. sess. 23, de Sacram. Ord. can. 7.

² S. Gregor. M. Epist. III., lib. ix.—Bened. XIV., Epist. Decret. *Apostolicae servitutis*, prid. Idus Mart. 1742.

³ Concil. Vatic. Constit., *Pastor Aeternus*, Cap. 3.

⁴ Innocent X., Constit. *Instaurandae*, die 15 Octob., 1652, Constit. *Ut in parvis*, die 10 Februar., 1654.

eodem fere modo atque in missionibus geri solent. Jamvero sacrum Concilium christiano nomini propagando pluries declaravit, Constitutiones Clementis VIII. *Quoniam* ix. kal. Julii MDCIII., Gregorii XV. *Cum alias* xvi. kalen. Septemb. MDCXII., Urbani VIII. *Romanus Pontifex* v. kalen. Septemb. MDCXXIV., itemque Constitutiones Innocentii X. non esse de domibus atque hospitiiis missionum intelligendas¹. Ac merito quidem; nam quum dubium jamdudum fuisset propositum Clementi VIII., utrum religiosi viri ad Indos missi in culturam animarum existimandi essent quasi vitam degentes extra coenobii septa, proindeque Episcopis subesse Tridentina lege juberentur, Pontifex ille per Constitutionem *Religiosorum quorumcumque* vi. Idus Novembris MDCI. decreverat eos "reputandos esse tamquam religiosos viventes intra claustra" quamobrem "in concernentibus curam animarum Ordinario loci subesse; in reliquis vero non Ordinario loci, sed suis superioribus subjectos remanere." Neque aliud sensit indicavitque Benedictus XIV. in suis Constitutionibus *Quamvis* v. kalen. Martii MDCCXVI.: *Cum nuper* vi. Idus Novembris MDCCLI., et *Cum alias* v. Idus Junii MDCCLIII. Ex quibus omnibus liquet, etiam hospitia ac domos quantumvis incolarum paucitate infrequentes hujus, de quo agitur, privilegii jure comprehendi, idque non in locis solum ubi Vicarii apostolici, sed etiam ubi Episcopi praesunt; de Episcopis enim in Constitutionibus, quas memoravimus, agebatur. Apparet insuper rationem potissimam exemptionis missionariorum regularium in Anglia non esse exquirendam in legibus civilibus, quae coenobiis erigendis obsessent; sed magis in eo salutari ac nobilissimo ministerio quod a viris apostolicis exercetur. Quod non obscure Benedictus XIV. significavit inquires, "regulares Anglicanae missioni destinatos illuc proficisci in bonum sanctae nostrae religionis." Eandemque causam pariter attulerat Clemens VIII., cum de sodalibus religiosis ad Indos profectis docuerat ipsos, antistitem suorum jussu illuc concessisse, ibique sub disciplina praefecti provinciae versari "ad praedicandum sanctum Dei evangelium et viam veritatis et salutis demonstrandam." Hinc post sublatas leges sodalitiis regularibus infensas, et hierarchia catholica in integrum restituta, ipsi Britannorum Episcopi in priori Synodo Westmonasteriensi testati sunt, rata sibi privilegia fore "quibus viri religiosi suis in domibus vel extra legitime gaudent" quamvis "extra monasteria ut plurimum degant"

Quamobrem in praesenti etiam Ecclesiae catholicae apud Britannos conditione declarare non dubitamus: Regulares, qui in residentiis missionum commorantur, exemptos esse ab Ordinarii jurisdictione, non secus ac regulares intra claustra viventes, praeter quam in casibus a jure nominatim expressis, et generatim in iis quae concernunt curam animarum et sacramentorum administrationem.

¹ S. Cong. de Prop. Fide 30 Januarii, 1627; 27 Martii, 1631; 5 Octobris, 1655; 23 Septembris, 1805; 29 Martii, 1834.

Praecipuam hanc quam definivimus controversiam altera excipiebat affinis, de obligatione qua teneantur Rectores missionum creditam habentes animarum curam, eorumque vicarii, alique religiosi sodales, facultatibus praediti quae missionariis conceduntur, ut intersint iis Cleri conventibus, quos *collationes* seu *conferentias* vocant, neque non Synodis dioecesanis. Cujus quaestionis vis et ratio ut intelligatur praestat memorare quod in Concilio Westmonasteriensi Provinciali iv. praecipitur his verbis: "Si duo vel plures sint sacerdotes in eadem missione, unum tantum primum designandum, qui gerat curam animarum et administrationem Ecclesiae. . . . ceteros omnes curam quam habent animarum cum dependentia a primo exercere."¹ Comperta itaque natura facti de quo agitur, et semota tantisper ea quaestionis parte quae Synodos respicit, ambigi nequit, quin Rectores missionum adesse debeant iis Cleri coetibus, qui *collationes* dicuntur. Namque eorum causa eadem ferme est ac parochorum; parochos autem etiam regulares ea obligatione adstringi et docuit Benedictus XIV. Constit. *Firma udi*: § 6. viii. Idus Novembr. MI CCXLIV., et sacrum Concilium Tridentinis decretis interpretandis pluries declaravit.² Recte igitur in praedicta Synodo Westmonasteriensi fuit constitutum "Ad suam collationem tenentur convenire, respondere parati, omnes sacerdotes saeculares et regulares, salvo eorum iuribus, qui curam habent animarum." Aliter dicendum videretur de vicariis, alique religiosi viris apostolica munia obeuntibus. His enim integrum quidem est de *jure constituto* a memoratis collationibus abstinere, prout alias fuit a Sacra Congregatione Concilii declaratum.³ At Nos minime praeterit Concilium Romanum habitum anno MDCCXV. auctoritate Benedicti XIII. jussisse confessarios omnes etiam ex ordinibus regularibus intra fines provinciae commemorantes coetus illos celebrare "dummodo morales in eorum conventibus lectiones non habeantur." Quum autem quod sine effectu geritur id geri nullo modo videatur, sacrum Concilium christiano nomini propaganda merito existimans domesticas regularium collationes in quibusdam missionum locis parum fructuosas ob exiguum sodalium numerum futuras, cunctis et singulis illic munere perfungentibus imperavit, ut Cleri conventibus interessent. Hisce igitur rationibus permoti declaramus, omnes missionum rectores Cleri collationibus adesse ex officio debere, simulque decernimus ac praecipimus ut iisdem intersint vicarii quoque, alique religiosi viri missionariis facultatibus concedi solitis instructi, qui hospitia, parvasque missionum domus incolunt.

¶ De officio conveniendi ad Synodum explorata Tridentina lex est:⁴ "Synodi quoque dioecesanae quotannis celebrentur, ad quas

¹ Dec. 10, n. 10.

² *Forosempronien.* 5 Septemb., 1650, Lib. 19, Decret.

³ *Forosempronien.* 12 Maii, 1681, Lib. 53, Decr. fol 258, *Aquipendien.* VV. SS. LL. 12 Martii, 1718.

⁴ Sess. 24 cap. 2, *de reform.*

exempti etiam omnes, qui alias, cessante exemptione, interesse deberent, nec capitulis generalibus subduntur, accedere teneantur. Ratione autem parochialium aut aliarum saecularium ecclesiarum etiam adnexarum, debent ii qui illarum curam gerunt, quicumque illi sint, Synodo interesse.” Quam legem egregie illustravit Benedictus XIV.¹ Neque vero putamus cuiquam negotium facessere decretum Alexandri VIII., iii. kalen. Aprilis MDCXCI., quo cavetur, ut ad synodum accedant Abbates, Rectores, Praefecti, omnesque antistites domorum religiosarum quas Innocentius X. Episcoporum potestati subjecerat. Quum enim Innocentianae Constitutiones viros Apostolicos, qui in sacris missionibus versantur, non attingant, facile intelligitur, neque decretum Alexandri VIII. ad eos, de quibus modo apud Nos agitur, pertinere. Quare huic posteriori quaestionis parti hoc unum respondemus: standum esse decretis Synodi Tridentinae.

Proxima est quaestio quae respicit appellationem ab interpretatione, quam Episcopi ediderint, decretorum synodaliū. Namque hisce decretis pareant oportet etiam religiosi sodales in iis quae ad curam animarum et sacramentorum administrationem referuntur,² ceterisque in rebus “in quibus eos Episcoporum jurisdictioni subesse canonica praecipit instituta.”³ Profecto dubitare non licet quin ab iis interpretationibus ad Sedem Apostolicam provocatio sit; “siquidem, Gelasio I.⁴ et Nicolao I.⁵ auctoribus, ad illam de qualibet mundi parte canones appellari voluerunt: ab illa autem nemo sit appellare permissus.” Quare hujus appellationis tantummodo vis et effectus potest in dubitationem adduci. At haec dubitatio facile tollitur, si apta fiat causarum distinctio. Fas est nimirum Regularibus appellare *in devolutivo* tantum, quoad interpretationem decretorum, quae de jure communi, sive ordinario sive delegato, Regulares etiam afficiunt: quo vero ad interpretationem aliorum decretorum etiam *in suspensivo*. Authentica namque interpretatio quae manat ab Episcopis, qui Synodorum auctores sunt, tanti profecto est, quanti sunt ipsa decreta. Ex quo illud omnino est consequens, licere religiosis sodalibus a primo decretorum genere appellare eo jure et modo, qui licet cuilibet e diocesi appellare a lege communi scilicet *in devolutivo*.⁶ At vero ad reliqua decreta quod attinet, ea certe lata contra regulares vim rationemque legis amittunt: quare constat illos sic exemptionem a jurisdictione episcopali possidere uti ante possederint; donec Pontificis maximi auctoritate indicetur, jure ne an secus cum iis actum sit.

¹ *De Synod. Dioec.* Lib. 3, cap. 1, § ii.

² Concil. Trid. sess. 25, cap. ii., *de regular.*

³ Innoc. IV., cap. i., *de privileg.* in 6.

⁴ Epist. 7, *ad Episc. Dardan.* ann. 495, Tom. 2, collect. Harduini.

⁵ Epist. 8, *ad Michael-Imperat.*, Tom. 5, collect. Harduini.

⁶ Bened. XIV., *de Synod. Dioec.* Lib. 13, cap. 5, § 2.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Rituale Romanum Pauli V. Pontificis Maximi jussu editum et a Benedicto XIV. auctum et castigatum; cui novissima accedit Benedictionum et Instructionum Appendix. Editio secunda accuratissima a Sacr. Rituum Congregatione adprobata. Ratisbonae: Pustet. 1881.

The name of the publisher of this new edition of the Roman Ritual is, no doubt, in itself a sufficient guarantee to our readers that the work has been executed not only with correctness, but also with that elegance of typography for which the books of liturgical chant, printed at Ratisbon within the last few years, have made the name of the old Free City on the Danube so justly renowned throughout the Western Church.

But the edition of the Roman Ritual now before us has a stronger and a higher title to recommendation. It is stamped with the special approval of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, and this not for its accuracy merely as a reprint of the authentic text hitherto approved by the Holy See, but as an edition modified and amended by the Sacred Congregation itself. "Scientes insuper," are the words in which the Bishop of Ratisbon gives the diocesan approval for its publication, "singula ejusdem Ritualis folia ad Sacr. Rituum Congregationis Secretariam esse transmissa, et mutationes in eo contentas ab hac Congregatione esse factas et adprobatas, nos libentissime concedimus ut illud Rituale Romanum in lucem emittatur."

The first part (pages 1 to 398) contains the revised text of the Roman Ritual as usually published. In the second part (pages 1* to 228*) is a most useful collection of Liturgical Instructions, Forms of Blessings, Forms for investing in various Scapulars, for receiving into various Confraternities, &c., &c. This second part, no less than the first, is formally approved by the Sacred Congregation, by a decree, dated 28th January, 1881.

We have no doubt that the signal mark of favour, with which the supreme liturgical authority has thus rewarded the zealous energy of the Ratisbon publisher, will have the result of bringing this new edition of the Ritual into general use.

Officium Majoris Hebdomadae a Dominica in Palmis usque ad Sabbatum in Albis, cum Cantu pro Dominica Palmarum, Triduo Sacro, et Paschate, quem curavit S. Rituum Congregatio. Ratisbonae: Pustet. 1881.

We must express our regret that this useful little work did not reach us in time to enable us to bring it under the notice of our readers before the Holy Week of the present year.

It is a compendium of the well-known *Officium Hebdomadae Sanctae* published a few years ago by Herr Pustet. Like the

larger work, it contains not merely the full text of the liturgy for the public services of the Holy Week, and of the Masses of Easter Week, but also the music for those portions of the liturgy, according to the approved text which has been so signally commended by the Holy See. "Hanc ipsam editionem," are the words of the Sovereign Pontiff, speaking of this version of the Gregorian melodies, "tuis sumptibus et laboribus exaratam, Reverendissimis locorum Ordinariis, iisque omnibus quibus Musices Sacrae cura est, magnopere commendamus; eo vel magis quod sit Nobis maxime in votis ut cum in ceteris quae ad Sacram Liturgiam pertinent, tum etiam in cantu, una cunctis in locis ac dioecesibus eademque ratio servetur, qua Romana utitur Ecclesia."

It is probably known to our readers that, as the most suitable recognition of the enterprise with which Herr Pustet placed the resources of his now renowned establishment at the service of the Commission, who have laboured so successfully in diffusing throughout the Church the text of the Gregorian chants as sung in the Roman Basilicas, the Holy See has conferred on him, for a long term of years, the exclusive privilege of printing this version of the chants. It is specially worthy of notice, then, as a fact no doubt unprecedented in the history of monopolies, that the book before us is published at a price in all probability lower than that of any other edition containing any version of the music, and, we may add, at a price almost as low as that of any edition containing the words of the liturgy alone.

Psalmi Officii Hebdomadae Sanctae quos Mediationum et Finalium. Initii distinctis in Psallentium Usus edidit Joseph Mohr. Ratisbonae: Pustet. 1881.

The contents and object of this useful brochure are sufficiently indicated by the note which the author has prefixed to it.

"Quum SS. Rituum Congregatio distributionem Syllaborum in cantandis Psalmorum melodiis arbitrio cantorum permisit, eamque ob causam prohibuerit ne in libris choricis qui ipsa curante eduntur . . . signa ad indicandam syllabarum distinctionem adjiciantur, Psalmos Officii Hebdomadae Sanctae in libellum collegi, in quo *Mediationum* et *Finalium* initia in psallentium usum . . . distinxi."

The works in which the revered author has executed a similar task for the Psalms of the Offices of Vespers and Compline, are now so familiar to all who take an interest in the suitable rendering of the psalmody of the Church, that it is unnecessary to add even one word of commendation of the little work before us. It cannot fail to come into universal use in those choirs where the liturgical music of the Holy Week is sung in its integrity, and where any regard is had for the observance of that uniformity in chanting which is so essential not only for the decorum, but even for the decency of public worship.

W. J. W.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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Nihil Obstat.

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JULY, 1881.

NOTES ON THE ACTS AND DECREES OF THE SYNOD OF MAYNOOTH.

A SERIES of papers in explanation of some theological, canonical, and liturgical points involved in the legislation of our latest National Synod in Ireland cannot, I think, fail to prove of interest to the readers of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

There are indeed few pages of the *Acta et Decreta* which do not furnish materials for one or more interesting dissertations. But it is not my purpose to set forth an exhaustive commentary on our code of ecclesiastical law. The formal and elaborate expositions necessary for this purpose would, I feel, be out of place in these pages. I shall therefore merely bring together, in more or less connected form, such observations as may seem most likely to prove of general interest, taking them almost as I find them, roughly traced in my note-book as suggestions for the outline of a series of elementary instructions on the subject, addressed some few years since to a small class of students of which I happened to have charge. This general remark, thus premised, will, I trust, be regarded as sufficient explanation of what might otherwise be deemed the unaccountably fragmentary and, as it must seem to many readers, elementary character of the series of papers that from time to time will appear in these pages under this heading.

It may be well perhaps to introduce the subject by some notes on the nature and authority of Ecclesiastical Synods or Councils.

I.

SYNODS—DIOCESAN, PROVINCIAL, NATIONAL, PLENARY,
AND ECUMENICAL OR GENERAL.

1. In ecclesiastical usage, the words *Concilium* and *Synodus* may be regarded as to a large extent synonymous. The only difference, in fact, in their use is, that in the case of Diocesan Synods the term Synod alone is employed. We do not speak of a Diocesan Council. In English, no doubt, a similar exclusive application of the term Council exists in regard to the Ecumenical, or General, Councils of the Church. It is not, for instance, usual to speak of the Synod of Trent, or of the Vatican Synod. But, as may be seen from the official documents issued by those venerable assemblages themselves, the terms Council and Synod are, in ecclesiastical usage, applied apparently without distinction to General or Ecumenical Councils, as well as to those that are merely National or Provincial.¹

2. As regards the *members* of the various classes of synods—Diocesan, Provincial, National, and Ecumenical—it is unnecessary to add anything to the information so lucidly set forth in numerous manuals of Canon Law, now accessible to every reader.²

3. National, as distinguished from Provincial, synods can scarcely be said to be recognised in the Canon Law as at present in force throughout the Church. For, by a National synod, in ecclesiastical language, is understood an assemblage of the archbishops and bishops of *more than one ecclesiastical province*, under the presidency of some one of the archbishops invested with Primatial Jurisdiction. And although the dignity and honorary rank of Primate is still maintained in many countries, the Primatial Jurisdiction in this sense has practically ceased to exist.

4. The synods held in England since the restoration of the hierarchy in 1850, though attended by all the bishops of the country, were, in the ecclesiastical sense of the term, Provincial, and not National. For, in the reconstituted hierarchy, England forms but one ecclesiastical province, the metropolitan being the Archbishop of Westminster, who convenes the synod of the English bishops and presides in

¹ See Benedict XIV. *De Synodo Diocesana*, Lib. 1. cap. 1 : and Bouix, *De Episcopo*, Part. 6. sect. i. cap. 1.

² See, for instance, the St. Sulpice Treatise, or the Manuals of Craisson, Huguenin, &c.

it, not as Primate, but as Archbishop. In Ireland of course the case is different. A synod of the Irish bishops—comprising the archbishops, with their suffragans, of our four ecclesiastical provinces—must be regarded not as Provincial merely, but as National. The same observation obviously applies to the synod of the bishops of the United States.

5. In the absence of the primatial jurisdiction necessary for the convening of a national synod, such synods, whenever held in recent times, have been convened by virtue of special authority delegated for the purpose by the Holy See. Thus, for instance, the National Synod of Thurles (1850) was convened by the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen, then Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, but it was convened by His Grace, not as Archbishop, nor as Primate, but as Delegate of the Holy See. So, too, the Synod of Maynooth (1875) was convened by His Eminence by virtue of authority similarly delegated.

6. But it may be asked, if the bishops, for instance, of each ecclesiastical province in Ireland may meet in Provincial Synod, and thus, under the presidency of their Metropolitan, legislate for the province, may not the same bishops agree to meet in National Synod of the four combined provinces, and thus legislate for the whole Church of Ireland? By no means. We must here distinguish between two totally different legislative results. It is one thing for the ecclesiastical authorities of the various provinces to introduce *four uniform codes of provincial legislation* throughout the entire country. It is quite a different thing to enact the same body of laws so as to make it binding throughout the country, not merely as Provincial, but as *National* law. For, as it is now practically certain that the *legislative* authority of a diocesan legislator, as such, does not extend beyond the limits of his own diocese, so it is equally certain that the binding force of provincial legislation does not extend beyond the limits of the province.¹ Thus, then—with the exception of some few special cases—the subjects of the province are no longer bound by its provincial laws when they pass beyond its boundary into

¹ Suarez (*De Legibus*, Lib. 3. cap. xxxii. n. 4) writes on this subject as follows:—"Quidam ref:runt ad *intentionem* legislatoris, quia tantum *intendit* obligare subditos in suo territorio . . . Verba vero Pontificis non significant tantum defectum *voluntatis*, sed etiam *potestatis* . . . Ratio ergo propria assertionis est, quia *iurisdictio* uniuscujusque civitatis vel particularis principis non extenditur quoad *leges ferendas* extra civitatem seu territorium."

another province. But obviously this would not be the case if the law in question, instead of being merely provincial, were national. Then, indeed, a subject, for instance, of the province of Dublin would be as strictly bound by this law in Derry or in Ross, as within the limits of his own ecclesiastical province, in Ossory, Kildare, Ferns, or Dublin. Since, then, no bishop in the Church is competent to extend the binding force of his legislative enactments beyond the limits of his own diocese—an extension which obviously can take place only by the intervention of the Sovereign Pontiff, in whom alone ecumenical jurisdiction is vested—the enactment of a provincial or national ecclesiastical law is possible only so far as the supreme authority in the Church supplies the necessary jurisdiction. This jurisdiction, in the case of Provincial synods and their laws, is, *servatis servandis*, conveyed by the standing provisions of the Canon Law. But no such provisions are any longer in force in regard to the holding of National synods or the enacting of national ecclesiastical laws. This, then, is the reason of the difference between the two.

7. It may not be out of place here to note that it was from their overlooking the important principle explained in the preceding paragraph that the defenders of the "Gallican" theory were so grievously misled in their view of the authority of a so-called "General" Council, that is to say, an assemblage of bishops meeting apart from the Sovereign Pontiff, and even in opposition to his authority. Such an assemblage might, indeed, agree to introduce so many uniform codes of *diocesan* legislation throughout the dioceses of the bishops actually present, or consenting to the proposed enactments: but (a) it could exercise no authority over the diocese of any bishop, absent or present, without *his own consent*; and (b) even in those dioceses in which the legislation might thus be introduced, it would bind there as *diocesan* merely, and nothing more.

8. The Holy See, especially in recent years, seems to manifest an unwillingness to employ the term National as the official designation of synods composed of the Episcopacy of an entire country. Thus, although this word was occasionally employed in the official documents issued in Rome regarding the Synod of Thurles, it was studiously omitted—the word Plenary alone being used—in the documents regarding the Synod of Maynooth. So too, the Synod of the Bishops of the United States,

held in Baltimore in 1866, is uniformly styled "*Concilium Plenarium Baltimoreense*."

9. From the principles of ecclesiastical legislation already explained, it is not difficult to understand why one of the conditions uniformly insisted on by the Holy See in regard to the decrees of provincial synods is, that the legislation of the synod should, before being promulgated, be submitted for examination and revision at Rome.

10. In this, and in all other respects where the contrary is not distinctly stated, the principles which regulate the legislation and determine the authority of Provincial synods, are to be understood as applying also to the legislation and authority of National or Plenary synods, legitimately convened.

11. The examination of the decrees of provincial and of plenary synods is one of the most important functions of the Sacred Congregation of the Council. In the Constitution *Immensa* (22nd January, 1587), in which Pope Sixtus V. defined the duties and jurisdiction of the various Roman congregations, we read, in regard to the Congregation of the Council:—"Provincialium vero, ubi vis terrarum illa celebrentur, decreta ad se mitti præcipiet, eaque singula expendet et recognoscet."¹

12. The large increase in the number of provincial synods, held especially during the opening years of the Pontificate of our late Holy Father, led to his establishing

¹ The circumstance which, more than any other, contributed to the large increase in the number of provincial synods held during the period referred to, was the downfall in France of the Bourbon domination, under which the bishops of that country had for so long a period been debarred from the right of assembling in ecclesiastical synods.

Bearing directly on this point, two documents, deeply interesting to those who have devoted any attention to the study of the circumstances of the origin and decline of the so-called "Gallican" tendencies among the clergy of France, are to be found in one of the volumes of that useful ecclesiastical periodical—*Correspondance de Rome* (Paris, 1852).

In one of these documents, dated February, 1849, the Archbishop of Paris and a number of French bishops, recounting with every expression of satisfaction the various evidences of the happy change that had come over the Church of France, petition for permission for the holding of a Plenary Council of the Bishops of the nation. "Et ecce," they say, referring to the troubled circumstances of that era of revolutions, "*dum omnia hominum instituta iteratis atque iteratis tempestatum procellis concutiuntur et prope evelluntur, nec est qui possit manum amovere, Ecclesiis nostris, divina opitulante misericordia, liberior evenit conditio, et ministrantur media quibus, si lubeat, omnium Provinciarum se coadunent Episcopi*

a new Tribunal or subordinate Congregation for the examination of their decrees. The procedure thus established is explained as follows by Lucidi in his exhaustive treatise *De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum* :—

“Ssmus. D. N. Pius Papa IX. ut facilius propositum Sixtinae Constitutionis finem attingeret, stabiliter congregationem specialem suo decreto deputavit super recognitione conciliorum provincialium, prout videre est in opere quod singulis annis editur inscriptum ‘Annuario Pontificio.’ Eam ex nonnullis cardinalibus coalescere voluit, qui ad generalem congregationem pertinent Tridentinis decretis interpretandis praepositam. Insuper complures consultores inter Romanae curiae praelatos et e saeculari vel regulari clero viros electos adjunxit, eundemque cardinalem praefectum et secretarium nominavit, qui S. Cong. Concilii pro tempore addicti sunt.

“Ratio vero, quae in examine synodum conficiendo servatur, haec est; in primis acta ac decreta synodalia uni e consultoribus mittuntur, qui eadem a prima ad ultimam paginam accuratissime excutit, suasque observationes conficit, quae typis eduntur. Subinde singulis consultoribus harum exemplar una cum actorum et decretorum synodaliū exemplari distribuitur, qui posthac stata die in aedibus secretariae S. Congregationis, secretario praeside, conveniunt, ibique animadversiones ipsas approbant vel reficiunt, ac novos etiam pro opportunitate subjiciunt. Quidquid in hoc praecursorio conventu deliberatum fuerit, typis itidem editur, et singulis cardinalibus specialem congregationem constituentibus cum auctorum et decretorum exemplari traditur. Patres cardinales in aede cardinalis senioris, die praestituta, interveniente cardinali praefecto a secretario, in unum coeunt, ibique consultorum deliberationes vel amplectuntur vel reficiunt, et si quid novi advertendum occurrat, et ipsi pariter proponunt, ac definitive servari mandant. Patrum deliberationes una cum exemplo literarum, quibuscum acta ac decreta synodalia ad suum auctorem remitti debent, Ssmi. D. N. oculis subjiciuntur, antequam expediantur.

“Quamvis autem tanta maturitate hae synodi examinentur, nihilominus hujusmodi res non utique pontificiam *approbationem*, proprie dictam, secum fert, sed merae *re opinionis* limites non excedit; ideoque in literis S. Congreg., quibuscum acta ac decreta sic recognita remittuntur, *dedita opera omnino cavetur, ne quid verbum excidat, quod propriam et veram approbationem sonare videatur.*”¹

13. The erection of the new congregation has, of course, in no way affected the form of procedure as regards Ireland and the other countries subject to the jurisdiction of the Sacred

. . . Ipsi magnates quibus, Deo summe bono volente, commissa sunt gentis nostrae gubernacula liberam pandunt viam.”

The other document is the reply of the Sovereign Pontiff, setting forth the reasons which influenced his decision that, especially in the circumstances of the time, the restoration of the true “liberties” of the Church of France should find expression rather in the assembling of Provincial synods, as prescribed in the enactments of the Council of Trent.

¹ Lucidi, *De Visitatione Sacrorum Liminum*, Part 1., n. 156.

Congregation of Propaganda. For in this, as in all other matters, the Propaganda itself is the congregation through which the ecclesiastical business of such countries is transacted.¹

14. Although sufficiently obvious from the explanations already given, it may be useful to state that no necessity for any such revision of the decrees exists in the case of a *diocesan* synod. Thus Benedict XIV., in his work *De Synodo Dioecessana*, quotes an express decree of the Sacred Congregation to this effect.³ And Lucidi, in his exhaustive treatise,⁴ already quoted, writes as follows:—

“S. Congregatio Concilii synodos dioecsanas nec recognoscit quidem aut expendit; episcopi enim plenam et liberam habent . . . auctoritatem ferendi leges in propria dioecesi, quam integram eisdem Sacer Ordo relinquit . . . Si vero, ut saepissime fit, episcopi actorum synodaliū exemplar cum Relatione Status dioecesis remittunt, lubentissime accipit S. Congregatio. Casus enim intercedere queunt quibus eadem acta consulere in expediendis illius dioecesis negotiis summopere prosit; verumtamen eos duntaxat de hac diligentia laudare satis habet.

“Id nuperrime accidit de Episcopo Eugubino, qui una cum Relatione Status synodam habitam exhibuit, reque ad SSmum D. N. die 11 Novemb., 1854 . . . delata, sanctitas sua mandavit ‘ut in responsione ad Episcopi Eugubini Relationem *unice laudetur zelus* ipsius in synodo dioecesana celebranda, et ita sarta tectaque servetur ratio a S. C. recepta, quae *synodos dioecsanas non recognoscit nec approbat.*’”

15. It is essential to observe that the Sacred Congregation, in transmitting in the ordinary way the revised decrees of a provincial council to the metropolitan for promulgation as provincial laws, is not to be regarded as in any sense *approving* or *confirming* them. Benedict XIV. is most explicit on this point. “Decreta,” he says, “transmitti jussit Sixtus V. ad Sacram Congregationem Concilii; *non quidem ut confirmationem reportent* a Sede Apostolica, *sed ut corrigatur* si quid fortasse in iisdem aut nimis rigidum, aut minus rationi congruum deprehendatur.”⁵

16. Even when, as almost invariably happens, the examination of the decrees by the consultors of the Sacred Congregation results in the issuing of an instruction that certain points be corrected, or altogether expunged, no *positive approval* of the remaining portions, which are allowed to stand without correction, is thereby conveyed. Some

¹ See Bouix, *De Curia Romana*. Part. 2, cap. 8.

² See Bouix, *De Curia Romana*, Part. 2, cap. 4. §. 1.

³ Benedict XIV., *De Synodo Dioecessana*, Lib. 13, cap. iii. n. 6.

⁴ Part. i. n. 162.

⁵ *De Synodo Dioecessana*, Lib. 13, cap. iii. n. 3.

interesting notes bearing on this matter will be found in Bouix's *Revue des Sciences Ecclesiastiques*, especially in Vol. 2, pp. 193-203 and Vol. 3, pp. 151-155. The writer points out many reasons that may influence the Sacred Congregation to allow certain matters to remain in the decrees without correction, especially when the correction of them would involve an expression of opinion on some open question regarding which the Holy See might be unwilling that any authoritative expression of opinion should take place at the time.

17. A practical illustration of the absence of positive *approval* in such cases is furnished by the Decrees of the French Provincial Councils of Bourges (1850), and of Auch (1857). In both it was explicitly laid down that, in addition to the titles of "Domicile" and "Quasi-Domicile," a third title, of "Simple Residence," as defined by Carrière, —*Simplex habitatio unius mensis*—should be recognised in determining the *proprius parochus*, as regards the Tridentine law on clandestine marriages. But it is plain from the official letter of the Congregation of the Holy Office, 7th June, 1867, officially transmitted to the Bishops of Ireland in 1877, in reply to the *postulatum* sent forward on this subject from the Synod of Maynooth, that the revision of the French decrees in question was not regarded by the Holy See as in any sense confirming or approving the exposition of the law of clandestinity put forward in them, allowed though it had been by the Sacred Congregation to remain in the Decrees without correction or comment.

18. It is, of course, sufficiently obvious from the principles already explained that, however the extrinsic solemnity of the legislation of a synod, whether provincial or national, might be increased by its receiving a formal approval or confirmation from the Holy See, *its binding force as provincial or as national legislation in no way depends upon its being thus approved or confirmed*. The submittal of the decrees to the Sacred Congregation for revision, and their subsequent publication as revised by the Congregation, are the only conditions needed to give full effect to the legislation of the synod.

19. No doubt, if a case arose in which some law of a provincial synod was invalid, as being at variance with the superior authority of a general law of the Church, an act of Papal confirmation would, *if given with this intention*, have the result of remedying the defect, and thus of giving validity to the decree in question. But, as Benedict XIV.,

endorsing the common opinion of canonists, explains, an act even of Papal confirmation is by no means to be regarded as necessarily producing such an effect.

20. For it is to be borne in mind that acts of ecclesiastical jurisdiction—whether the enactment of an ecclesiastical law, or the sentence of an ecclesiastical judge, or an election or nomination to an ecclesiastical office—may be confirmed by Papal authority in either of two ways: “in forma *communis*,” or “in forma *specificæ*.” Of these, *the former adds nothing to the validity or binding force of the act in question.* So that it is only in the rare and exceptional case of a confirmation *in forma specificæ* that an act, if otherwise invalid, could be regarded as rendered valid by the confirmation of the Holy See.¹

21. A few years ago an interesting controversy arose in America in consequence of some remarks made by the writers of certain reviews in criticising a work on Canon Law, published in that country some short time before. The author of the work in question² had laid down that “none of the provincial or national councils of the United States” seemed to have been “approved in forma *specificæ*,” and again, that “the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore” was not “approved in forma *specificæ*”—statements which were regarded by some as implying by necessary inference that the Decrees of those Councils were destitute of all binding force.

22. It is obvious that no such inference can be drawn if the principles laid down by the canonists and explained in the preceding paragraphs be kept in view. It would indeed seem that, in accordance with the ordinary course of procedure in such cases, the decrees of the Baltimore Synod in question were, in point of fact, not “confirmed” by the Holy See at all. The official documents, as in the case of our own Synod of Maynooth, merely set forth in the usual form that the decrees have been submitted to the Congregation, and have thence, after careful revision, been transmitted for promulgation to the President of the Synod, with the usual order “ut ab omnibus ad quos

¹ On this distinction of the two forms of Papal confirmation see Benedict XIV. *De Synodo Diocesana*, Lib. 13, cap. v., n. 11, and the authors there referred to.

² *Elements of Ecclesiastical Law*, by the Rev. S. B. Smith, D.D., New York, 1877. See also the interesting pamphlet entitled *Counterpoints in Canon Law*, in which the author of the *Elements* defends his work in reply to the criticisms above referred to.

spectat inviolabiliter observentur." But of any formal "confirmation," whether "in forma *specifica*" or "in forma *communi*," as no need for it existed, no mention is made.

23. It would, indeed, be a serious difficulty if such confirmation—especially "in forma *specifica*"—were required. For, "confirmation" in any form is rarely given, and only in exceptional cases. And as to "confirmation in forma *specifica*," it would not be very far from the truth to state that in the case of provincial or national synods this mode of Pontifical action is all but unknown.

24. I may bring this section of my subject to a close by transcribing some noteworthy passages in explanation of it from the works of the great canonists Schmalzgrüber and Reiffenstuel. "Quaeritur," asks the former, "an sicut generalia, ut orbis Christiani totius, sic etiam particularia concilia, ut certae nationis, provinciae, dioecesis, subditos obligent, opus habeant *confirmatione* Apostolica?" And he answers:—"Certa est *negativa* sententia, modo in talibus conciliis nihil statuatur contra canones et consuetudines universalis ecclesiae."¹

25. We have seen, indeed, that even if the decrees of such a synod laboured under the defect here contemplated by Schmalzgrüber, they would not be rendered valid even by an act of Papal confirmation if it were given merely "in forma *communi*." To supply validity in such a case, the rare, and, as regards decrees of particular councils, almost unused, form of confirmation "in forma *specifica*" would be needed. It may be well also to add that even this highest form of confirmation is not to be regarded as absolutely unqualified; the reservations, however, with which it is to be understood are comparatively few; they are enumerated by the canonists in their exposition of the Title of the Decretals, *De Confirmatione Utili et Inutili*.²

26. The following, in fine, is the explanation given by Reiffenstuel of the distinction between the two forms of Papal confirmation and their respective effects:—

"Confirmatio est duplex: una in forma *communi*, alia in forma *speciali*

"Confirmatio in forma *communi* (quae et confirmatio *simplex* atque *ordinaria* appellatur) ea est qua superior . . . actum ab inferioribus gestum confirmat in eo statu in quo prius fuerat . . . Nullum jus novum neque valorem tribuit illi actui cui accedit; sed . . . eum approbat, quatenus de jure validus existat.

¹ Schmalzgrüber. *Jus Ecclesiasticum Universum*, Dissert. Proem. nn 355, 356.

² The Title in question is the 30th in the 2nd Book of the Decretals.

"Dices: Ergo confirmationes in forma communi datæ a Sede Apostolica ad nihil proderunt . . . Respondeo negando sequelam; quia licet confirmatio in forma communi cujuscumque rei facta per Papam jus novum non tribuat, adhuc tamen non est inutilis . . . Solet plus timeri quod sic disponitur . . . Alioquin vero hujusmodi confirmationes in forma communi *parum valent*, ut ait Glossa, cap. 1. v. *Confirmationem* (hujus tituli).

"Confirmatio in forma *speciali* . . . novum jus tribuit actui, eumque, si forsitan antea invalidus fuisset, *firmum reddit atque validum* . . . Siquidem hujusmodi Confirmatio . . . non est nuda et simplex confirmatio, sed potius est nova concessio, atque in effectu dispensatio: ideoque vim habet actum, ceteroquin nullum, reddendi validum.

"Quod si petas unde colligi possit Confirmationem esse factam in forma speciali, et non tantum in forma communi? Resp. istud colligi ex sequentibus signis. Primo videlicet si tenor totius privilegii aut instrumenti [confirmati] *inseritur ipsi confirmationi*; vel saltem apponitur clausula "*Ex certa scientia*". . . . Deinde idem est dicendum si Pontifex apponat clausulam '*Sublata, &c.*;' aut si confirmatio fiat per verba æquipollentia, ut puta sub clausula, '*Ex plenitudine potestatis*,' vel, '*Non obstante quacunque lege seu consuetudine in contrarium*,' &c.

W. J. W.

"THE METAPHYSICS OF THE SCHOOL."¹

WE have just received the Second Volume of Father Harper's "Metaphysics of the School," which enables us to form a fair opinion, not only on what we have seen, but also on the two volumes that will complete the work. We may fairly assume that the two remaining volumes will receive the same exhaustive and masterly treatment as those already published, and in that case the work will certainly enrich the philosophy and language of England. The task which Father Harper has undertaken is an arduous one. It requires learning, labour, courage, and perseverance; and, from what we have seen, we think it may be safely asserted that our author is not wanting in any of these essential requisites. No man who knows anything of scholastic philosophy will deny that it is a large subject, and requires a large mind to grasp it in its entirety. Anyone may get a smattering thereof, but few minds are capacious enough to grasp the mighty whole, and, at the same time, master its minutest details in all

¹ *The Metaphysics of the School.* By the Rev. Thomas Harper, S.J. Macmillan & Co.

their bewildering complexity. Now this is exactly what Father Harper has done. We do not pronounce this opinion after a hasty and superficial examination; we have carefully and conscientiously read the greater part of the two volumes before us, and our subsequent animadversions will be a sufficient guarantee that we express the language of honest conviction.

In the Introduction, our author first disposes of three charges brought against the Schoolmen:—(1) That they adopted a barbarous terminology; (2) that they offended against classic purity of style; (3) that their diction is dry and poor.

The first is the main charge, it really includes the other two. No one who has any notion of what is meant by propriety of style will censure the dryness of Suarez on metaphysics, any more than they would censure the dryness of Euclid in mathematics. Father Harper's answer to the first charge is complete and crushing. It is an *argumentum ad hominem* which leaves no possibility of evasion or reply. He simply takes up the modern scientific books on physiology, chemistry, and botany, cites a few passages of elegant extracts, which no man but an expert in these sciences can understand, or even pronounce; and then asks—no matter what meaning you assign to *barbarous*—is there anything in Suarez, St. Thomas, or any other Scholastic half so *barbarous* as this modern scientific jargon? He does not undertake to say that this extravagantly learned terminology may not be useful, and even necessary; but, if you adopt it in its most extreme forms in the physical sciences, how can you, he says, reprobate it in metaphysics? Then he goes farther, and shows that the scholastic terminology was really invented by Aristotle, who knew Greek certainly as well as our modern lights; that the Scholastics literally translated his language into Latin, which they had a perfect right to do; and that after all there is not in the science of metaphysics one difficult or unusual word for every ten that may be found in any manual, at least in any learned manual, of the modern scientists.

In the Second Part of his Introduction, the author says that he does not pretend to *originality* of doctrine, he merely undertakes to formulate and expound in the English language the Metaphysics of the School. No doubt, he adds, the great Scholastic Doctors differed much among themselves on minor points, but they were in the main agreed; and it is the substantive doctrine, in which they

for the most part agreed, that he expounds for us, not the minor points in which they differ. On the whole he follows the *order* of Suarez, and the *doctrine* of St. Thomas, which, he justly adds, is, in metaphysics, almost identical with the doctrine of Aristotle. When these three are agreed, it may be taken for granted that there is always good reason for their unanimity existing in the nature of things. It is altogether unlikely that the modern lights of the scientific firmament will shine so brightly and so steadily through the mists of future ages. We think these minor lights are very large and bright, because we are so near them, but, in the region of metaphysics, most of them are mere will-o'-the-wisps, that flicker over the quagmires of a licentious infidelity.

It is noteworthy, too, that Father Harper had evidently adopted the Thomist Philosophy in its entirety, even before the appearance of the Encyclical of Leo XIII., which recommends so strongly the philosophy of the Angelic Doctor. This work, therefore, has not been written to order, but it is all the more opportune.

We have said that Father Harper had courage in undertaking this task. This he showed, not only on account of the magnitude of the work, but also because he wrote it in English, and undertook to vindicate what very many, even amongst Catholics, regarded as an exploded philosophy.

The English tongue has had no metaphysical terminology. It has no writer on metaphysics properly so called. We have had short and very imperfect treatises on logic, ideology, and psychology, but no work on the science of being. Our author, therefore, had to form to a great extent his own scientific terminology, and he has done it with almost complete success. The English tongue is flexible, and has a great adaptability for new compounds. New compounds, however, were seldom wanted, and have been rarely employed. What the author had to do was to translate the scholastic terms according to the analogy of the English language, and, as we have said, he does this courageously and successfully. When he appears to us to fail, as he does in one or two instances, it is because he has not adhered to his own principles. For instance, he translates *materia prima* as *primordial* matter. He had the choice of the adjectives *prime*, *primal*, and *primary*, any of which appears to us to be a better word than *primordial*, for the latter is a compound term, while *prima* is not, and, moreover, suggests the pre-existence of the matter in a

chaotic state, rather than its concreation and present coexistence with the substantial forms which he himself advocates.

He renders the term *sensibilis*, used by the Scholastics, as *sensile* not *sensible*. We hardly think there is sufficient warranty for this innovation. No doubt, the word *sensile* is ambiguous, but so is *sensibilis*, and αἰσθητός, the term used by Aristotle. He might, however, determine its subjective and objective meaning, and it would then be quite as definite as the other, and much more appropriate. As far as we know, *sensilis* has been used only by Lucretius because it suited his metre; *sensibilis* is, indeed, rare in Classical authors, but it has been used in its philosophical meaning both by Seneca and Vitruvius, as well as by all the Scholastics, who, as a rule, never allowed themselves to vary from the terminology of Aristotle. We think it a sound principle, and for that very reason object to *sensile* for *sensible*. For the same reason, we object to *principium* being rendered *principiant* in English. It is not in accordance with the analogy of our language, and the English word *principle* is not more vague or unphilosophical than *principium* or ἀρχή. It is quite as easy to determine the philosophical meaning of this word in English as in Latin or Greek. We think the rendering of *principiatum* by *principiate* is much less open to objection.

We now come to examine Father Harper's doctrine—not his, indeed, he says, but the doctrine of St. Thomas. St. Thomas, however, is not infallible, especially where he differs from Suarez, and where his own great School are divided as to his real meaning. Hence in *dubius libertas*.

The fundamental doctrine of St. Thomas and of Aristotle, which runs through all the metaphysics of the School, is the doctrine of the Primal Matter and Substantial Forms. Father Harper devotes the greater part of his Second Volume to the exposition and defence of this philosophy of matter and form. Nowhere else will the reader find the question discussed so fully, so ably, and so successfully. Father Harper has had in this respect a great advantage over those who have gone before him. He has spent many years in the study of the scholastic metaphysics, but he is also an excellent physicist, and applies his knowledge of modern science to the defence and illustration of the metaphysics of the Stagirite, in a way that neither Aristotle or St. Thomas could ever dream of. He fights the enemies of the scholastic metaphysics on their own ground, and with

their own weapons. He shows that the old philosophy furnishes a more satisfactory solution of the facts of modern science than the atomic, or dynamic, or any other of the current theories of modern philosophy. He agrees with the scientists while they confine themselves to the proven facts of their science; but when they begin to theorize, he bids them good-bye, and requests them to agree amongst themselves, before they invite him to join the happy family.

It is his familiarity with modern physics that makes Father Harper's exposition of the doctrine of Primal Matter and Substantial Forms so exceedingly valuable; and for this reason we earnestly hope that men of mind and leisure—both are needed—will endeavour to examine this system for themselves. To read this treatise will require time and patience, but the laborious student will be amply repaid. Metaphysics is the Queen of Sciences, no other discipline so enlarges the mind and strengthens its highest faculties. It has of course been derided and ignored by non-Catholics; but it has always held, and must always hold, a prominent place in the schools of Catholic theology. Investigation into the Science of Being is surely a more useful and ennobling training for the mind than disquisitions on the Greek particles, or a scientific analysis of insects and worms.

There are, moreover, two very special reasons why the philosophy of St. Thomas, which is put before us by Father Harper, should receive our special attention. Our present Holy Father has given his high sanction to that doctrine, and urges the Episcopacy of the Catholic Church to have it taught in all their colleges and seminaries. We cannot be deaf to the voice of Peter, we must examine, and, as far as possible, accept, and teach this philosophy. It is not of faith indeed; in many points we are free to reject, to modify, or to improve it: but in the main it will be taught henceforward in all our great Catholic schools, long after the ephemeral systems of our own day shall have sunk into oblivion.

Now, beyond all question, the doctrine of Matter and Substantial Forms is fundamental to the philosophy of St. Thomas; we do not say in all its details, but certainly in its main principles. Yet even these main principles are not as thoroughly understood in our schools, as perhaps they ought to be. An accurate knowledge of the philosophical meaning of the terms themselves, is absolutely

necessary for the successful study of theology in all its great branches—dogmatic, moral, and sacramental. The merest tyro knows how often the terms *material* and *formal*, *matter* and *form*, *materialiter* and *formaliter*, recur in every branch of the sacred sciences. It is true, indeed, that these words are not always used in the same sense; and rarely in their purely philosophic sense; but in all cases the theological meaning will be found to be analogous to the philosophical meaning, and the former, therefore, can never be *clearly* understood by one who is entirely ignorant of the latter. For instance, we speak of the *matter* and *form* of the Sacraments, we must know what they are in each Sacrament, yet how can we understand the analogous meaning if we do not understand their primary meaning? Matter and Form have exactly the same relation to each other, in the formation of the supernatural entity called a Sacrament, as Matter and Form, in material things, have in the formation of physical entities; we cannot rightly understand one without the other.

There is one point of great interest discussed by Father Harper—what is the principle of Individuation? It was the most difficult and the most burning question in the Schools, and we think it will survive even Father Harper's discussion.

He undertakes to defend the doctrine of St. Thomas, which is, on this question, no easy task, and he places the principle of individuation in the *materia signata*; and endeavours to reconcile Suarez on this point with St. Thomas, in which, he will pardon us for saying, we do not think he has succeeded. This is not the place for a discussion of this most abstruse and interesting question. But it is strange that if the *materia signata* be the principle of individuation the Thomists themselves cannot agree in explaining what is meant by the term. Neither does St. Thomas seem quite in accord with himself in his own explanations. In one place he says it is the matter as affected by *determinate* dimensions.¹ In another place he says,² "these determined

¹ "Materia dimensionibus subjecta est principium distinctionis numeralis;" and again, "materia in singulari est . . . individuationis principium quae est materia signata sub determinatis dimensionibus existens; ex hac enim forma individuatur." *De Ver. Quest. x. a. 5.*

² "Ipsae dimensionis terminate quae fundantur in subjecto jam completo individuuntur quodammodo ex materia individuata per dimensiones interminatas praeintellectas in materia." *Opusculum LX. in Librum Boetii de Trin.*

dimensions are founded in the subject already completed," and therefore do not constitute, but presuppose the individual to be already constituted. Father Harper attempts to reconcile these statements, but only with very imperfect success. Either this *materia*, which is supposed to individuate the previously communicable form, is affected by determinate dimensions or by indeterminate dimensions. Not, however, by the former, for the reason given by St. Thomas himself, because determination of figure and dimension presupposes the subject as already constituted in its individuality, and this is admitted by Father Harper. Neither can it be matter affected by indeterminate dimensions, for indeterminate dimension is an *ens rationis*, has no objective existence, therefore it cannot *really* affect matter, therefore it would be indeterminate, not determinate matter, that would become the differentiating principle of the individual, and therefore not *materia qua signata*. And St. Thomas himself, in the commentary on Boetius, admits that indeterminate dimensions have no objective existence. Therefore, says Father Harper, he speaks only of the differentiating principle from a *metaphysical* point of view; but Suarez speaks of it from a *physical* point of view, and thus *seems* to differ from the teaching of St. Thomas. If the metaphysical point of view, that is our way of conceiving the manner of individuation, is not conformable to the actual manner of individuation, so much the worse for the scientific value of our knowledge. It is unreal and false, not having any objective reality to correspond with it, as the individual man corresponds to our metaphysical conception thereof in other respects. We doubt very much whether St. Thomas would be prepared to accept this vindication of his own doctrines at the expense of his consistency. For he was consistent at least, and, since he placed the principle of individuation in matter, he was forced to admit that angels being pure spirits, or forms, cannot be differentiated naturally within the same species, hence he thought that although by *potentia absoluta* God could create several angels within the same species, as a matter of fact, He did not do so, and by *potentia ordinaria* could not do so, a conclusion which greatly scandalized the Scholastics of the time, and is certainly not a common opinion amongst theologians. There could therefore be no second Lucifer to take the place of the fallen angel, there might be a greater or a less, but no distinct angel of exactly the same specific nature. The consequence is inevitable but somewhat inconvenient, as

Duns Scotus showed to demonstration long ago. It has been abandoned by the ablest theologians even of the Thomist School, and was condemned by the Doctors of the Sorbonne in 1278, not that we think the worse of the opinion on that account, but it shows how unanimously it was rejected by the contemporaries of St. Thomas himself.

In two Appendices our author develops the doctrine of St. Thomas on two most important points, the genesis of the natural world, that is the evolution of material bodies from created matter; and secondly the genesis of the human being, which is completed by the union of soul and body. This is not the place to examine our author's doctrine on these two points; we can only indicate the nature of the opinions put forward, which however deserve the gravest consideration on account of the solution which they furnish to certain problems of urgent importance.

St. Thomas, then, teaches that the original creative act terminated in spiritual intelligences, the celestial bodies, and the simple elements. Leaving spiritual intelligences out of the question, and taking the word "elements" in the sense of St. Thomas, it is only another way of saying that at first God created mind and matter, (St. Thomas erroneously believed celestial matter to be of a different nature from terrestrial matter).

But this matter was not yet disposed for the evolution therefrom of the various beings in this world of life and beauty. In order thereto he impressed or implanted in matter certain natural forces, *rationes seminales*, as he calls them, that is the active and passive powers of nature which are the proximate sources of all animal and vegetable life, of all the beauty and variety in the universe. These seminal virtues were implanted in matter not by the original creative act, but by the work of the six days, as narrated in the Book of Genesis.

By the work of the six days, however, we need not, indeed, according to St. Augustine ought not, understand six periods of time of any length, great or small; but, rather according to the very probable opinion of St. Augustine, the term is to be understood as indicating the *order of sequence* which was adopted by Divine Omnipotence, in implanting the seminal influences in the lifeless, motionless, and formless elemental matter. *The earth was at first without form and void.* Thus the Divine virtue of the creative act, manifesting itself in matter by the successive virtues which it imparts thereto, is exhibited to us, in a

popular way, as doing these wondrous works in so many successive days, whereas in reality they were as yet only done *in virtute*, not *formaliter*. The work of the third day did not *actually* clothe the earth with grass, and flowers, and fruits, but gave it the virtue of producing these in after times, when the necessary antecedent evolution was accomplished. The water did not produce the creeping things, nor the birds of heaven expand their wings in actual flight on the fifth day; but the vegetable universe, then existing in potentiality, received a new fecundity, in virtue of which it would in future ages produce the creeping things of earth, and the soaring birds of heaven. And so on with the rest; all the seminal influences were thus successively implanted in matter, until at last, to crown the work, the body of man was formed in the same way, and then God, by His own immediate act, breathed in him the breath of life, and man became a living soul. The formative power of evolving the human organism, was the last virtue implanted by God in matter; and thus in the fulness of time the soul would be united to the body by the immediate act of God himself. This evolution of man's body, like the bodies of other animals, is not so explicitly put forward by Father Harper, but we take it for granted as the natural consequence of this interpretation of the work of the six days.¹ St. Thomas himself seems to favour the opinion that the six days indicate succession of *time*; but he refers without disapprobation to the opinion of St. Augustine, who explains them of a mere succession of order.

It will now be understood, whether we adopt the opinion of St. Thomas or St. Augustine, how it was that during the six days God *created*, and afterwards for all time *administers* the work of His hands. His Divine concursus is always necessary, but abstracting from this perennial exercise of Divine power, Nature, after creation, slowly but surely works out the Divine Will, under the direction of Divine Providence, by its own innate virtue. The created primary forces—gravity, cohesion, chemical affinity, &c.,—work of the will of God, at first in inorganic matter, forming crystals, and rocks, and minerals, producing heat and light, and giving being to sun and stars through

¹ However, at page 743, Appendix A., vol. ii., Father Harper observes: "God is said to have *formed* the human body, because He is the sole efficient cause of its organization, that is, of the *potentiality* by which matter was disposed for this evolution."

all the realms of space. Then the seminal influences of vegetable life come into action, and clothe the earth with the rich and various products of the vegetable kingdom, which in their turn furnish the means of evolution for all the forms of animal life on earth, or sky, or sea.

As in the postscript of a lady's letter, Father Harper puts his most interesting points in the appendices, and so we find him discussing, briefly however, the very important question to which he also refers in the body of the work—namely the time and manner in which the human soul begins to inform the human body.

This question Father Harper discusses in connection with the doctrine of St. Thomas on matter and form, and it is not only interesting in itself, but, if it ever would be solved in this sense to a certainty, it would lead to most important theological conclusions in practice.

He admits that it is now the common opinion of theologians and Christian physiologists, that the human embryo is animated from the first moment of conception, and not only animated but informed with a rational and immortal soul. Hence the great importance of endeavouring, by all means in our power, to secure Baptism for every living *fœtus* expelled from the womb, from any cause, at any stage of its existence. Still numberless immature human beings will inevitably perish without Baptism, for it has been calculated, that the number of premature births and abortions amounts to one-eighth of the entire number that comes to maturity. And it is by no means easy, with these facts before our eyes, to explain how it can be truly said that God wishes the salvation of all, seeing that, in so many cases, it is physically impossible to procure the spiritual regeneration of all these immature human beings.

Doubtless, for these amongst other reasons, Father Harper prefers to adopt the opinion of St. Thomas, regarding the time and manner in which the human soul is informed by the human body. He admits that the body is a *living* body from the beginning, but denies that it is informed by a human soul. According to Father Harper St. Thomas teaches "that in the human embryo there is a succession of generations and corruptions (in the philosophical sense of these words), by means of which the future child passes through a vegetative and sensitive life, previous to its receiving the human soul." There is a succession of Forms in the embryo, each successive form being of a higher nature than its immediate antecedent, until the

organism becomes sufficiently perfected to receive the human soul, which displaces the ultimate animal form, and supplies its place for all the purposes of vegetable, animal, and rational life. The preceding forms, he adds, are purely provisional, and are the result of a purely natural generation or development, proceeding from one and the same efficient cause. Of course the human soul being a purely spiritual substance, is itself the immediate work of God.

We confess a strong leaning towards this doctrine, not only on account of the authority of St. Thomas, but of its own intrinsic probability, and the easier solution which it affords to the theological difficulties already indicated. It cannot now be questioned that the embryo lives from the moment of conception, and lives not only by a vegetable life of growth, but by an animal life, capable of spontaneous movement. Nay more, very many physiologists think that the *spermatazoa* are, as their name indicates, living animalcules, even before conception; and that by the impregnation of the ovum, the animalcule is merely placed *in situ* for the purposes of nutrition and development. But to hold that the rudimentary embryo is living is quite a different thing from holding that it is informed with a human soul. Why admit the existence of the spiritual essence as necessary for the information of this speck of protoplasm, in which, for weeks after conception, the microscope can hardly detect the first faint traces of a human organism? We think it highly improbable in itself, and apart from the authority of the theologians who defend this opinion, would much prefer to fall back on the old scholastic doctrine, that the *fœtus* is not animated for a considerable period after conception, meaning thereby not animated by a human soul. When the mysterious work of generation is completed, by the introduction of the immortal form, can never be known for certain, and hence priests must always be careful to use their best efforts to secure the Baptism of every living *fœtus*, no matter how immature, at least when it shows traces even of a rudimentary human body.

It is sufficiently evident from our brief references, what momentous questions, both for philosophers and theologians, are discussed by Father Harper in these volumes. We hope we have sufficiently stimulated the curiosity of our readers, to induce them to read the volumes for themselves, and if they do so, they will certainly find ample matter for fruitful speculation.

J. H.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.—III.

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.—BEN JONSON.

"O RARE Ben Jonson!" is the simple, yet significant inscription on the flat stone which covers a grave in Westminster Abbey. Few words are these, but how full of admiration and withal of affection, too. Very different is such a legend from the cold chronicles of date and age, of great titles and of high position, as also from the inflated eulogies and pompous verses, which gibe around. As different, indeed, as the simple stone slab which is a mere flag in the pavement, over which careless feet stray, from the gigantic piles of marble which encumber so queerly the walls of the venerable Abbey; and with weeping angels, military emblems, and stout warriors in wig and cuirass, puzzle the amazed visitor, who hardly knows whether he is more amused or disgusted by the irreverent jumble.

Yes, depend upon it, the simple line, "O rare Ben Jonson!" came from a warm and admiring heart. It is the embodiment in words of a sincere tear, the expression of a manly sob, which tells, more than ordinary words can do how he was appreciated and loved who here was laid low.

And so we put him in our picture gallery of the chief men of that great period, next to our own, and his own Shakespeare; believing that there is something in him beyond the reach of his contemporaries in the dramatic art, which made him in the minds of men, from that day to this, the rare Ben Jonson.

The story of his life is soon told, strange, varied and eventful as it was; it must not, however, be separated from his literary works, which are not with him as with so many, "a thing apart;" for out of that life those productions grew, while they, in their turn, did no little to form his character and to fashion the incidents that made that life so dramatic and so interesting.

Ben Jonson was born in 1574, ten years later than Shakespeare, of a Scotch family from Annandale. His father was a clergyman in Westminster, and so, naturally enough, Ben was a Westminster boy, in the especial sense of entering at the celebrated school there, where, doubtless, he worked hard at the classics, of which his literary productions give over-abundant proof, being, in truth, not a little pedantic. Something of the Scot was, doubtless, to be found in this, though, as we shall see, it was

combined with no especial love for the nation from which he sprung. He was not unmindful of the advantages he enjoyed there under the great Camden, and hastened some eight years afterwards to dedicate his first play, *Every Man in his Humour* to his old master, in frank and manly lines, wherein, professing, "I am none of those that can suffer the Benefits confer'd upon my Youth to perish with my Age," prays him to accept this, the first of his fruits, "such, wherein neither the Confession of my Manners shall make you blush, nor of my Studies repent you to have been the Instructor."

But these congenial studies had to be abandoned for hard manual labour, and rough intercourse with the outer world. His reverend father had died just before the birth of Ben, and two years later his mother married once more, and this time to a builder. The boy was left at Westminster School for the usual period, but instead of passing, with many others, to Cambridge, he was set to work as a bricklayer. Fuller says that he soon left it and his step-father also, and went up to Cambridge, we may suppose on his own account. But the University was no place for one in such circumstances: his proud heart—or should we not rather say, his noble ambition—had to bend to his lot, and he returned to home and bricklaying. Who thinks now, as he passes by the fine buildings of Lincoln's Inn, that some of the masonry around was raised, by the hands of rare Ben Jonson? Yet so it was; and we may imagine what flashed in the poet's bright eyes, and what burnt in his fiery heart, as he looked down from the scaffold upon the lawyers and scholars who had once been his equals and friends. Those looks, it may be, were not unnoted; at any rate the incongruity between the boy and his occupation was not unobserved: for Wood tells us that some gentlemen, who saw him working with his father, took compassion upon him; so his old tutor, Camden, sent him to Sir Walter Raleigh, whose son he attended as tutor on his travels on the Continent. It was generally believed that he grew tired of this occupation, and sought a more active life by campaigning in the Low Countries. Like many a gallant cavalier of that period, he thus became a soldier of fortune. Such, at least, was the old story, for which Wood is responsible; but closer investigation has shown that it is without foundation. Raleigh's son was but an infant at this time, and the illustrious

voyager himself was then in no position to make any such arrangement; so we must give it up, and content ourselves with believing that Jonson ran away alike from home and bricklaying, in less than a year after quitting Westminster School, and took to soldiering without any intermediate tutorial step. He distinguished himself in the wars, and used to boast no little of his prowess; however, this life of adventure was ill-fitted for one of his high intellect, and with that great thirst for learning, which soon showed itself; and so home—at least to England—he came again, and made his way, perhaps for the second time, to Cambridge, and entered at St. John's College. He could not have remained there long, for in 1594, when he is barely twenty, we find him an actor, a prisoner, a convert, and a married man.

As an actor his success was but indifferent; it led to a quarrel with another performer, who fell by his hand in a duel, and so he became a prisoner; but like most of the parts he plays in this active period of his career, he soon changed it for another, being released without a trial, from which, we may fairly conclude, that he was more than acquitted, and then followed his conversion, and marriage to a young Catholic lady. So this imprisonment, short as it was, brought about an event which has an especial interest for us Catholics. We are told "the visits of a Roman Catholic Priest converted him to the Church of Rome," and though the same writer adds, "Twelve years afterwards he returned to the Church of England," at any rate it is not denied that from twenty to thirty-two, from 1594 to 1606, during which period he wrote his best works, and made that literary reputation which has placed him so near to Shakespeare, he was a Catholic.

It is curious to note that it was during this period that he formed his close intimacy with the Swan of Avon; and who knows but that through those times of persecution the two Papists may have been drawn closer together by the religious tie which biographers are so apt to slight, especially when it runs counter to the popular belief.

In 1598 that intimacy began. Jonson had probably already had a hand in dramatic productions, for it was then the practice for different authors to club their talents together and to speculate at the theatres upon the outcome. And thus we know that though he brought out *Every Man in his Humour* two years before this period, yet he so revised and improved it before he carried it to

Shakespeare and the Globe Theatre in 1598, that he considered it as altogether a new play, even publishing it as first represented at that latter date.

Shakespeare himself played in it, as he afterwards did in his *Sejanus*; and whatever gossips and biographers may say to the contrary, there is no proof that the friendship thus began ceased until the greater dramatist died.

Jonson now engaged to write a play every year, and set to work with his usual diligence and perseverance, and with that conscientious care which marks all his productions. So we have next, in due order, *Every Man out of his Humour*, *Cynthia's Revels*, and *The Poetaster*.

His two first plays well illustrate the "humour" for which this great dramatist is renowned, and which, if misunderstood, will lead to much disappointment in a modern reader. The humour which he exhibits in *Every Man in his Humour*, and which he corrects in *Every Man out of his Humour*, are peculiarities of character, real or assumed, which distinguish individuals rather than classes of people; we should now call them whims, affectations, oddities. There is not necessarily any fun in such delineations, and plays of this character are often far from exciting mirth. The fact is, the word humour has two meanings, one of which was generally understood in Jonson's day, and the other is more prevalent in our own.

The authorities remind us that in a popular, though not in a technical sense, the humours of the body imply a morbid or vitiated condition; and these are supposed to affect the temper of the mind and render it dependent upon them; so we have good, melancholy, and peevish humours. Such humours, when temporary, we call freaks, whims, caprices. Thus a person characterised by good nature may have a fit of ill-humour; and an ill-natured person may have a fit of good humour; so we say, it was the humour of the man at the time. There is also another meaning of the word, which is defined as that quality of the imagination which gives the ideas a wild or fantastic turn, and tends to excite laughter or mirth by ludicrous images or representations.

Now, if we turn to Ben Jonson's plays for humour of this latter kind, we shall of necessity be disappointed, because he uses the word, and works out its phases in the former sense only. This at once explains the great difference between the plays of Shakespeare and those of his friend and literary rival. Dr. Johnson, in a famous passage

which has already been quoted in a former paper, while speaking of our greatest dramatist, sums up his weighty judgment as though with an eye to what his namesake has written in these words :

“Shakespeare is, above all writers, at least above all modern writers, the poet of Nature, the poet that holds up to his readers a faithful mirror of manners and of life. His characters are not modified by the customs of particular places, unpractised by the rest of the world ; by the peculiarities of studies or professions, which can operate but upon small numbers, or by the accidents of transient fashions or temporary opinions ; they are the genuine progeny of common humanity, such as the world will always supply, and observation will always find. His persons act and speak by the influence of those general passions and principles by which all minds are agitated, and the whole system of life is continued in motion. In the writings of other poets a character is too often an individual, in those of Shakespeare it is commonly a species.”

We quoted this thoughtful piece of criticism as happily expressing the great characteristics of Shakespeare ; we re-quote it as best pointing out those of Ben Jonson in which he, intentionally or not, differed from his great contemporary.

This difference, alike in the characters of the plays, and in their development by the two great dramatists, will also explain the very different estimation in which they are now held. While Shakespeare is as popular as ever, alike on the stage and in the study, Jonson has but one play which retains its hold upon an audience, and finds, if “fitting,” certainly “few” readers. His comedies are a study, well repaying those who have a taste for antique phrases and a relish for the manner and habits of a long past generation. They have amusing scenes and quaint, well-drawn characters ; there are occasional brilliant sallies of wit and vigorous handling of noble ideas, and throughout a high morality ; but these, in truth, are too often expressed in coarse language, and overlaid with dreary humours which weary almost as much as the cant phrases and practical jokes which so delighted a more recent generation, and have still a charm for the lovers of opera bouffe, and the tedious burlesques, which prevail in the present day.

With these many drawbacks it should, however, be remembered, to the credit of Ben Jonson, that his moral teaching is always sound, and true ; that the aim of his plays is manly and ennobling ; that if he is sometimes the too literal expounder of the thoughts and actions of the people about him, he is ever their censor ; that when he

paints the vices and follies of mankind in strong colours and in naked truth, his end is to hold them up to scorn and ridicule, to shame men out of their follies, and to show vice to be

“—a monster of such hideous mien,
That to be hated, needs but to be seen.”

That such is his object, he does not leave us to find out for ourselves; he is continually urging it in his dedications, prologues, indications, and retaliations; for his literary life was indeed a warfare in which he battles with all a soldier's energy and no little of his imprudence. In illustration of this we may take, almost at haphazard, a few lines from the Prologue to *Every Man in his Humour*, which, being his first comedy, shows at any rate the spirit in which he commenced his dramatic career:

“Though Need makes many Poets, and some such
As Art and Nature have not better'd much;
Yet ours, for want, hath not so lov'd the Stage
As he dare serve th' ill Customs of the Age.
Or purchase your delight at such a rate,
As, for it, he himself must justly hate.
* * * *

But Deeds, and Language, such as men do use,
And Persons, such as Comedy would chuse;
When she would show an Image in the Times,
And sport with Human Follies, not with Crimes,”

How far such a line of treatment, such a method of peeling with folly and vice, is commendable or even prudent, is, of course, altogether another question, into which we are not called upon to enter. We are only trying to look with the eyes of the young dramatist at the world around, when with the dew of grace fresh upon him, he is trying to turn his natural talents, and no mean acquirements, to the best account in the difficult path of life he felt best suited to him. He saw the stage degraded from the high mission Shakespeare and he believed it to have, into a ready vehicle for vulgar buffoonery, or, when otherwise used, into a mere arena for vapid declamation and bombastic rant. He learns from his great friend that the end of the drama is “To hold, as 'twere, the mirror up to Nature,” and if he did not so much do this, as hold it up to the artificial and grotesque forms of life into which it had passed, he at any rate, with Shakespeare himself, knew how to “show virtue her own feature, scorn her own image, and the very age and body of the time, his form and pressure.”

This he did most effectively in his *Every Man in his Humour*, one of the characters of which has grown into quite a representative man; and in "Captain Bobadil, a Paul's man," we have as perfect and amusing an embodiment of swagger, cowardice, bragging, and lying, as even in Pistol himself. Indeed he has this pre-eminence over Falstaff's Ancient, that his name has grown into a symbolical word, and can be used for a more—comparatively of course—respectable class than that which hung about the fat knight.

Our dramatist, however, was not content with this duty of showing the world around him in what a queer and unsatisfactory condition it was, and leaving it to draw its own moral lesson therefrom. He was too thoroughly in earnest for this slow growth; and lacked patience to wait for the late harvest: so he must needs set to work in a second drama to correct the follies and vices he had so cleverly portrayed in the first. Thus, *Every Man out of his Humour* in a year came to complete the work; the end of which, the reader will at once understand to be, the correcting of the foolish humours, and the curing of their victims of the diseases under which they suffered. So the characters, having each well aired its folly, and suffered accordingly, are delivered in some diverting way, and have their eyes opened to the ridiculous parts they have played. But, not content with this, Ben Jonson adopted, if he did not invent, the bold idea of putting critics upon the stage itself, and making them discuss during the progress of the play, the aim of the author, and his success or failure in the method he had adopted to achieve the end he had in view. Thus he was enabled to instruct his audience, not only indirectly by the comedy itself, but directly by his own explanation, in this novel way, of what he wanted to do, and how he wished them to judge his work. It was a bold stroke, and even in his skilful hands, a dangerous one: for the public is never well pleased to be lectured in this way, and still less does it like to be told how it should exercise its critical judgment. Sheridan, in *The Critic*, has done the same thing, but of course, only in joke; while Thomas Moore, in *Lalla Rookh*, has tried his best to disarm criticism, by anticipating and exaggerating all that might be said against the construction and subject of his poem, and putting it in the mouth of the tedious and conceited Fadladeen.

The next play Jonson produced, in the following year, was of a somewhat different character, being intended for

quite another place and players from the Globe, with its matured and renowned performers. *Cynthia's Revels*; or, *the Fountain of Self-Love*, he calls a "Comical Satyr," and it is performed before Queen Elizabeth, "by the children of the Queen's Chappel." He dedicates it to the Court, as the "special fountain of manners," and signs himself "Thy Servant, but not thy Slave;" and in a like spirit, he tells the Court: "Thou art a beautiful and brave Spring, and waterest all the noble plants of this Island. In thee the whole kingdom dresseth itself, and is ambitious to use thee as her Glass. Beware, then, thou render men's figures truly, and teach them no less to hate their Deformities, than to love their Forms: for to Grace there should come Reverence, and no man can call that lovely, which is not also venerable. It is not Powdering, Perfuming, and every day Smelling of the Taylor, that converteth to a beautiful Object; but a Mind shining through any Sute, which needs no false Light, either of Riches or Honours, to help it."

It takes some five or six pages of the introduction to explain the complicated plot, with which we need not trouble ourselves; but the aim and end is to cure self-love, and to ridicule the stiff and unmeaning formalities of the artificial life of fashion, which it does in numberless ways.

The Queen had patronized by her presence his earlier plays, and now commands this for her own Court, thus frankly, not to say bluntly, advised, and has her own young performers to represent it. Of course, the language is adapted to the players, and thus a new field is opened to the skill and zeal of the rising dramatist.

It is not unnatural to suppose that the actors and authors at the Globe looked with a somewhat jealous eye at this rival gathering, which might win from their rude theatre, to brigher scenes, the men of fashion.

There is a passage in "Hamlet" that seems to give expression to this feeling, though we do not remember to have ever heard it thus explained. So the reader must take our interpretation for what it is worth, having no authority, as far as we know, to back it.

When Rosencranz announces the arrival of the players to Hamlet, the following dialogue takes place:

Ham.: Do they hold the same estimation they did when I was in the city? Are they so followed?"

Rosen.: No, indeed; they are not.

Ham.: How comes it? Do they grow rusty?

Rosen.: Nay, their endeavour keeps in the wonted pace: But there is, sir, an aiery of children, little egases, that cry out

on the top of question, and are most tyrannically clapped for it: these are now the fashion; and so berattle the common stages (so they call them), that many, wearing rapiers, are afraid of goose quills, and dare scarce come thither.

Ham. : What! are they children? Who maintains them? How are they escoted? Will they pursue the quality no longer than they can sing? Will they not say afterwards, if they should grow themselves to common players (as is most like, if their means are no better), their writers do them wrong to make them exclaim against their own succession?

Rosen. : Faith, there has been much to do on both sides; and the nation holds it no sin, to tarre them on to controversy: there was, for a while, no money bid for argument, unless the poet and the player went to cuffs in the question.

Ham. : Is it possible?

Guil. : O! there has been much throwing about of brains.

Ham. : Did the boys carry it away?

Ros. : Ay, that they did, my Lord, Hercules and his load too.

And when we remember that Hercules carrying as his load the globe, was the sign hanging over the door of the Globe Theatre, we shall be the more inclined to look upon the whole of this somewhat long quotation, as a matter altogether distinct from Hamlet and Denmark, and coming nearer home to Shakespeare himself, and the rivalry between the actors of Hamlet, and the children of the "Queen's Chappel," in the plays with which Ben Jonson provided them. For the next play, duly produced the following year, was for the same juvenile actors; another "Comical Satyr," but of a more strictly classical character, and smacking strongly of the personality of the dramatist himself.

Marston and Dekker, dramatists of some mark, offended Jonson, whose temper as we know was none of the smoothest, and in this new play, their characters were to be shown up, in severe and grotesque form. Marston was to be *The Poetaster Crispinus*, whose "arraignment" was the subject of the plot, while Decker as Demetrius was to be his follower and shadow. Of course the scene must be laid in a far distant time, and the characters something more than mere foils to the presumptuous writers.

Here was an opportunity for Jonson to air his classic attainments; and while bringing on the stage the great literary lights of ancient Rome, to sketch the state of society which prevailed in the original Augustan age, and, as a moral censor, to show in how many respects it found its parallel in his own time, which was so often and with no little show of reason considered the modern Augustan period.

Read by this light, the clever comedy has an additional interest, and while we see the marked honor Augustus paid to Virgil, and the brilliant society which gathered around his throne, we look through them, as it were, to the sixteenth century and read Elizabeth, Shakespeare, Bacon, and Jonson himself, in names which foreshadowed rather than eclipsed their intellectual greatness.

But apart altogether from this second meaning, the scenes are wonderfully life-like, and are Roman and Augustan in an especial degree. It is not only that the names of Augustus, his daughter Julia, Mæcenas, Ovid, Gallus, Propertius, Aristus, Virgil and Horace, are among the *Dramatis Personæ*; but the very men themselves, in the mental habits, and train of thought and feeling, in which they lived, are before us; their every-day life, their language—often translated from their own works—rings in our ears, and we have perhaps as perfect an embodiment of what Augustan Rome was, in its virtues and vices, alike freely displayed, as any production in our own language can give us.

Far more Roman, indeed, is it than Jonson's *Sejanus* and *Cataline*, rich as these tragedies are in sonorous and vigorous passages. In these we have the stilted life, the sock and buskin of Rome, but in the *Poetaster* we have the real, unaffected, brilliant, witty, daily life that covered in its time so much licentiousness, and crystallized, in its matchless writings, thoughts and suggestions which nothing but perfection of composition could have preserved thus far into Christian centuries.

The scene in which Virgil recites some of his *Æneid* before Augustus and his literary court is very graceful and happy.

Marston was too good-natured to do more than laugh, but Dekker was not a man to sit quiet under such an attack as this, and quickly replied in a comical satyr with the ponderous and significant Greek title, *Satyromastix; or the untrussing the Humourous Poet*, in which Ben was made to flourish and flounder as young Horace. Our poet was silent, and wrote nothing for two years. In Manningham's Diary we find it recorded: "February, 1602-3. Ben Jonson, the poet, now lives upon one Townsend, and scornes the world." A very characteristic record, for honest and headstrong Ben can never believe himself in the wrong, and so when he is rebuked he finds the world to blame, and scorns it.

(To be continued.)

CATHOLIC EDUCATION.

BEFORE writing anything on Catholic Education one should, perhaps, commence by giving a reason for bringing forward a subject so often treated of before.

Catholic Education, I know, has been made the subject of pastorals from our Bishops, sermons in our churches, lectures in our halls, essays and articles in our periodicals and journals. Not much, however, has been said as to the practical means of advancing the religious education of our youth in primary and parochial schools; but even if much were said on this subject, the vital importance of it would be a sufficient reason for drawing attention to it again. For on the proper religious training of our youth will depend the eternal salvation of the individual, the peace and happiness of the family, the well-being of the nation, nay, the glory of the Church of God. To the want of this religious training may be traced many of the evils we see around us. Why are our prisons crowded with criminals? Why are there so many crimes and sins that disgrace the fair fame of our nation? It is certainly not the malice of our people; no, it is because in early life they received not a thorough religious training. To this same cause, too, may be traced the many losses to the faith, amongst our people who have emigrated from their native shores. And how many stay away from Mass because they have never learned to appreciate its value; and from the Sacraments, because they know not how to receive them with profit and consolation to their souls.

It is true, we sometimes find that the most abandoned and profligate in the community had in youth received an education with which their after life is not consistent, but these are exceptions. And even in cases of this kind, it generally happens that the recollection of early years triumphs in the end, and brings back to the feet of the Good Shepherd him who once seemed lost.

"From the education," says Pope Leo XIII., "which a man receives in childhood, depends for the most part how he will behave during the rest of his life."

In these times the State uses all its forces to promote secular education alone. Now, the more the secular education is advanced, the more necessary is it to attend to the religious; for secular education without religion is productive of many evils. It makes children haughty and disobedient, and

impatient of restraint. All secular knowledge that helps not to promote the salvation of souls and God's glory, is at least useless, if not positively hurtful.

Pope Pius IX., in his letter to the Archbishop of Friburg, as quoted by Pope Leo XIII. in his Constitution of this year to the English Bishops, says that all other instruction given in the schools should appear as accessory to the religious. What is the case in many of our schools in Ireland? There is a whole series of arrangements for promoting secular knowledge—school furniture, maps, charts, diagrams, and so forth; inspectors visiting and examining the schools; a Board instituted by Government: and on the other hand, no arrangement, or at most, very little, made for promoting religious knowledge.

What effect will all this have on the child's mind? Will not religious knowledge be looked upon as of secondary importance, unless the same anxiety is shown for it as is shown for secular knowledge? This anxiety can be shown only by having a regular and complete system for carrying on religious education.

Now, that system which has worked best in promoting secular education should, I think, work best in promoting also the religious; that is, a programme fixing a certain amount of business for each class, facilities for teaching this, and a test of the result by examination.

The programme itself will give a stimulus to religious instruction; for when teachers and children see what exactly is required of them, they will both be inclined to master it. It is a heartless thing to be working away and not knowing when one is doing enough, or less than enough. Besides, at the examination, how can it be known when to blame or praise, when no fixed amount of knowledge was to be acquired?

As in the secular business of the school, the child is advanced from class to class into matter more difficult, so should it be in religious training.

The programme, of course, should commence with the infant class. Though the infants' minds are not yet developed, they are quite capable of learning the great truths of religion, so as to be influenced by them in their daily actions, and to be formed to habits of virtue. No knowledge they may acquire afterwards will have so lasting an effect as that learned in the infant class; prayers learned there will scarcely ever be forgotten.

A programme would be, to a great extent, useless, unless

arrangements are made to carry it out with efficiency. These arrangements may vary according to the circumstances of the school ; but they must always comprise two things, a fixed time for religious instruction, and a teaching power to impart it.

The time allowed by the Board may not be all one could desire, still if it be energetically employed every day, a very considerable amount of knowledge can be acquired by a child during school years. Less time could not give satisfactory results. But, indeed, it is very hard to see how a Catholic manager, especially if he be a priest, could tolerate less time to be given to religious instruction than is permitted by a Government Board. This time permitted by the Board, the majority of the teachers, at least as far as I am aware, are willing to devote to its proper use. They are not able in most cases, it is true, to impart all the knowledge required, but this is not expected from them. The Synod of Maynooth clearly points out that the priests of the parish are to assist in teaching the Christian Doctrine at least once a week.¹ The teacher assisted in this way by the priest in his frequent visits, will soon acquire a great facility for giving religious instruction.

All this will be much aided by a periodical examination, it will help both teachers and scholars.

An examination is a spur to the indolent and slothful, and a source of satisfaction and reward to the industrious. It would appear to be the most convenient plan to have this examination once, at least, in each year.

To have it after a longer interval than a year would scarcely be sufficient to keep up the attention and interest necessary.

Here it may be asked: Is not the examination for Confirmation or First Communion sufficient? This has been the principal means of testing the religious knowledge of the children in the greater part of Ireland, but experience proves that it is not sufficient.

Two very unsatisfactory results follow from thus examining only for Confirmation or First Communion, or for both. Little interest is taken in giving instruction to the children who have not arrived at the age for receiving

¹ "Parochus semel saltem in unaquaque hebdomada in quantum fieri potest visitet vel per se vel per suos vicarios omnes et singulas scholas nationales in sua parocchia existentes, quas pueris puellisve suae parocchie frequentare permittit; doctrinam fidei singulis hebdomadis discipulis explicet modo aetati congruo, etc." Cap. 31.

these Sacraments. And, when once children have passed this examination, and have no others to pass, they cannot be got to apply themselves, with any degree of earnestness, so as to keep up the knowledge already acquired, much less to acquire more. I have myself met children who, a few years after Confirmation, knew not the principal truths of religion. The same has been the experience of priests from different parts of Ireland to whom I have spoken about the matter. This ignorance after Confirmation is due partly to the hurried way in which preparation for Confirmation is made. Some weeks or months before the Episcopal Visitation, the children are kept straining every nerve to acquire sufficient knowledge; then after the Confirmation this knowledge is lost as quickly as it was acquired. It is got up for a certain end, and this end attained, it is regarded with little interest, and naturally soon vanishes.

These unsatisfactory results will be obviated very much by establishing an examination in the infants' class, and in every higher class taught in each school.

With regard to the matter of the programme, it must, of course, contain the Catechism, which is the recognised class-book of Christian Doctrine for children. But even a full knowledge of the Catechism would be, to some extent, unprofitable without a knowledge of the prayers recommended by the Church, and used in the devotions practised by good Catholics. Now, generally speaking, it is only in the schools children can be taught to pray, and pray with profit; they cannot be taught by their parents, who very often do not know their prayers themselves. And how many, though knowing them themselves, do not teach them to their children?

Those who pray well live well; therefore, if we teach the children how to pray well, we do much to sanctify them. Bible history, though not at all necessary like prayer, is of great use to the children. It helps very much to make them understand more clearly the doctrines and practices of the Church. The story for instance of Adam's fall and God's consequent curse, will help to explain original sin and its evil effects. And the perpetual enmity foretold between Satan and the Woman will make the child understand how it was, that our Blessed Lady was not only born, but conceived, free from original sin. How many beautiful types and figures there are in the Old Testament referring to our Blessed Lord, and how many to the Holy Eucharist!

And then the stories in the New Testament are to a great extent the life of our Blessed Redeemer. Besides, Catholics are very often taunted with being forbidden to read the Bible. The best way to refute this falsehood is to teach the Bible even to our children in the schools. And the easiest and most effective way to teach it, is in the form of story. What is learned in this way by children is not soon forgotten.

The above is the plan of programme adopted by our venerated Bishop of Down and Connor. It consists of Prayers, Catechism, Doctrine, or parts of Catechism requiring special explanation, such as the Incarnation, Passion, Sin, the Sacraments, etc., and Bible History, as the subjoined graduated plan will show. A priest has been set apart, whose sole duty it is to see this programme carried out in all the Catholic schools of the diocese. He visits the schools, and holds a yearly examination in each. At the end of the year a report is printed in pamphlet form, and a copy sent to each priest. By having only one priest to hold the examinations, greater uniformity is secured in testing the progress of the different schools. Having no other duty to perform, he is at liberty to devote all his time and energy to the successful training of the children throughout the diocese.

Great progress has been made already. The examination is every year more satisfactory; teachers and children are beginning to be more at home in their work. What seemed difficult at first, seems now comparatively easy. There is every reason to hope that in the not distant future, the religious training of our youth will be almost everything to be desired. Many will look back to the day on which religious inspection was instituted in Down and Connor, as a day replete with God's choicest blessings to His little ones. They will know and understand their prayers better; they will have a more comprehensive knowledge of Christian doctrine; they will know better how to receive the Sacraments with fruit and consolation: in a word, they will be better children, and consequently better men and better women; sin will be avoided more, and virtue practised more.

The Most Rev. Dr. Dorrian has done much to promote the welfare of his flock; but he never made a happier move in that direction than when he instituted in his diocese religious inspection.

DANIEL M'CASHIN, *Religious Inspector.*

DIOCESE OF DOWN AND CONNOR.

COURSE OF RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION.

INFANTS NOT CLASSED.—Under Six Years.

1. Sign of the Cross, Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed.
2. Instruction on God, Jesus Christ, Blessed Virgin, Heaven.

Above Six Years.

1. Act of Contrition.
2. Instruction on Trinity, Our Lord's Birth and Death, Guardian Angel, Death, Judgment, Hell, Heaven.

CLASS I.

1. Confiteor, Grace at meals.
2. Catechism, to the end of third chapter.
3. Instruction on the Incarnation, Passion, Sundays, Holidays, Fridays.

CLASS II.

1. Act of Charity, Angelus, Glory be to the Father.
2. Catechism, Chapters IV., V., VI., VII., and X.
3. Instruction on Sin, Sacraments in general, Baptism, Confirmation, Penance, Preparation for, and Method of, Confession.

CLASS III.

1. Acts of Faith, Hope, and Charity; Rosary.
2. The whole Catechism.
3. Instruction on Prayer, Blessed Eucharist, Mass, Holy Communion, Benediction.
4. The Life of Our Lord, to the Temptation in the Desert.¹

CLASS IV.

1. Stations of the Cross, Memorare, Seven Dolours.
2. Catechism, third size, first ten chapters.
3. Instruction on Extreme Unction, Holy Orders, Matrimony, Our Father, Hail Mary, Creed.
4. History of Our Lord's Passion; Old Testament History, to the Selling of Joseph.
5. Manner of serving at Mass.

CLASS V.—1st Stage.

1. Use of a Prayer Book.
2. Catechism, third size, Chapters XI. to XVII.
3. Instruction on Indulgences, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, Sacramentals, Feasts and Fasts.
4. The whole Life of Our Lord; History of the Israelites, from the Selling of Joseph to the Death of Moses.

CLASS V.—2nd Stage.

1. Litany of the Blessed Virgin.
2. Catechism, third size, Chapters XVIII. to XXIV.

¹ "The Gospel Story Book," and "Stories from the Old Testament" are recommended.

3. Marks of the Church, Infallibility of the Pope, Rule of Faith, Principal Feasts of Our Lord and the Blessed Virgin.

4. History of the Israelites from the death of Moses to Queen Esther

CLASS VI.

1. An accurate knowledge of above course of Prayers.

2. The whole Catechism, third size.

3. Instruction on Ceremonies of Baptism, Confirmation, Extreme Unction, Viaticum.

4. Remainder of Old Testament History, History of Early Church, as told in Acts of Apostles.

1. No Scholar may be examined twice in the same Class or Stage.

2. In every inspection the Scholars will be expected to know the course of the previous Classes, and the hymns in common use.

3. In the course for the Classes, No. 2 supposes an accurate knowledge of the text in all the Classes, a fair knowledge of the meaning in Classes I., II., a good knowledge in Classes III., IV., V., VI.

4. The results at the Examinations will be estimated in the following degrees:—"Excellent," "Good," "Moderate," "Failure."

5. If the Religious Inspection be not six months after the Secular, the Scholars may be examined in the Class they have left.

✠ P. DORRIAN,

Bishop of Down and Connor.

LITURGY.

Privileged Altars.

IN the last number of the RECORD we explained the usual conditions required to render an altar capable of being duly declared to be privileged; and we also considered various special cases suggested by these conditions. We now proceed to explain briefly other questions of importance relating to this subject of Privileged Altars.

1.

A Requiem Mass, when allowed by the Rubrics, is necessary.

It is a necessary condition for gaining the indulgence of the Privileged Altar that the Mass should be *de requiem*, whenever it is allowed by the rubrics. This point has been repeatedly decided by the Congregation of Indulgences and declarations of the Supreme Pontiffs.

"Utrum qui celebrat in altari privilegiato pro singulis diebus, debeat semper uti parentis nigris, diebus non impeditis, ut indulgentiam privilegii consequatur?"

S. Ind. C. resp.: "*Affirmative.*"

"Utrum qui privilegium habet personale pro quatuor Missis in hebdomadis singulis debeat cum paramentis colore nigro celebrare diebus non impeditis, ut posset indulgentiam plenariam pro animabus defunctorum lucrari?"

S. I. C. resp. : "Affirmative," 11 Ap. 1840.¹

According to this ruling the indulgence of the Privileged Altar cannot be gained on a simple feast, or a semi-double not occurring within a privileged octave, or on a non-privileged feria, by saying the Mass of the feast or feria or by a Votive Mass. The Mass must be *de requiem*.²

A correspondent inquires whether this principle applies also to days on which a Requiem Mass is allowed as a privilege, for instance, to the Missa Solemnis on the 30th day after burial, or to the one private Requiem Mass permitted in Ireland on double Feasts, *praesente cadavere*.

We believe that it does apply to these and to all other instances in which it is not a violation of the rubrics to celebrate a Requiem Mass. Amongst these other instances we would include the case of a priest who, though he has read an Office *de duplici*, celebrates in a church where the rite is a semi-double, and solemn obsequies are being celebrated. Because it is only when the celebration of a Mass *de requiem* is not allowed that the Popes have attached this indulgence to the Mass of the feast or feria.³

¹ S. I. C. 7 Mart., 1771 ; 27 Maii, 1845 ; 16 Feb., 1852.

² Because a Requiem Mass is not allowed on an altar where the Blessed Sacrament is exposed, or in a church during the Quarante Ore, the Requiem Mass is not, in these circumstances, required or allowed even on a semi-double for the purpose of gaining this indulgence. (See S. I. C. 20 Jul., 1751.)

³ Alexander VII., *Credidit nobis*, 22 Jan., 1667. Clement IX., 23 Sept., 1669. Innocent XI., *Alias postquam*, 4 Maii, 1688.

Cavalieri has the following paragraph referring to this question :—
"Expositionem triplex claudat admonitio ; Prima est quod Missae solemnes, cantatae, aliaeve, quae ex privilegio haberi possunt in iis diebus, in quibus privatae manent inhibitae, haud proderunt quoad indulgentiam si de Requiem non celebrentur ; quippe non subrogant indulta Missam de die, nisi de requiem haberi non valeat. Secunda est, quod recitans officium duplex, si celebret in ecclesia in qua agitur de semiduplici, itidem de Requiem celebrare tenetur ; secus vero, qui recitavit officium semiduplex, si celebrat in ecclesia in qua agitur de duplici. Ratio est, quia ille in aliena ecclesia potest dicere Missam de Requiem ; non hic, quemadmodum alibi traditur. Tertia est, quod etsi occurrat officium admittens Missas de Requiem, utiliter dici potest Missa de die, si ratione Sacramenti expositi, aut alia de causa, in ecclesia, in qua celebratur, Missae defunctorum manent inhibitae ; nimis enim diserte se exprimunt decreta, dum in altari, in cujus ecclesia Missa de Requiem dici non potest, ad effectum consequendi privilegii subrogant Missam de die, ut nos adstringere minime valeamus sacerdotes ad adeundas ecclesias in quibus de Requiem valeat celebrari, quando etiam id commode facere possent." Tom. iii. cap. xiv. dec. v. n. 4.

2.

Must the Mass and Indulgence be applied to the same person?

The next question is whether it is necessary to offer the Mass for the departed soul for whom it is intended to gain the indulgence; in other words, may the Mass be applied to one and the indulgence of the Privileged Altar to another?

This question regards only the indulgence of the Privileged Altar itself, for there is no doubt that the other indulgences which may be gained at Mass, such, for example, as the plenary indulgence attached to the first Sunday of the month, are separable from the application of the Mass, and may be directed, within the terms of the grant, to any one the celebrant selects¹.

We find that writers on this subject, more particularly the modern writers, commonly teach that the Mass and the indulgence of the Privileged Altar are inseparable in their application, so that the priest must offer the Mass for him for whom he wishes to gain the indulgence. According to Bouvier,² there is no doubt of the correctness of this opinion; and the Abbé Giraud, whose Manual on Indulgences received the approbation of the Congregation of Indulgences expresses the same view thus strongly: "Il est essentiel que cette Messe soit dite à l'intention même du fidèle défunt, auquel on veut appliquer l'indulgence."³

This is also the teaching of the "Mélanges Théologiques."⁴

Those who hold this opinion argue thus: It is usual to insert a clause in the Indult requiring that the Mass should be offered for him to whom the indulgence is to be applied. "Ut quandocunque sacerdos aliquis Missam defunctorum pro anima cujuscunque Christi fidelis, quae Deo chartiate conjuncta ab hac luce migraverit, ad praefatum altare celebrabit, *anima ipsa* . . . indulgentiam consequatur, &c." It is so much the custom to insert some such clause as this that the practice must be regarded as the *stylus hujus Indulti*. Now a principle in interpreting rescripts of the Sovereign

¹ "An sacerdos, qui Missam celebrat, e.g. pro defuncto, eidemque applicat indulgentiam plenariam altaris privilegiati, potest eodem die, vi Communionis sacrae in sacrificio Missae peractae, lucrari aliam indulgentiam plenariam vel sibi vel defunctis applicabilem, si ad hanc indulgentiam praescribitur sacra Communio?"

S. Cong. resp. "Affirmative," 10 Maii. 1844 (563)

² "Traité des Indulgences," Seconde Partie, chap. i., ques. i.

³ "Manuel des Principales Dévotions et Confréries, &c." Part. ii., chap. i., § 10, p. 60.

⁴ Tom. ii. pp. 173 174.

Pontiffs is, "Stylus declarat mentem Papae et ab ipso stylo rescripta Papae recipiunt interpretationem;" which means, that we are to suppose the presence of these clauses usually inserted, unless it is expressly stated that by their omission it is intended to exclude their application in any particular instance.

Finally, Father Maurel, whose book has also been approved by the Congregation of Indulgences, writes:—

"The Mass must be said for the deceased person to whom the indulgence is to be applied, because the indulgence is attainable and applicable only through the celebration of Mass; neither can the indulgence be applied to one soul and the Mass to another, as is evident from the Papal Indults. The Substitute of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences assured me of the truth of this conclusion in October, 1868."¹

On the other hand the older theologians² and rubricists held that the Mass and the indulgence of the Privileged Altar are not always inseparable in their application: that, in fact, they are inseparable only when the clause quoted above, or a similar one, is found in the Indult. When this clause is not in the Indult, the Mass may be applied to one and the indulgence to another. And they reason thus: In this case the celebration of Mass is required only as a condition for gaining the indulgence. Now when a certain work is ordered as a condition for an indulgence, the work is not prescribed as satisfactory (unless the contrary is expressly stated) but only as a good and pious work, contributing to the worship of God and the advantage of the person who performs it. In other words, it need not be applied as a satisfactory work to him for whom we wish to secure the indulgence.

This view of the question seems to be accepted and approved by the following decree of the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences. Though it is of considerable length, we do not hesitate to give it in full, as it is not only a decision, but also an admirable exposition of the question.

"Beatissime Pater, Augustus Daniel, Vice-parochus de S. Exupere Dioecesis Tolosanae, humiliter proponit casum infra-scriptum: An quando requiritur sacrificium Missae pro indulgentia lucranda, Missa possit offerri pro uno et indulgentia applicari pro altero?"

¹ "The Christian instructed in the Nature and Use of Indulgences." Translated by Rev. P. Costello, page 291.

² Lugo, *De Sac. Poenit.* Dis. xxvii. n. 78. Suarez, Tom. iv. Dis. liii. §. 4. n. 3. Castro Palao, *Opus Morale*, Tom. iv. Tr. 24. *De Suffragiis Indulgentiis*, §c. x. 9. Cavalieri, Tom. iii. cap. xiv. Dec. xi. 2.

S. Con. Indul. resp. (31 Jan. 1848). "Audito quoque uno ex ejusdem Sac. Congregationis consultoribus respondendum esse censuit :—'communicetur oratori votum consultoris.'

"Votum consultoris: Hanc eandem questionem enucleandam sibi proponit doctissimus P. Joannes Cavallieri, scilicet, an indulgentia et sacrificium dividi queant? Respondit nexum questionis pendere ex verbis indulti. Si indultum cantet: "qui pro defuncto Missam in tali altari dixerit, liberat animam ejus etc.," tunc sacrificium et indulgentia dividi non possunt sed utrumque pro eodem defuncto est applicandum. Pariter si fundator, aut stipem erogans imponat onus celebrandi in altari privilegiato, divisibilitas locum non habet: per impositionem quippe talis oneris censetur etiam voluisse applicationem indulgentiae. Si autem in Indulto omissum fuerit: 'qui pro defuncto etc.,' sed tantum datum fuerit ordinario modo pro altaribus privilegiatis, tunc dividi potest indulgentia, scilicet, offerri sacrificium pro uno, et indulgentia applicari pro altero. Sic sacerdos onus habens sacrificandi, sed non in altari privilegiato, adhibet siquidem obligationem suam per applicationem sacrificii, et liber est quoad obligationem indulgentiae, de qua nequit stipem percipere, quod simoniacum est. Quae solutio et mihi arridet: nam indulgentia etiam pro defunctis est donum ex ecclesiae thesauro depromptum, qui constat ex meritis Christi, Beatae Mariae Virginis, et aliorum sanctorum; opera vero injuncta sunt conditio solum, sine qua effectum non sortitur indulgentia: ergo aliud est indulgentia, aliud opus injunctum. Porro si applicatio indulgentiae pro solis defunctis concessae necessario conjuncta esset cum applicatione sacrificii. Sacrificium et indulgentia forent unum et idem, ergo sacrificium non esset tantum opus injunctum, nec indulgentia ex ecclesiae thesauro deprompta; sed ex valore infinito ejusdem sacrificii qui certe ecclesiae potestati non subest, sed voluntati Dei finito modo applicantis, atque sacrificium est tantum opus injunctum, et indulgentiae non ex valore, sed fructu sacrificii. Ergo non sunt unum et idem, adeoque sacrificium et indulgentia dividi possunt (saltem dum aliud in Indulto non exprimitur) et consequenter in hac hypothesis sacerdos potest sacrificium offerre pro uno et indulgentiam applicare pro altero. Haec sunt quae sapienti judicio vestro, eminentissimi Patres, subjicienda esse duxi.

"Atque ita S. Cong. resp. die 31, Jan., 1848. (n. 602.)"

3.

The Celebrant need not be a Hebdomadarius for the purpose of gaining this Indulgence.

It is universally admitted by writers on this topic that it is by no means necessary that the celebrant should go to confession the evening before, or the morning of his Mass, or be a Hebdomadarius, in order to be capable of gaining the indulgence of the Privileged Altar. Because a previous

confession has never been mentioned by any of the Sovereign Pontiffs among the conditions of this indulgence, and the Indults do not contain any general clause under which confession is included.¹

4.

The Usual Prayers for the Church are not required.

For the reason just given for not requiring a previous confession as a condition, it seems quite certain that the prayers for the intention of the Pope, so commonly enumerated among the conditions for gaining plenary indulgences, are not necessary in the case of the indulgence of the Privileged Altar.²

5.

Is the Status Gratiae necessary in the Celebrant in order to gain this Indulgence?

This question, whether a celebrant, *peccato mortali inquinatus*, could gain the indulgence of the Privileged Altar, was put to the Congregation of Indulgences.³ The Congregation answered: "*consultant probatos auctores.*"

Now the approved authors are much divided on this point. Some hold that the *status gratiae*, in him who performs the prescribed works, is necessary in every case where one would gain an indulgence, whether for the dead or for the living; others hold that this applies only to indulgences for the living and not to those for the dead; and a third class, while insisting on the *status gratiae* as necessary in the case of those indulgences which are made applicable or transferable from the living to the dead, contend that it is not necessary when the indulgence is granted exclusively and directly to the dead, as in this instance of the indulgence of the Privileged Altar.

The names of greatest repute among those who hold the first opinion are, perhaps, De Lugo,⁴ Amort,⁵ Collet⁶ and

¹ See Bouvier, *Traité des Indul.* 2^{de} Partie, chap. i. ques. 8.

² *Mélanges Théol.*, Tom. ii., p. 200.

³ "Quærit insuper utrum sacerdos Missam dicens peccato mortali inquinatus, sive ad altare privilegiatum in suffragium fidelium defunctorum, sive cum applicatione Indulti altaris privilegiati personalis, revera animam, pro qua sacrificium offert, gaudere faciat etiam gratia altaris privilegiati?"

S. Cong. Indul. resp. "*Consultant probatos auctores.*" 22 Feb., 1847.

⁴ *De Sac. Poenit.* Disp. xxvii. § v. n. 74.

⁵ *De Indul. quest.* xxxii. n. 7.

⁶ *Traité des Indul.* chap. vi. n. 13; also in his *Theology, De Indul.* cap. vi. n. 30.

St. Alphonsus.¹ Here is the argument of De Lugo in his own words:—

“Ratio autem est: quia indulgentia defuncto acquiritur solum indirecte, quatenus opera alicujus viventis eleventur ad majorem valorem satisfactionis ex opere operato;² ad hoc autem necesse est quod ipse operans sit capax illius valoris et fructus; diximus enim hanc elevationem procedere a potestate Pontificis quae per se ordinatur ad utilitatem subditi; ergo potestas illa est ad elevanda opera subditi capacis et potentis frui illo beneficio, quo frui non potest, dum est sine gratia propter incapacitatem subjecti.”

According to St. Alphonsus the living cannot apply an indulgence to the dead, unless they have first made it their own by gaining it for themselves;³ and, of course, to gain an indulgence for oneself, the state of grace is necessary. This argument is plainly irrefragable, if the principle assumed be true; but this principle is denied by the defenders of the opposing opinions. It would seem obvious that it does not apply, at least, to the indulgence of the Privileged Altar which is not procurable by the living.

Amort and Collet argue that the good works prescribed are not a mere condition of the indulgence, but one of the ends why the Church grants so great a favour to the dead, inasmuch as this indulgence brings with it a considerable advantage to the living. Consequently he who performs these works must be, in their opinion, *in statu gratiae* to secure an indulgence for the dead. Moreover, they suppose that the Church joins or adds to the satisfactory efficacy of these good works whatever is necessary to make up the full extent of the indulgence from the *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*; and the Church, they argue, could not intend to join the satisfactions of Christ and his saints to “*opera mortua*,” and much less to a sacrilegious Communion.

1. “Le Pape, en désignant un certain nombre de bonnes œuvres, ne les prescrit pas comme une condition sterile, mais comme un motif, ou si je puis le dire avec les scholastiques, comme un complément de la cause finale, pour laquelle il accorde une des plus grandes grâces qu’il puisse accorder. Or il ne paraît pas qu’une œuvre morte soit capable de produire un effet aussi considérable.”

¹ *Theol. Morale*, Lib. vi. 534, n. 10.

² Inasmuch as the satisfactory efficacy comes from an extrinsic source, namely, the *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*.

³ “Et haec verior mihi videtur cum Wigandt, quia nemo potest alteri applicare indulgentiam, nisi prius eam fecerit suam.” *Sac. Poenit.*, Lib. vi., tract. iv., 534, n. 10.

2. " L'Eglise, en accordant une indulgence pour les morts, offre à Dieu un paiement precatoire, et elle joint ses propres merites aux prières de celui qui veut gagner indulgence pour les defunts. Or, il ne conviendrait pas que l'Eglise, pour delivrer une âme de la peine, joignit ses merites à des œuvres mortes ; et il est encore moins probable, continue Amort, qu'elle voulut les unir à une communion sacrilège."—Collet. *Traité des Indulg.*, chap. vi.

In reply to these arguments it is said, that these intentions of the Church in granting indulgences for the dead, are supposed, but not proved by reference to any decree or declaration of a Sovereign Pontiff. They are, in fact, not admitted to exist by the advocates of the other opinion.

Suarez,¹ Diana,² Ferraris,³ and Bonacina,⁴ may be considered the leaders of those who teach that the *status gratiae* is not necessary to gain an indulgence for the dead. They argue thus :—The *status gratiae* is necessary only because no one who is in mortal sin can receive the benefit of an indulgence, that is to say, it is necessary *tanquam removens prohibens*, to remove the obstacles to the effects of an indulgence. Now, in gaining indulgences for the dead, he who performs the works prescribed is not the person to whom the indulgence with its effects is applied, but the soul in purgatory. Consequently, according to these writers, it is in no way more necessary that the living person should be *in statu gratiae* when he is performing the last of the prescribed works, than when he was performing the first of them.

Of course, these theologians deny what is advanced by the others, namely, that the living must themselves gain the indulgence before they can apply it to the dead. They also insist that the satisfactions offered in the indulgence are taken wholly from the *Thesaurus Ecclesiae*.

¹ Tom. iv. 3^{ia} pars. Disp. liii. s. iv. n. 6.

² *Resolutiones Morales*. Tom. iv., Tr. i. Resolut. 4, § 5.

³ *Bibliotheca Canonica*. "Indulgentia," Art. iii., n. 21.

⁴ *De Indulgentiis*. Disp. vi. quest. i., n. 11, where he writes as follows :—"Qui vero facit opus ad consequendam indulgentiam pro defuncto non est necesse ut sit in gratia, quamvis existens in peccato mortali non possit suis operibus satisfacere per se, aut pro alio ; nihilominus potest indulgentiam pro defuncto lucrari, si faciat opus praescriptum ad obtinendam indulgentiam pro defuncto ; tunc enim ipse non dicitur satisfacere sed facere opus, quo posito, Summus Pontifex applicat defuncto indulgentiam, id est, satisfactionem Christi et sanctorum ; nam indulgentia habet suam valorem ex opere operato et non dependet a gratia illius qui pro defuncto indulgentiam lucratur."

The middle course is defended chiefly by Gobat¹ and Reginaldus.² They say that the *status gratiae* is necessary for the living to gain those indulgences which are made applicable to the dead; such, for instance, as the indulgences attached to the prayers and pious works enumerated in the *Raccolta*. Because in all such cases the living transfer the indulgences—which are primarily granted to themselves—to the dead. The indulgences are applicable only through the living; that is, the Pope allows the living to present their own indulgence to the dead. His first and chief intention is to require purity of soul in the living, in order that they should reap the fruit of the indulgence; and the application or transfer of this fruit to the dead is only a secondary and accessory object. This teaching receives considerable support from a letter of Pope Leo X., in which, when explaining the nature of indulgences made applicable to the dead, he uses the word *transfere*, which imports the gaining of the indulgence by the living and the transfer of it by them to the dead. Consequently, in all such cases the living must be *in statu gratiae*.

But the indulgence of the Privileged Altar is not of this character. It is special, for here the indulgence is not procurable by the living; they do not *transfer* it to the dead, for it is an indulgence granted exclusively to the dead on certain conditions to be complied with by the living. On this account the writers who follow this middle course hold, that the celebrant need not be *in statu gratiae* to gain the indulgence of the Privileged Altar, but that it is necessary in all other cases where the indulgence is made applicable or transferable to the dead.

R. B.

¹ "Posset autem sic distingui: Aut enim illam ipsam indulgentiam, quam tibi applicare poteras, applicas defuncto, et tunc suppetit major ratio dicendi requiri statum gratiae, nam *accessorium naturam sequi congruit principalis*. Es autem in praedicto casu principalis, et primarius indulgentiae participator; sicut ergo requiritur in te status gratiae ut illam indulgentiam tibi ipsi fructuose applies, ita probabiliter etiam requiritur ut eandem alteri accessorie applies. Aut illam indulgentiam, quam tibi non poteras applicare, applicas defuncto; et tunc non adest tanta ratio exigendi statum gratiae; nam in tali casu non videtur magis in te requiri gratia, quam requiritur in tuo famulo dante ex tuo jussu eleemosynam, pro indulgentia tibi comparanda." GORAT. *De Indul.* Tract. iv. Part ii. cap. xxiii. n. 491.

² *Praxis Fori Poenitentialis*. Lib. viii. n. 195.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

WE had hoped to be able to publish a reply to the third and last of the questions proposed under the head of Matrimonial Dispensations in the May number of the RECORD.

This reply, together with replies to various questions which have reached us, we are compelled, through pressure on our space, to hold over for future numbers. We select two questions out of many for present solution, because very brief answers will suffice for these.

1. Is it necessary for the validity of a matrimonial dispensation that the application should be made *in writing* to the Bishop who is to grant the dispensation? A SUBSCRIBER.

We cannot give a shorter or more satisfactory reply than by adopting the words of an eminent Canonist, Reiffenstuel.

“Omnino *suadet*ur, ut dispensatio, etiam pro foro interno, non nisi *scriptis*. . . ad præcedentem supplicationem *in scriptis* debite formatam, et oblatam ab Episcopo fiat, quia agitur de valore Sacramenti, qui a valore dispensationis dependet. . . Ratio est, quia periculosum est dispensationem concedere, nisi casus et preces bene perpendantur, iisque justis repertis, dispensationi clausulæ debitæ apponantur; atqui neutrum horum *commode* fieri potest, si oretenus tantum, et non in scriptis supplicatur et dispensatur.” (*App.* § 10, n. 511, 524.)

2. Please mention the Fridays throughout the year on which eggs may not be used at dinner? Mc.

The following reply was granted to the application made by the Irish Bishops, assembled at the Synod of Maynooth, regarding the use of eggs on Fridays:

2. “Quoad usum ovorum diebus jejunii occurrentibus Feria VI. Supplicandum Smo. pro gratia exceptis tamen præter Feriam VI. majoris hebdomadae, vigiliis Nativitatis D.N.J.C., Assumptionis B.M. Virginis, Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac Omnium Sanctorum, quando incidunt in dicta feria.”

Our correspondent will see from this concession that, besides Good Friday, there are only four Fridays excepted, namely those Fridays on which the Vigil of Christmas, the Vigil of the Assumption, the Vigil of the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul, or the Vigil of the Feast of All Saints, happens to fall.—ED. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

BISHOP'S HOUSE, MONAGHAN,
17th June, 1881.

DEAR AND VERY REV. SIR—I cannot but feel grateful for the kindly treatment shown to my last communication, written more in the spirit of inquiry than anything else. I thankfully acknowledge, too, that you have thrown a great deal of light on the subject under discussion. When a dispensation is sought for in a diriment impediment, common to two parties wishing to get married, and belonging to different dioceses, it would appear that, if the dispensation be obtained from Rome, the document conveying it is usually directed to the Ordinary of the *sponsa*. This I believe to be the style of the Roman Curia, and I grant, as a natural inference, that the application to Rome should ordinarily come from the side of the *sponsa*. But I have not spoken about Roman dispensations. When the dispensation is to be obtained from the Bishop of one of the parties,¹ I admit, that in some countries, notably in certain parts of France, the practice is to seek it from the Bishop of the *sponsa*, and, certainly, I shall not pronounce such a custom to be illegitimate or unreasonable. What I did intend to advance is, that I believed a different practice to exist in this part of Ireland, and that our manner of proceeding had something to say for its reasonableness.

For the existence of the practice I refer to, I am authorised to quote the testimony of other Bishops as well as myself. My own experience, as a Bishop, cannot be said to extend very far, either as to time or space. I have been giving, however, from time to time, dispensations in diriment impediments to *sponsi* going to contract marriage in neighbouring dioceses, and have seen dispensations brought by *sponsi* coming from other dioceses to contract marriage amongst us. As regards the Banns, it is a matter of every-day occurrence to give licences to *sponsi* leaving this diocese for marriage elsewhere, and to receive licences brought by *sponsi* coming from other dioceses to contract marriage in this. Inside this diocese, when the parties belong to different parishes, the practice has long been that, if the Banns are to be dispensed in, the *sponsus* procures the licence, and presents it to the *Parochus* of the *sponsa*, before the marriage ceremony. I can testify that this

¹ Of course, I speak of the Ordinary dispensations granted by delegated authority, in the commonly occurring *relative* impediments, as to which it is no longer doubtful that a dispensation from the Bishop of either party would be sufficient.

discipline obtained when I was officiating as a parish priest, in the episcopacy of my venerable predecessor.

According to the received principles of social life, amongst us, it would be regarded as unseemly, that the *sponsa*, or her representatives, should make any prominent movement in furtherance of the marriage. The initiative in the match-making, and the active prosecution of the matrimonial negotiations are held, by common accord, to be the business of the *sponsus*; and, except in rare cases, the attitude of the *sponsa* is expected to be one of passive retirement. Hence, in this province, where, by a common understanding among the Bishops, one dispensation in the Banns is accepted as sufficient for both parties, the licence is commonly sought for by the *sponsus*, when the parties belong either to different dioceses, or to different parishes of the same diocese; and in the former case, it is sought from the Bishop of the *sponsus*, or his delegate. He, however, cannot grant the licence without having first taken pains to ascertain that the ground is clear from all diriment and prohibent impediments. Moreover, the *sponsus*, in such a case, brings with him, from his *Parochus*, a certificate of freedom; not merely his general freedom to marry, but his freedom to marry the *sponsa*, in particular. This certificate his *Parochus* cannot give before inquiring strictly into the circumstances, and ascertaining that a dispensation has been already obtained in all diriment or prohibent impediments standing in the way of the marriage, and removable by dispensation. I have been told that, in certain parts of Ireland, a different system prevails, and that, there, the *parochus sponsae* busies himself in the removal of all impediments and obstacles to the marriage. I have also heard of other peculiarities of custom connected with marriage in those quarters, which might go far to account for this difference.

As to the style of the Roman Curia, I conceive that it has little to say, one way or the other, to the present controversy. The two points or parties being, as it were, practically equidistant from Rome, it is natural that the Roman document should be despatched to the diocese where it is to be executed or acted on. This being so, if the application to Rome did not come from the Ordinary of the *sponsa*, there would be a triangular process, likely to be attended with misunderstandings and confusion. Yet it is somewhat remarkable that Feije, whom you quote, is almost the only writer who expressly prescribes that the dispensation is to be asked from Rome by the Bishop of the *sponsa*. No doubt, the *parochus sponsae* is bound, as you say, before assisting at the marriage, to make himself sure that all impediments have been removed. This, according to our practice, he ascertains, besides the exercise of his own discretion, from the licence and the certificate which the *sponsus* brings with him from his own *Parochus*. No doubt, as you also say, many of the motives, commonly put forward to obtain a dispensation, come from the side of the *sponsa*.

Most of the motives, however, even those derived from the *sponsa*, may be stated equally well by the *sponsus*: and there are motives which may be stated by the *sponsus* with more becomingness and far less difficulty than by the *sponsa*, or any person on her behalf.

After weighing all this, I hope you will concede that something may be said in support of the practice which obtains in this part of the country, and that it is putting the matter rather strongly to lay down without any qualification, and, when treating distinctly of Irish matrimonial discipline, that in the class of cases referred to, "a legitimate and reasonable custom has determined that the dispensation should be obtained from the Bishop of the *sponsa*." For my own part, I shall consider it a gain if this discussion have the effect of attracting attention to the subject, towards bringing about, perhaps, a uniformity of practice, either in accordance with the custom which I believe to exist in this province, or with the custom which exists in some other parts of Ireland, and which, as I freely admit, has a good deal to say in its defence.

I am, dear and Very Rev. Sir, faithfully yours,

✠ JAMES DONNELLY.

[We should find it very difficult indeed to express dissent from any views put forward by so learned and courteous a correspondent as the venerated Bishop of Clogher undoubtedly is. In the present instance there is, happily, but little danger of a conflict of opinions.]

Our esteemed correspondent confines his attention to the custom which prevails over a considerable portion of Ireland. For the reasonableness of this custom he advances all the arguments from which it is capable of receiving support or recommendation. Our remarks, on the other hand, referred to a different custom which is observed over a still larger portion of the country, and which seemed to us to be more in conformity with the practice of the Roman Curia and with the general principles of Canon Law regarding Matrimonial Dispensations.

But where the affirmation and negation do not regard the selfsame statement, the logicians tell us, there can be no real contradiction.

We heartily concur with his Lordship in wishing that this correspondence may be the occasion of directing attention to the subject, and of leading to a uniformity of practice in the manner of obtaining Matrimonial Dispensations.—ED. I. E. R.]

CANON BOURKE AND OUR PRIMITIVE IRISH MONASTIC RULES.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

VERY REV, DEAR SIR—Kindly allow me a little space in the RECORD to give expression to my acknowledgments of the favour which Canon Bourke has done me, in devoting so much of his enlightened attention to my paper on Primitive Irish Monastic Rules, and to add a few words in reply to the arguments he now urges against my views, and in support of his own peculiar opinions on this subject.

He does me the justice of saying, I have found no fault with his dogmatic or moral teaching; I should even feel flattered were he good enough to add, that I sincerely admire such "moral and dogmatic teaching" as "The Life and Labours of St. Augustine" contains. But when he states, as he has done in the last number of the RECORD, that he "fails to find any expression of mine directly opposed to the views on Irish Monasticism," which he has therein advanced, I fear he strains courtesy. He justly states in a *precelling paragraph*, that I considered his views "untenable;" and he remembers, also, that when he represented the faith of our Irish Christian Missionaries as derived from St. Augustine, I directly challenged his historical accuracy. I found it stated at page 29, in the Canon's "Life of St. Augustine," that the monasteries founded by St. Brendan, and the *immediate successors of St. Patrick*, were peopled by priests, who lived under a Uniform Rule—namely, that of the Canons Regular. I cited the "Catalogue of Saints in Ireland," to show that the immediate successors of St. Patrick *did not live* according to a *Uniform Rule*; but "adopted *different* rules of life." This *catalogue* is, as Fleming assures us, taken from "a very ancient and accurate life of St. Patrick." As we find the catalogue quoted by such men as Usher, and the author of the "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," I presume none question its authenticity or authority.

I have shown that many of those saints, whose names, with that of St. Brendan, are given by Canon Bourke, so far from accepting and following St. Augustine's Rule, were themselves the authors of the rules which their disciples followed. Nor was this practice confined to the Patriarchs of Irish Monasticism in the *sixth century*; we see it continued in the seventh century by the holy founder of Raithin and Lismore, while the great Columbanus acted similarly towards the monks of his famous monastery in distant Lombardy. It was continued in the eighth century by St. Maelruain, for his monks at Tallaght. Nor had it fallen entirely into disuse when the learning of Royal Cormac cast an undying lustre on the See of Cashel. Of these rules, many are still extant. I cannot here repeat what I have stated regarding them in a former paper: but I shall quote the words of O'Curry regarding them, MS. materials page 373, "Of these *Irish* rules," O'Curry tells

us, "there are *eight ancient copies in Dublin.*" And he adds that, "of the *authenticity* of those ancient rules, there can be no reasonable doubt; the language, the style, and the matter, are quite in accordance with the times of the authors." As O'Curry is justly styled "one of the greatest Irish scholars and critics," I found myself constrained by the weight of evidence to regard as "untenable" Canon Bourke's views regarding the alleged adoption of the Augustinian Rule by our early Irish Church.

And here I may add, that O'Curry refers only to the Irish rules *still extant*, either entire or in part. He does not refer to the Rule of St. Brendan, of which, unfortunately, there does not appear to be an extant copy. He does not refer to the Rule of St. Molua, referred to by Dr. Moran in his Essays. He does not refer to the famous and well known Rule of Columbanus, of which Montalambert has left us an interesting and scholarly analysis. He does not refer to the Rule of St. Coman, mentioned in the Irish Annals.

Father Hugh Ward, writing in the *seventeenth century*, tells us that there were at least "*twelve great monastic founders in our early Irish Church, each of whom composed a rule for his disciples.*" And he added, that he himself possessed fragments of those ancient rules. Surely, in the face of such incontestable evidence of a *diversity of purely Irish rules* among our monastic founders, Canon Bourke will not persist in asking his readers to believe that St. Patrick's immediate successors *followed the Rule of the Augustinian Canons.*

The reverential fidelity with which the disciples of St. Patrick, and their successors in our primitive Church, clung to the religious discipline and practices introduced by our National Apostle, is well known and universally admitted. I urged that had St. Patrick introduced the Rule of the Canons Regular, it would have been faithfully followed by his disciples and their successors; and the diversity in monastic practices, already abundantly proved to have existed among them, would have been impossible. If Canon Bourke is right in referring to the invasion of Africa by the Vandals as the *cause* of the introduction of the Augustinian Rules to France, St. Martin could not have known them, as he was dead long before that celebrated event had occurred; and Canon Bourke admits that it was from St. Martin our Apostle received the most important share of ecclesiastical training and knowledge. Had this invasion occurred earlier, had the Rule of St. Augustine for his *Canons* been written earlier, then the Canon's theory would be less irreconcilable with history, or with what, with characteristic precision, he terms "*Chronological dates.*" He has not questioned the accuracy of those dates. He is satisfied with pronouncing them "*Chronological puzzles.*" I regret to find they have either confused or "puzzled" the learned and Very Reverend author of St. Augustine's life.

With apparent confidence, Canon Bourke brings forward against all this, the authority of the Augustinian Breviary, and

the alleged *Bull* of St. Pius V., in which the Pontiff is said to have "pronounced St. Patrick to be one of the saints of the Order of Canons Regular of St. Augustine." I think it is to be regretted that the words of this "*Bull*" are not quoted.

The Secular Clergy of Ireland may well be accredited with a profound veneration for their great Apostle; and with a deep desire to ascertain *all authentic* facts connected with his holy life. How comes it that the Office of St. Patrick, read by every Irish priest on the Secular Mission, is silent on the matter; though their Breviary was published by order of the same St. Pius V.? Why is the fact, if fact it be, relegated to the pages of the Augustinian Breviary? But the Canon is not serious in regarding the authority of the Breviary as final, in regard to all historical facts connected with St. Patrick's life. If he consider the authority of the Breviary final as to such facts, how can he declare the place of St. Patrick's birth uncertain, as he reads in the Office of St. Patrick that he was born in Great Britain. . . (*Majori in Britannia natus*). Yet, the authority of the Breviary notwithstanding, he declares the place of St. Patrick's birth *uncertain*; and as every tyro in Irish history knows, the matter has been long a subject of warm controversy. Evidently, therefore, Canon Bourke is not serious, in regarding the authority of the Breviary as important on this matter; and it is a subject of noteworthy significance, that the ablest modern biographers of St. Patrick say not a word either of the alleged *Bull* or the Augustinian Breviary.

Canon Bourke appeals to some famous scholars, among whom is the learned author of the "*Grammatica Celtica*"; but he does not refer his readers to the particular passages in Zeuss which may favour his theory. He seems to trust to the magical influence which their mere names may exercise over his readers' minds.

From the more obscure Thomas De Herrera, however, whom he resuscitates from forgetfulness, he gives numerous quotations in favour of his theory. But from one of those quotations it is plain that De Herrera's great grounds for his opinions, are the authority of the alleged "*Bull*" of St. Pius V., and the authority of the Augustinian Breviary: "*Sufficit pro omnibus unus Romanus Pontifex Pius V. in Bulla approbationis officiorum Ordinis S. Augustini,*" &c., &c., to both of which I have already referred.

A learned member of the Royal Irish Academy, who has himself laboured long in the field of Irish archaeology, should be the last to ignore the vast progress which has been recently made in studies of this kind. It seems like that "critical pedantry," at which O'Curry justly sneers, to accept the authority of Thomas De Herrera, and reject the clear statements of O'Curry, and the other Irish scholars whose opinions I have referred to at considerable length.

I fear some of the Canon's statements and quotations, even those advanced in his letter, in the *RECORD*, do not bear the test of close examination. Harris's "twelve quarto pages," to which he

refers, he seems to value much. Yet though he gives the readers of the "Life of St. Augustine" the benefit of long quotations from those "twelve quarto pages," specifying the dates of the foundations in Ireland of many monasteries of Austin Friars, the dates assigned are not earlier than the thirteenth century. What does that prove regarding St. Patrick and his immediate successors?

Canon Bourke refers to MacGeoghegan in favour of his views, but he does not quote his words. I find that MacGeoghegan, speaking of our primitive Irish Monasteries writes: "In those early ages there were *thirteen orders* or *primitive rules*, namely, those of St. Ailbe," &c., &c. Again writing of the Irish monks of the same period, he says: "It is not easy to decide to what order those monks belonged in the first ages of Christianity. That of St. Benedict and the Regular Canons of St. Augustine, as they are at present, *were not then known*. It is therefore probable that the monks in Ireland had made certain regulations for themselves, or that they had brought the rules of St. Anthony, St. Pacomius, or St. Basil from the Levant."—"History of Ireland," p. 154, Dublin Edition 1844. I would ask the Canon is this in favour of his theory?

He speaks of Dr. Lanigan, whose authority I have quoted, in no measured terms of dispraise. He tells his readers that Dr. Lanigan is *severely censured* by the learned Dr. Kelly of Maynooth, leaving them to infer that his authority is unworthy of credence. Yet, if the reader take up Dr. Kelly's well-known "Dissertations," p. 239, he will find Dr. Kelly quoting Dr. Lanigan against Dr. Mason's attack on the Church of St. Patrick. At page 396 "Dissertations," he speaks of him as *our best historian*, Dr. Lanigan; and in his "Calendar of Irish Saints," he cites his authority in favour of his views not less than sixteen times.

He professes to give the opinion of the learned Bishop of Ossory on the value of Dr. Lanigan's authority, in the following quotation:—

"He abandoned the straight road of facts, and, wishing to establish a favourite theory, he involved in inextricable confusion the necessary labours of St. Patrick."

The quotation is garbled and misleading. What then does Dr. Moran really think of Dr. Lanigan's authority? I give the passage from page 46, Essays, which Canon Bourke misrepresents:

"The most illustrious name on the roll of Ecclesiastical historians of Ireland is that of Rev. John Lanigan. His critical remarks have contributed more than those of any other writer, to illustrate the early life of our Apostle. When fixing St. Patrick's death he abandoned the straight road of facts, and wishing to establish a favourite theory," &c.

Why, I ask, does Canon Bourke misrepresent in such a manner the opinion of a Prelate, which every Irish scholar receives with profound respect? Why is he unjust to the memory of a great man, "the most illustrious name on the roll of Ecclesiastical historians of Ireland?"

I cannot pass away from this subject without adding that the quotation from Father Morris is also misleading, as may be seen by reference to the learned Oratorian's life of St. Patrick, page 4. Dr. Lanigan is there justly censured for "attempting to separate the saint from the man." But even Father Morris is careful to add (quoting Montalambert) that "his history may be consulted with profit." Such are Canon Bourke's quotations.

I may add that Father Morris has done me the honour of addressing to me a letter, dated from the Oratory, on the 8th of April last, in which he does not in the least object to the opinions of Dr. Lanigan, regarding the Canons Regular, which I have referred to. He has the goodness of saying "he was very much interested in my Article."

Canon Burke considers it important that his theory should be studied from some desirable stand point. He objects to the "rere of *vandal hordes!*" He tells us it is not to be studied from "the rocky heights or sandy mounds north of the Loire, as sweet a spot as ever solitary chose." The Canon here gives correctly the words of Dr. Kelly, (see note, p. 244, "Dissertations"), though, doubtless by some oversight, without acknowledgment. Is it because he desires to have the question studied "broadly and openly" that he wishes to lose sight altogether of the place, and its associations, where St. Patrick received his early Ecclesiastical training.

From the reasons advanced in the present letter, and in my former paper, I consider myself amply justified in the views and opinions I have advanced regarding the Monasticism of our Primitive Irish Church, and your readers will not think, I trust, that in upholding those opinions, "I have acted like the heretics in denouncing the teaching of the Catholic Church." Even Canon Bourke may now consider such censure unmerited by me. I have endeavoured to look upon the question "*broadly and openly*," and I will add, in a spirit of candid inquiry. I trust I am not unjust to the fame of great men who have passed away; nor do I misrepresent the opinions and authority of our living scholars.

I feel I should apologize to your readers for this long letter, and yet I have not said a word on the "poetic beauties of alliteration, assonance, and parallelism" of the few hymns, to which Canon Bourke refers, and in which he fondly fancies he finds the true key to the *origin and character* of our early liturgy. As to the questions he proposes, should he do me the favour of again reading my paper with the aid of the additional light now cast on his theory, he shall find the questions already answered.

Disagreeing with Canon Bourke in many things, I agree with him in this, that "common sense and common piety are very necessary even for a learned man." I may be excused for adding that this happy blending of learning and piety is always found associated with true courtesy.

I remain, Very Rev. Dear Sir, yours sincerely,

JEROME A. FAHEY, P.P.

DOCUMENTS.

THE NEW PAPAL CONSTITUTION "ROMANOS PONTIFICES."
(CONTINUED).

HACTENUS de exemptionis privilegio ; nunc de iis quaestionibus dicendum, quibus ministeria quaedam per regulares exercita occasionem praeberunt. Excellit inter haec munus curationis animarum, quod saepe, ut innuimus, religiosi viri demandatur intra fines ab Episcopis praestitos ; locus autem iis finibus comprehensus *missionis* nomine designatur. Jamvero de his missionibus disceptatum fuit, an et quomodo fieri possit ab Episcopis earum divisio, seu, ut dici solet, dismembratio. Nam qui Regularium jura tuebantur, negabant hanc divisionem fieri posse nisi legitimis de causis, adhibitisque juris solemnibus quae praescripta sunt ab Alexandro III.¹ et a Concilio Tridentino.² Alia vero erat Episcoporum opinatio.

Profecto si divisio fiat parociae veri nominis, sive antiquitas conditae, sive recentiore memoria jure constitutae, dubitandum non est quin nefas sit Episcopo canonum praescripta contemnere. At Britannicae missiones generatim in parocias ad juris tramites erectae non sunt : idcirco sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando anno MDCCCLXVI officium applicandi missam pro populo ad Episcopum pertinere censuit, propterea quod dioecesium Britannicarum non ea sit constitutio, ut in veras parocias dispositae sint. Itaque ad divisionem missionis simplicis ea juris solemnia transferenda non sunt, quae super dismembratione parociarum fuerunt constituta : eo vel magis quod propter missionem indolem et peculiare circumstantias, numero plures ac leviores causae possint occurrere, quae istarum divisionem suadeant, quam quae jure definitae sint ut fiat parociarum divisio. Neve quis urgeat similitudinem quam utraque inter se habent ; cum enim obligatio servandi solemnia juris libertatem agendi coerceat, ad similes causas non est pertrahenda. Silentibus itaque hac super re generalibus Ecclesiae legibus, necesse est ut Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis valeat auctoritas, cujus hoc decretum est : " Non obstante rectoris missionarii deputatione, licebit Episcopo de consilio Capituli, intra limites missionis cui praeponitur, novas Ecclesias condere ac portionem districtus iis attribuere, si necessitas aut utilitas populi fidelis id requirat." Quae cum sint ita, ad propositam consultationem respondemus : licere Episcopis missiones dividere, servata forma sancti Concilii Tridentini,³ quoad missiones quae sunt vere proprieque dictae parociae ; quoad reliquas vero, ad formam Synodi I Provincialis Westmonasteriensis.⁴ Quo melius autem missioni, quae dividenda

¹ Cap. ad *audientiam* de Eccles. aedific.

² Sess. 21 cap. 4. de *reform.*

³ Cap. 4 sess. 21 de *reform.*

⁴ De *regimine congregationum* seu *missionum*, n. 5.

sit, ejusque administris prospiciatur, volumus ac praecipimus, ut sententia quoque rectoris exquiratur, quod jam accepimus laudabiliter esse in more positum: quod si a religiosis sodalibus missio administretur, Praefectus Ordinis audiatur; salvo jure appellandi, si res postulet, a decreto episcopali ad Sanctam Sedem *in devoluto* tantum.

Peracta missionis, cui regulares praesint, dismembratione, alia nonnunquam quaestio suboritur: utrum nempe Episcopus in praeficiendo Rectore missioni, quae nova erigitur, ipsos religiosos sodales ceteris debeat praeferre.—Quamvis illi hanc sibi praerogativam adserant, obscurum tamen non est, haud leves exinde secuturas difficultates et offensiones. Ceterum in ea, de qua sermo est, nova erectione necesse est alterutrum contingere: nimirum ut paroecia veri nominis, aut mera missio constituatur. Si primum fieret, per quam alienum esset ab Ecclesiae disciplina e religiosa familia arcessitum parochum praeferre; sic enim jure quod modo viget acentur regulares a parochi munere, ut illud suscepturi venia Apostolica indigeant. Ad rem Benedictus XIV. in Constit. *Cum nuper* VI. idus Novembr. MDCCLII., “Quemadmodum,” inquit, “negari nequit, ex veteri canonum lege, monachos et regulas ecclesiarum parochialium regiminis capaces fuisse, ita certum nunc est ex recentiori canonica disciplina interdictum esse regularibus parochiarum curam adsumere sine dispensatione Apostolica.” Hinc sacrum Concilium Tridentinis decretis interpretandis¹ ad dubium “an annuendum sit precibus Patrum Augustinianorum de nova paroecia iisdem concedenda” rescripsit—negative et amplius.—Sin autem, quod secundo loco posuimus, mera missio erigitur, jus certe non obest religiosis viris ne inter eos eligatur rector; ast ne iis quidem praeferre optantibus suffragatur. Rem itaque integram et in sua potestate positam aggrediens Episcopus, libertate sua utatur oportet; ubi enim jura silent, loco legis est Praesulis auctoritas: praesertim vero quod, ut doctorum fert adagium, Episcopus *intentionem habet in jure fundatam* in rebus omnibus, quae ad dioecesim suam administrandam attinent. Quamobrem praelatio quoad novam missionem, a Regularibus expetita: aut nullo juris subsidio fulcitur, aut in disertam juris dispositionem offendit.

Officium curationis animarum sedulitati Regularium commissum alias etiam dubitationes gignit; eaeque loca spectant finibus comprehensa missionum quae ab ipsis reguntur. Coepit enim ambigi utrum coemeteria et pia loca, intra fines illarum sita, Episcopus visitare possit. Ast in coemeteriis facilis ac prona suppetit distinctionis adeoque finiendae controversiae ratio. Nam si de coemeteriis, agatur quae solis religiosis familiis reservantur, ea plane ab Episcopi jurisdictione, proindeque a visitatione exempta sunt; cetera vero fidelium multitudini communia, quum uno ordine

¹ In Januën. *dismembrationis* xxv. Janu. MDCCCLXXIX.

haberi debeant cum coemeteriis paroecialibus, jurisdictioni Ordinariorum subsunt indubitate, ac propterea optimo jure ab Episcopo visitantur, quemadmodum statuit Benedictus XIV. in Constit. *Firmandus* viii. Idus Novembris MDCCXLIV. Haud absimili distinctione de locis piis quaestio dirimitur, ea secernendo quae exempta sunt ab iis quibus praeest Episcopus sive ordinario jure, sive delegato. De utrisque igitur, tum coemeteriis tum piis locis, sententiam Nostram paucis complectimur pronunciantes : sacrorum canonum et constitutionum Apostolicarum praescripta esse servanda.

Superioribus dubiis arcto jungitur nexu illud quo quaeritur an Episcopis subesse debeant scholae pauperum, quae *elementares*, etiam *primariae*, *puerorum* nuncupantur ; est enim sanctissimum docendi ministerium, et proximum piis locis ordinem tenent scholae de quibus agendum est. Quo illae pertineant ex ipso nomine dignoscitur ; intendunt nimirum ad puerilem aetatem primis litterarum elementis primisque fidei veritatibus, ac morum praeceptis apte instituendam : quae quidem institutio omnibus est temporibus, locis et vitae generibus necessaria, ac multum habet momenti ad universae societatis humanae nedum singulorum hominum incolumitatem ; ex puerili enim institutione pendet, ut plurimum, qua quis ratione sit reliquae aetatis spatium acturus. Itaque quid a docentibus eo loci praecipue praestandum sit, sapienter Pius IX. significavit scribens, “ In hisce potissimum scholis omnes cujus-
“ que e populo classis pueri vel a teneris annis sanctissimae
“ nostrae religionis mysteriis ac praeceptionibus sedulo sunt
“ erudiendi et ad pietatem morumque honestatem. et ad religionem
“ civilemque vivendi rationem accurate formandi, atque in iisdem
“ scholis religiosa praesertim doctrina ita primarium in institutione
“ et educatione locum habere ac dominari debet, ut aliorum cog-
“ nitionis, quibus juvenus ibi imbuatur, adventitiae appareant.”¹
Nemo exhinc non intelligit istam puerorum institutionem in Episcoporum officiis esse ponendam, et scholas, de quibus agitur, tam in urbibus frequentissimis, quam in pagis exiguis inter opera contineri quae ad rem dioecesanam maxime pertinent.

Insuper quod ratio suadet lux historiae confirmat. Nullum quippe fuit tempus quo singularis non eluxerit Conciliorum cura in hujusmodi scholis ordinandis ac tuendis, pro quibus plura sapienter constituerunt. Eorum nempe decretis prospectum est ut illas Episcopi in oppidis et pagis restitui et augeri curarent,² puerique ad discendum admitterentur, qualibet, si fieri posset, impensa³ remissa. Eorundem auctoritate dictae leges, quibus alumni religioni ac pietati operam darent,⁴ definitae dotes et ornamenta

¹ Epist. ad Archiep. Friburg. *Cum non sine maxima* xiv. Julii MDCCCLXIV., *Acta*, vol. 3.

² Synod. I. Provincial. Camerac. tit. *de scholis*, cap. 1.—Synod. Provinc. Mechlin. tit. *de scholis*, cap. 2.

³ Synod. Namurcen. an. 1604, tit. 2, cap. 1.

⁴ Synod. Antuerpien. sub Mireo, tit. 9, cap. 3.

animi, quibus magistros praeditos esse oporteret,¹ iisque imperatum, uti jurarent juxta formulam catholicae professionis:² demum scholarum curatores constituti qui eas adirent, ac circumspicerent ne quid inesset vitii aut incommodi, neve quid omitteretur ex iis rebus, quas de illarum disciplina leges dioecesanæ sanxissent.³ Ad haec, quum Patres Conciliorum probe intelligerent parochos etiam pastoralis ministerii compotes esse; partes haud exiguas iisdem tribuerunt in scholis puerorum, quarum cura cum animarum curatione summa necessitate jungitur. Placuit igitur in singulis paroeciis pueriles scholas constitui,⁴ quibus nomen est *parochialibus* impositum;⁵ jussi sunt parochi munus docendi suscipere, sibi quae adjutricem operam magistrorum et magistrarum adsciscere:⁶ iisdem negotium datum scholas regendi et curandi diligentissime:⁷ quae omnia si non ex fide integreque gesserint, officium deseruisse arguuntur,⁸ dignique habentur in quos Episcopus animadvertat.⁹ In unum ergo collineant argumenta ex ratione et factis petita ut scholae, quas pauperum vocant, institutis dioecesanis et paroecialibus praecipuo jure adnumerandae sint; eaque de causa Britannorum Episcopi ad hanc usque aetatem in missionibus tam saecularibus quam regularibus easdem pro potestate sua visitare consueverunt. Quod et Nos probantes declaramus: Episcopos jus habere quoad omnia visitendi hujusmodi scholas pauperum in missionibus et paroeciis regularibus aequae ac in saecularibus.

Alia profecta causa est ceterarum scholarum et collegiorum, in quibus religiosi viri secundum ordinis sui praescripta juventuti catholicae instituendae operam dare solent; in hisce enim et ratio postulat, et Nos volumus firma atque integra privilegia manere quae illis ab Apostolica Sede collata sunt, prout aperte est declaratum anno MDCCCLXXIV a sacro Consilio christiano nomini propagando, quum acta expenderentur Concilii Provincialis Westmonasteriensis iv.¹⁰

Quum res in vado sit quod ad scholas attinet et collegia regularium jam constituta, adhuc tamen est in ancipiti, si de novis

¹ Synod. Cameracen. an. 1550.

² Synod. I. Provinc. Mechlinien. tit. 1, cap. 3.

³ Synod. II. Provinc. Mechlinien. tit. 20, cap. 4.—Synod. Provin. Pragae. an. 1860, tit. 2, cap. 7.

⁴ Synod. Valens. an. 529, can. 1.—Synod. Nannet. relat. in cap. 3, *de vit. et hon. clericor.*—Synod. Burdigal. an. 1583. tit. 27.

⁵ Synod. I. Provinc. Mechlin. tit. *de scholis*, cap. 2.—Synod. Provinc. Colocen. an. 1863, tit. 6.—Synod. Provin. apud Maynooth, anno 1875.

⁶ Synod. Nannet. sup. cit.—Synod. Antwerp. sup. cit.—Synod. Prov. Burdig. an. 1850, tit. 6, cap. 3.

⁷ Synod. Prov. Vienn. ann. 1858, tit. 6, cap. 8.—Synod. Prov. Ultraiect. an. 1865, tit. 3, cap. 2.

⁸ Synod. Prov. Colocen. an. 1863, tit. 6, cap. 5.—Synod. Prov. Colonien. an. 1860, tit. 2, cap. 23.—Synod. Prov. Ultraiect. an. 1863. tit. 9, cap. 5.

⁹ Synod. I. Provinc. Cameracen, tit. *de scholis*, cap. 2.

¹⁰ Decret. 26.

erigendis agatur. De his enim quaeritur; an et cujus superioris venia sit impetranda? Porro cum latius ea dubitatio pateat et ecclesiarum quoque ac coenobiorum erectionem pertingat, omnia haec unius quaestionis et iudicii terminis complectimur. Atque hic primo occurrunt Decretales veteres, quibus est cautum ne quid huiusmodi quisquam institueret absque Sedis Apostolicae licentia speciali.¹ Postmodum Tridentina Synodus in eodem genere quidquam operum fieri prohibuit "sine Episcopi, in cujus dioecesi" erigenda sunt, licentia prius obtenta:"² quo tamen Concilii decreto haud est superioribus legibus derogatum, veniam ab Apostolica Sede impetrari iubentibus. Quapropter cum ea in re liberius passim ageretur, Urbanus VIII.³ pravam consuetudinem emendaturus, opera ejusmodi improbavit tam quae sine venia Episcopi, quam quae sola illius auctoritate susciperentur, et veterum canonum simul Conciliique Tridentini leges omnino in posterum servari decrevit. Huc etiam spectavit Innocentius X. in Constitut. *Instaurandae* Idibus Octobris MDCIII., qua praecepit ut nemo ex familiis regularibus "domos vel loca quaecumque de" "novo recipere vel fundare praesumat absque Sedis Apostolicae" "licentia speciali." Quare communis hodie sententia est, cui favet passim rerum judicatarum auctoritas, non licere regularibus; tam intra quam extra Italiam, nova monasteria aut conventus sive collegia fundare, sola Episcopi venia impetrata, sed indultam quoque a Sede Apostolica facultatem requiri.⁴ Iisdem insistens vestigiis sacrum Consilium christiano nomini propagando pluries decrevit, veniam Apostolicae Sedis et Episcopi aut Vicarii Apostolici ecclesiis collegiisque erigendis, etiam in missionibus, ubi religiosi sodales domos sedesque habeant, esse omnino necessariam.⁵ His ergo de causis ad propositum dubium respondemus: sodalibus religiosius novas sibi sedes constituere, erigendo novas ecclesias, aperiendove coenobia, collegia, scholas, nisi obtenta prius expressa licentia Ordinarii loci et Sedis Apostolicae, non licere.

Fieri solet utique subtilior inquisitio, an duplex ea venia sit impetranda, si non prosus novum opus regularis familia moliatur; sed ea quae sunt instituta velit in alios usus convertere. Verum neque obscura, neque anceps erit futura responsio, si varios, qui accidere possunt, casus distinguamus. Initio enim quis serio dubitet, an ea quae pietatis religionisque causa instituta sunt, liceat in usus a religione et pietate alienos convertere? Restat itaque ut de tribus hisce dumtaxat quaeratur, utrum nempe liceat

¹ Cap. Religiosorum § *confirmatus de relig. domib.* et cap. *Ex eo de excess. praelat.* in 6.

² Concil. Trident. sess. 25. cap. 3 *de Regular.*

³ Constit. *Romanus Pontifex* xiii. kalen. Septembris 1624.

⁴ Bened. XIV. *Synod. dioecesis* lib. 9. cap. 1. num. 9.—Monacelli. *formula legal.* part 1, tit. 6, form 19, num. 31.

⁵ Sac. Congreg. de Prop. Fide in coetibus habitis diebus 22 Mart. 1669; 3 Nov. 1688, 1704, 1768; 23 Aug. 1858; 30 Maii 1864; 17 Julii 1865.

dimovere de loco instituta alioque transferre: aut immutare in usum consentaneum qualis esset si schola in ecclesiam, coenobium in collegium, in domum pupillis aegrotisque recipiendis, vel vicissim mutaretur; aut demum, priore usu retento, novam causam sive usum inducere. Jam vero quominus duo illa prima, privata ipsorum auctoritate, religiosi sodales efficiant, obstat decretum Bonifacii VIII., qui eos vetuit "ad habitandum domos vel loca "quaecumque de novo recipere, seu hactenus recepta mutare." Rursus qui fieri potest ex duobus illis alterutrum, nisi res recidat in foundationem novam "Monasteriorum, Collegiorum, domorum, "conventuum et aliorum Regularium locorum hujusmodi?" Atqui id perferri prohibuit Urbanus VIII., per constitutionem *Romanus Pontifex*, "servata in omnibus et per omnia sacrorum canonum et Concilii Tridentini forma." Sic unum superest de quo contendatur; num priore usu retento, nova causa vel usus adjici valeat. Tunc autem pressius rem urgere oportet et accurate dispicere, utrum ea inductio alterius usus ad interiorum administrationem, disciplinamque domesticam spectet, velut si tirocinium aut collegium studiorum causa junioribus sodalibus in coenobio constituantur; an fines interioris administrationis sit excessura, puta si inibi schola fiat aut collegium quod pateat etiam alienis. Plane si dictos fines excesserit, res redit ad alterutram illarum, quae a Bonifacio VIII. et Urbano VIII. fieri pro lubito, ceu diximus, prohibentur. Sin autem intra limites domesticae disciplinae mutatio contineatur, suo certe jure Regulares utentur, nisi forte leges foundationis obsistant. Ex quibus singillatim perpensis manifesto colligitur: Religiosis sodalibus non licere ea quae instituta sunt, in alios usus convertere absque expressa licentia Sedis Apostolicae et Ordinarii loci, nisi agatur de conversione, quae, salvis foundationis legibus, referatur dumtaxat ad internum regimen et disciplinam regularem.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

History of the Holy Eucharist in Great Britain. By the Rev. T. E. BRIDGETT. London: Keegan Paul & Co.

Father Bridgett's new work belongs to a department of literature which has not been so well occupied as it deserves to be. Just as the history of nations depends on the completeness of their local annals, so the history of the Church would be better understood if her influence were more fully brought out in detail. Much has, no doubt, been done in this direction. The career of many of the great Religious Orders, like the Benedictines and Franciscans, has been very amply unfolded. The Jesuits have laid posterity under one of its deepest obligations by

¹ Cap. *Cum ex eo* de excess. praelat. in 6.

their labours on the whole company of the saints. National churches, dioceses, and abbeys, have here and there been described with a minuteness that leaves little to be desired. But the treatment of particular doctrines, in a separate form, has not received equal attention; though there seems to be no reason why they should not be considered apart historically as well as in a theological point of view. And, if this be true *a priori*, the necessity has become greater from the modern tendency to impugn the truths of religion, mainly upon historical grounds. Protestantism, from the days of the Centuriators has rested principally upon a series of wild, but well-contrived fictions, and has received its most telling blows from their gradual exposure. Such a work as Father Bridgett's, which brings a Protestant people face to face with the faith and practices of their Catholic forefathers, must dispel many a cherished delusion.

Father Bridgett has already done good service by tracing devotion to the Mother of God through the annals of English life. In the present work, he does the same office for the great central doctrine of the Holy Eucharist. After a careful perusal of his interesting volumes, we believe his object to have been twofold. In the first place, he intended to show, by a careful examination of the *Miturgy*, language, and practices of the British Churches, that the views, whether of High Church or Low Church Anglicans, have no historical basis. In the second place, he proposed to himself to give such a detail of local customs, ritual observances, and saintly reverence for the great mysteries of the Holy Eucharist as would be at once instructive and edifying for Catholics themselves. Under both aspects, Father Bridgett's work is a great success. It is a masterly exposition of the unbroken unity of faith in the Catholic doctrine of the Real Presence from the dawn of British Christianity down to the sixteenth century. From the canons of Councils, monastic chronicles, and bequests of kings and nobles, he has shown that the belief in the Real Presence was the very life of the English people as long as that people was true to its ancient traditions. He has pressed into his service all the evidence that various reading could supply. Not only does he cite formal pronouncements of prelates and synods, and the hymns and homilies of popular devotion, but he lays under contribution all the treasures of mediæval literature. Nor, with one exception, does he seem to have been less happy in the use he makes of his information than in its selection and variety. He appears to us to have been tempted too far in his anxiety to disprove the supposed diversity between the early British Churches and the Church founded by St. Augustine. For his purposes, it was scarcely necessary to enter upon the general identity between them, and to prove at such length, as he does, that the differences between them were merely differences of discipline. But, on the other hand, we are bound to acknowledge that we have rarely seen the efforts of

Protestant writers to establish the independence of the Churches of Scotland and Wales more fully refuted. We could, indeed, give no better specimen of Father Bridgett's style of reasoning, than the following summary of Protestant inconsistency upon this vital point :—

“ Prejudices have here placed Protestants in a curious dilemma. If they maintain the original independence and the long separation of the British Church from Rome, they must grant the Apostolic origin of many doctrines and practices which they usually attribute to the corrupting influence of Rome, and which are yet found equally developed in the British Church. If they prefer to attribute the presence of these doctrines to Romish corruption, they must renounce their theory of British independence and opposition. But it is idle, as some do, to hold both these theories at once. Dr. Boulton in one place speaks of ‘ corruption in government, in faith, in doctrine, which under papal leadership affected the whole Church.’ But, in another place, anxious to underrate the debt which England owes to Rome, he says: ‘ The British Church, which survived at the end of the sixth century in the west of the island, and the Celtic Christianity of Scotland, which spread so rapidly southward, owed nothing to Rome, as far as authentic history can acknowledge. The Christianising work of the Roman mission has been shown to have been very limited in its effective results.’ So, then, according to this historian, Rome did very little good to England, because its range of influence was very restricted ; but it did a great deal of harm, since its power of influence was very great. It could not subdue the pagan Anglo-Saxons. That was the work of a purer Church, which knew not Rome. Yet it ultimately seduced both Celts and Saxons ! ”

Father Bridgett is much more within the lines he has marked out for himself, in disposing of the common Protestant view, that the errors of Berengarius were anticipated in the English Church. The fiction began appropriately with Parker and Foxe, and has been endorsed by a host of Protestant writers. It is based upon the doubtful language of a single homilist, named Aelfric, who has, however, according to the rule in these cases, been represented as the exponent of his age. We cannot hope that we have heard the last of Aelfric, but no candid Protestant could read Father Bridgett, and reproduce a calumny so utterly unfounded.

But it is under its second and less controversial aspect that we regard Father Bridgett's work as especially valuable. We, in Ireland, are not directly engaged in meeting Anglican difficulties, though we cannot be indifferent to movements which have brought so many trained intellects into the Church and have had such a large influence on our age. Nor is it less interesting to us than to English Catholics to get such an account as Father Bridgett gives us of the logical power displayed by Lanfranc and St. Anselm in

exposing the fallacies of the first great heresy upon the Holy Eucharist. But still our great interest in Father Bridgett's volumes is in what some of his readers might regard as of secondary importance. Father Bridgett's "History" is a perfect storehouse of all the usages, general and local, connected with the ritual of the Holy Eucharist. The time and frequency of celebration, infant Communion, the reservation of the Blessed Sacrament, the withholding of the Chalice, the bidding prayers, the admission of freedmen to the priesthood, are described with unequalled fulness, and much grace, and beauty of style. Nor, is it a small merit in our eyes that it is incidentally a perfect glossary of terms which occur frequently in later literature, and either convey no meaning, or a false one to modern readers. In the line in Hamlet:—

"Unhousel'd, disappointed, unaneled."

"Unhousel'd" would probably not be understood by many casual readers to mean death without the "viaticum." Again many of the dramatists use the term "mass-priest," and most of us would lightly infer that it was an offensive epithet. In reality "preost" (priest) was once a general name for every cleric, and "moesse preost" (mass-priest) was used "when the grade of priesthood was specially designated." In connection with his quotations from early English poems we would suggest, in parting with our brief notice of this valuable book, that Father Bridgett should in the next edition append modernized renderings of the ancient text. We trust his "History" will go through many editions, and it seems to us to deserve every advantage it can derive from careful editing. J. E.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From GILL & SON—

Poems for Children. By Sister MARY ALPHONSUS DOWLING.

Rules of the Associates of the Holy Angels.

The Fireside Story of Ireland. By DION BOUCICAULT.

Catechism of First Confession.

For Ireland: A Discourse delivered by Rev. P. MONTSABRE;

Translated by J. P. LEONARD.

De Sanctorum Veneratione et de Impedimentis Matrimonii. By Very Rev. P. MURRAY, D.D.

From BROWNE & NOLAN—

A Popular Exposition of the Irish Land Bill of 1881. By a Member of the Statistical Society of Ireland.

From BURNS & OATES—

May Carols. By AUBREY DE VERE.

Life and Letters of St. Teresa. Quarterly Series. By Rev. H. J. COLERIDGE, S.J.

The Excellencies of the Oratory of St. Philip Neri. Translated from the Italian, and abridged by FREDERICK IGNATIUS AUTROBUS, of the same Congregation.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

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THIRD SERIES.—VOL. II., No. 8. - - - AUGUST, 1881.

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Nihil Obstat.

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LEAVES FROM THE NOTE-BOOK OF A TOURIST IN SPAIN, 1881.

TO us, inhabitants of the Green Isle, a tour in Spain may be regarded as a serious undertaking, for before we can set foot on that historic land, we must make, if not an actual tour, a very considerable journey. I have taken some pains to calculate the distance from Dublin to the banks of the Bidassoa, which is the boundary between France and Spain on the north, and it is in round numbers 1,200 English miles. The sea route in first-class weather is very pleasant, but no one can bespeak first or even second class weather at sea, and certainly not in the Bay of Biscay, over which the route lies to Bordeaux. I went the sea passage once and found it delightful, but this was a piece of good fortune. First-class steamers, from three to four thousand tons burthen, belonging to the Pacific Steam Navigation Company, leave Liverpool regularly for Valparaiso, calling at Bordeaux, Santander and Lisbon, and are due on the fourth day out from Liverpool at Pauillac, which is the port of Bordeaux. From Bordeaux, however, there is a good one hundred and fifty miles of railway before the tourist reaches Hendaye, the frontier French town. At the Spanish side are the small towns of Fuenterrabia and Irun, which are of no interest except that they are as Spanish in their aspect as if they were five hundred miles from the frontier. The country about the Bidassoa has been the scene of many fierce encounters between the French and Spaniards, as well as between the French and the Allies, during the Peninsular war. An important battle was fought at Irun in 1835 between

Don Carlos and the supporters of the Infanta Isabella the Second, at which De Lacy Evans commanded the British legion ; a force which, although called British, consisted to a great extent of Irish enlisted in Dublin by Major Polding, who, being a British officer, was still permitted by Government to do so, retaining his rank. A few miles by rail brings the traveller from Hendaye to San Sebastian. This town, which is the most fashionable watering place in the Peninsula, is quite modernized ; it consists chiefly of new streets in the French style, ornamented with rows of trees like the Boulevards of Paris. The population is about 16,000. There is a very beautiful but limited bathing strand, from which, looking northward, one can get a glimpse of the bold headland on which Biarritz stands.

THE BASQUES.

The people called Basques occupy three of the northern provinces of Spain. They are a race perfectly distinct from the Spaniards, aliens in blood and language, but not in religion, for they are good Catholics. My first Sunday in Spain was spent among the Basques, some forty miles from the French frontier, in a town bearing the Moorish name of Zumarraga. Having passed a good portion of a Saturday and the whole of Sunday there, I had a fair opportunity of observing this remarkable people in their church, and going about their village in their ordinary and natural way. They seem a quiet people of not many words ; brunetish in complexion, with deep-set, brilliant dark eyes ; those of the men having an expression of much determination. They are well-formed and muscular, and as compared with Spaniards proper, quite above the middle size. They move about with a free, easy gait, expressive of quiet self-reliance, with an utter absence of anything that could be called swagger. By the best authorities they are regarded as the oldest inhabitants of Spain. Their language has no affinity with any known European dialect ; of course they speak Spanish after a fashion. They are but a handful of people to-day, rather under than over half a million, yet all the power of Moor and Spaniard could never root them out of their mountain homes ; no, nor even deprive them of their ancient and exceptional privileges, for which they have so often fought and bled, and which in the face of every enemy they still retain. Their feeling towards the Spaniards appears to be rather one of contempt than respect. My fellow-traveller,

meaning a compliment, called our attendant at Zumarraga a Spaniard, who instantly and indignantly replied that she was no Spaniard, that she was a Basque (*Vasca*). There is no love lost between the Basques and Spaniards, as we soon found; for having arrived at Burgos, and believing we were still in the Basque country, my companion addressed the attendant there as a Basque, who, with indignation equal to that of our attendant at Zumarraga, proclaimed herself no Basque, but a Spaniard.

On the Sunday evening at Zumarraga, the young people assembled in a field near the church, and danced to the music of a small band, whilst the elders sat under the trees and looked on. The music was very inferior, no real full air having been played, as far as I could discover.

BURGOS.

It is said that Burgos is left unvisited by many tourists, having the reputation of being a sleepy place, with a bad climate and inferior hotels; all which I aver to be substantially true, still I earnestly advise the sightseer not to skip Burgos, and chiefly for two reasons: (1) for sake of its cathedral, and (2) for sake of its beggars: the cathedral is one of the finest in Spain, its beggars are by universal consent admitted to be the best representatives of their important class in the whole Peninsula. It was a loss and a disappointment to me that the cathedral of Burgos was too highly praised to me beforehand: an eighth wonder of the world, preferable to Seville, and nonsense of that kind was dinned into my ears. It is certainly a noble specimen of the Spanish Gothic of the thirteenth century. There are what are called *retablos* at the back of the altars in Spanish churches; they are not quite the same as the *reredos* with us, but are nearly allied to it. The *retablo* commonly consists of deep wood pannels and niches richly carved; the niches contain full round statues or figures in high relief, the whole being gilt and coloured with much artistic skill and care. The *retablo* of the great altar in Burgos is a vast work, very elaborate and beautiful, and, beyond doubt, one of the chief glories of the cathedral; but its lantern, which looks more like a central tower than a lantern, is the gem of the building. It is unsurpassed in beauty by anything of the kind I have ever met with. In the handbooks to the Cathedral of Notre Dame, at Antwerp, we read, that when the great Napoleon saw its magnificent tower for the first time, he said it ought to be

under a glass shade. He may have said so, but if he did, the saying was not original, for another great man (greater than Napoleon in some respects) Charles the Fifth, is reported to have said the same thing of the lantern of Burgos; whilst his son Philip went still further by pronouncing it the work of angels rather than of man. There can be no doubt that the artists who produced the great *retablo* of Burgos had clever heads and cunning hands, but I much doubt whether the best of them, or all of them together, could reproduce on canvas, or in stone or wood, a thoroughly representative, professionally clad Burgos beggar. The cloak of a Burgos beggar is not to be described, it must be seen. The privilege of examining the ostentatious and exuberant display of skill in the patch-work and quilting of this garment, is far the most enjoyable thing in Burgos, when the higher intellectual wants have been supplied.

I saw no women beggars in Spain—in fact, I may say I saw no beggars there; alms-seeking is a profession, a manly profession, and the recipient of alms does not, at his place of business, hold out his hand and crave; he is there to give the properly disposed Christian an opportunity of discharging an important Christian duty. Beggars, if we are to call them so, frequent the markets in the early morning, but, generally speaking, they have their regular stands in various parts of the town or city, where they sit on a chair, with a tin plate near them, to receive the offerings of the faithful, take their meals and smoke their cigarettes with the dignity of any *hidalgo*.

Although the sun is sometimes hot enough in Burgos, there is almost always a bitter wind there, and I have seen the inhabitants with their warmest clothing on in the month of June, and not unfrequently with woollen mufflers wrapped about their throats. The cold of Burgos must arise chiefly from its great elevation, and in part also from the arid, uncultivated state of the whole region in which it is situate. Central Spain consists chiefly of a very high table land, so that some have compared it to a truncated wedge; but the comparison would be still apter if it were compared to a mountain cut somewhat horizontally midway from its base by some great giant or another, who flung the top into the Bay of Biscay or some other bay sufficient to swallow it. The tourist leaves the sea at San Sebastian, and travels about 160 English miles to Burgos, where he finds himself, according to Humboldt, 3,090 feet

above the sea-level, which is just 20 feet higher than Lugnacullia, the highest mountain in Wicklow. From Burgos to the Escorial and Madrid there is somewhat of a descent, as Madrid is, by the best authority, 2,060 feet above the sea; so that it is far and away the most elevated capital in Europe.

The bones of the world-renowned Cid are said to be preserved at a place two miles from Burgos; but, with the limited time at my command, I thought it a profitless undertaking to go in search of them, especially as he is nearly 800 years dead. Some have doubted the existence of the Cid altogether, but modern research, separating the mythical from the historical, has proved him to be a real entity, and a very brave and chivalrous warrior into the bargain.

The Cathedral of Burgos is a Latin cross, 300 Spanish feet in length, 213 feet at its greatest breadth, and 193 feet at its greatest height. There is some confusion about Spanish measures; the French system of measurement was introduced by decree into Spain in 1849, and is the only legal one, but in most places the Spaniards adhere to their old measures. In the measurements of Burgos Cathedral given in the guide-books the feet are called Spanish feet, but as far as I can make out, the Spanish foot is a foot of twelve inches, like our own. Taking into account its dimensions, its architecture, and its interior decorations, the highest rank that can be assigned to the Cathedral of Burgos is that of a fine second-class Gothic cathedral.

AVILA.

Having much to do, and but little time to do it in, we were inclined to pass Avila without stopping; its religious associations, however, being the birth-place of St. Teresa, decided us to pay it a visit. The general description of Avila in O'Shea opens with this alarming sentence: "This city, which still preserves much of the Gothic style in its edifices, houses, and aspect, is one of the most backward in the world." We arrived there about midnight, not being at all sure of finding a place to lay our heads, but we were agreeably disappointed, for there was actually a kind of "bus at the station, which hailed us for the "Fonda Victoria," if you please! We were only too glad to enter the vehicle, but, after some time, the driver stopped in the middle of a road or street, "or both or neither," and began to unyoke his horses. Here was a business, and at such an hour.

How were we to reach the "Fonda Victoria"? Why, we were really at it, and the driver, by shouting lustily up at a place like a hayloft, aroused from his slumbers what was probably its only denizen. He came lazily down without a light, and led us like blindfolded men through what seemed to be a coach-house and stable. We reached a stair-case, and were actually safe and sound in the Victoria; we were shown into what I must call a berth, in order to be accurate, in which we found two small beds—small, certainly, but clean and comfortable, as beds are always in Spain, whether you lodge in the grand pretentious Fonda, the less aristocratic Huespeda, or the still humbler Posada.

There are only three things which need be noticed in Avila, the Cathedral, the house in which St. Teresa was born, and the walls of the city. "This city still preserves much of the Gothic style." Thank you, Mr. O'Shea, but you draw it very mild indeed. I never saw anything, Gothic or non-Gothic, like Avila; to me it was anti-diluvian, cyclopean, anything you please, provided it is out of the ordinary run of human things. The old walls of the city remain nearly entire, the masonry consisting of huge square blocks of granite. There are several ruins, with their gateways and door-ways remaining complete. The buildings were never very large, yet those gates and doors have circular arches of what appeared to me the most uncalled for solidity, some of the voussoirs being nearly as large as those of Waterloo-bridge. Avila is a Bishop's see, and the Cathedral frowns down upon one like a dismantled fortress, there being no appearance whatever of a roof; the interior is architectural and spacious, but so massive, that it seems to have been hewn out of the solid rock.

The room in which St. Teresa was born is now a richly-ornamented oratory within the Convent of the Carmelite Friars. Her body is at Alva, but many interesting relics of her are shown at Avila, among which are her walking-stick, her beads, and one of her fingers.

Leaving Avila for the Escorial, we entered a railway carriage, in which we found two English-speaking gentlemen, who had purchased tickets in New York, and were doing Europe upon them; in fact they had it nearly done when we met them. They seemed to have alighted only at the capitals, the remainder of Europe they did from the car, as they said. They had made no halt from Paris to Avila (nor did they stop there), although Avila is more

than 800 miles from the French capital. When we spoke with some enthusiasm about the Escorial, the subject appeared new to them, and they said they had no time to see it, as they were hastening to Madrid. As we descended at the station of the Escorial, they did this wonder of Spain and marvel of architecture, like so many other places, from the car, and steamed on.

THE ESCORIAL.

I give no description of the Escorial, as very full and correct ones can be read in the guide books, but I give some measurements and other things of interest.

1. As the Escorial is dedicated to St. Laurence, the common opinion is, that its outline is of a gridiron shape, in honor of that martyr, but this is regarded as an error, and is denied by the best authorities.

2. Ford says the Escorial is the result of a vow made by Philip II., at the battle of St. Quintin; but O'Shea, quite as good an authority, and in my opinion better, denies this, and says: "The Escorial was built in compliance with a desire often expressed by Charles V. to Philip, to have a burial-house for him and his descendants."¹

3. The Escorial itself, without the detached offices, is a rectangular parallelogram 744 feet in length from north to south, and 580 feet in breadth from east to west. It is thus 131 feet longer than St. Peter's, at Rome, its width being only 33 feet less than the length of St. Peter's.

4. It consists of a palace, a church, and a convent. The palace is well kept, although not inhabited at present, and contains many objects of interest. The convent I believe is now a college, as I saw a large number of young gentlemen there, who looked like students.

5. The church (*templo*) is all granite. It is considered the masterpiece of Herrera, and the triumph of the Græco-Roman applied to Christian temples.² It is of the Doric order, its chief characteristics being simplicity, vast pro-

¹ The founder's *Carta de Dotacion* in Cabrera's *Vida de Felipe II.*, written and signed by Philip, contains all his reasons for founding the Escorial.

² "The Encyclopaedia Britannica has," says Ford, "through seven editions kept asserting and re-asserting that the Escorial is the work of a French architect, and therefore abounds in the deformities of the French and Italian schools." Herrera was not only a Spaniard, but belonged to a family which produced some of the greatest poets and painters that Spain can boast of. This error, I find, is corrected in the eighth edition of the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

portions, and majesty. It is 320 feet long, (20 feet longer than the Cathedral of Burgos), 230 feet wide, and 320 feet high to the top of the cupola. The roof rests on four massive piers, which are fluted, probably to give them apparent lightness. I measured one of them and found it to be ten yards and one foot on each of the four sides, so that those piers are exact squares.

6. The seat which Philip occupied in the choir, when he recited the Divine Office with the monks, is still shown to visitors, as also a small room or cell with a window looking into the church, in which he spent the last months of his life, having got himself removed to it in order to hear daily Mass, when he was no longer able to go to his place in the choir.

7. There is a large library at the Escorial, with this peculiar arrangement, that the backs of the books are turned inwards, thus showing the edges of the leaves, which are beautifully gilt.

MADRID.

I find that every visitor to Madrid feels bound to scold it at a good round rate; and my acquaintance with that capital puts no special obligation upon me to take up the cudgels in its defence. It looks like a city let down from the clouds, by some kind of machinery, into the midst of a dusty desert. It has no suburbs, and never can have any, for neither villas nor villages can arise in the region which surrounds it. It has a bad climate—a very bad climate—alternating between the extremes of heat and cold, which fact the Madrilenians themselves express by a very uncomplimentary adage, for they say, Madrid has three months of winter and nine of hell,—*tres meses de invierno y nueve del infierno*.¹

Madrid is a small city to be the capital of so great a country as Spain, the census of 1870 giving its population at 332,000 souls. It has some fine modern streets, but on the whole has a whitewashy, lath-and-plaster look about it, somewhat like Berlin, but is in many respects quite inferior to that city. Madrid is built on the left bank of the Manzanares, but for that matter, it might be built in the bed of the river, as there is seldom any water in it, although it is spanned by a very large bridge, *apropos* of which a Madrilenian wit is said to have advised Philip IV. either to

¹ The Spaniards call the people of Madrid *Madrilenos*, which word English writers have adopted, anglicised as above.

buy a river or sell his bridge. Is there no inducement then to visit Madrid? Certainly there is, and I say from my very heart, with Lady Herbert, that the Gallery compensates for all, which is one of the finest, if not the very finest in the world, rich in specimens of the best schools of Europe, and copiously abundant in the *chef-d'œuvres* of Spain's most famous artists—Murillo, Ribera, Velasquez, and a host of others. I have no space for criticism, but I cannot help saying that the vision of St. Bernard, by Murillo, gave me an idea of the genius and power of that master beyond what I had conceived of him before; and that there is a crucifixion by Velasquez, which simply plunges a dagger into the heart of any Christian who sees it and has a heart to be pierced. Of this picture Lady Herbert says, truly and lovingly:—it is a work of “sublime piety . . . with the hair falling over one side of the Saviour's face, which the pierced and fastened hands cannot put aside.” A less worthy critic ventures to add, that the picture expresses the most abandoned sorrow and desolation he has ever seen. Other artists could, perhaps, have painted as desolate and sorrow-stricken a crucifixion, but it took the genius of Velasquez to preserve *and make manifest* the *mens divini*—the expression of Divinity amid all the sorrow and desolation.

One leaf more I venture to draw from my note-book. On it is written

TOLEDO.

Imperial Toledo! once the stronghold of the haughty Moor. Once the capital of Spain. Once the seat and fortress of Charles the Fifth, the world's master, *El César* himself—how art thou fallen! Once containing 200,000 people, but now reduced to 25,000. Oh world-famous, Oh glorious Toledo! thou hast become the Pompeii of Spain. This historic old city is between forty and fifty miles due south of Madrid by rail, and stands 2,400 feet higher than the sea. It is built upon a granite rock rising almost perpendicularly several hundred feet above the Tagus, which surrounds and defends it on three sides; by the fourth the town is entered, but even this fourth side is so steep that it is ascended by a zig-zag road somewhat similar to the roads by which travellers crossed the Alps before they were shot through the railway tunnel. Toledo has such a commanding position that it is seen from a great distance. There are no real Toledo blades there now, but there are many fine specimens of those weapons in the armoury at

Madrid. The Jews, too, have always a few on sale, and it is within the region of possibility that they have a quiet factory of their own somewhere to keep up the supply. It matters little, for the era of such weapons is passed for ever, and a few dozen of Colt's revolvers are worth the full of an arsenal of them. The purest Spanish in Spain is spoken in Toledo; there is no *patois* there, the humblest speaking the language as purely as the most educated. Now a word about the cathedral: for beauty and finish the interior of the Cathedral of Toledo is unapproached by any Gothic church, or, indeed I might say, by any church I have ever seen. The choir is placed about the centre of the nave, which seems to be the rule in Spanish cathedrals, and is a casket of treasures, not one of which is more beautiful than the casket itself. To compare the stained glass of this cathedral for quantity or quality, for design or depth of colour, with any other, would be simply misleading. Such a comparison would suppose rivalry, but the stained glass of Toledo has no rival. Depth of colour! Yes, yet bright and cheerful and lightsome in its depth of colour and its unmatched beauty.

THE PEOPLE.

As to the Spanish people, it becomes a mere tourist to say but little, and that little diffidently, although first impressions are not to be despised. 1. The Spaniards go about their business somewhat slowly, and seem to dislike being hurried; hence writers who had no desire to say a good word about them, did not scruple to call this laziness; but it is a calumny to call it so: the Spaniards are not lazy, and I have seen them going to their work between four and five o'clock in the morning; I have seen them working in their fields all day long, and in the evening, after their toil, it was a most interesting sight to see them ride home on their mules in Indian file, wearing their ample cloaks, and broad-leaved, cavalier-like hats, making a beautiful and a perfectly Spanish picture in the glittering sunset. In their further defence, permit me, gentle reader, to make a bold proposal, which is, that I undertake to find, any time between May and August, more weeds in one acre of Irish corn than I have seen in the thousand miles of Spain I am after passing over. 2. The wants of a Spaniard seem to be very few. He has usually excellent bread. Milk is scarce, but he has the rough-flavoured, full-bodied, pure, unbranded wine of his district, which is his milk, and

which he only drinks in moderation. I never saw a Spaniard with the remotest appearance of having partaken of strong drink. 3. All the men smoke, but even in this they show a certain kind of moderation. I only met two or three persons who smoked pipes, and not more than five or six who smoked cigars. They smoke little paper cigarettes, which are so trifling and must be so mild that they cannot do them any harm. 4. The Spaniards seem a quiet, obliging and reliable people, who will be at much pains to serve you if you are polite and show you have confidence in them.

J. O'R.

ON THE DEVELOPMENT OF DOGMATIC TEACHING REGARDING THE OLD LAW IN THE LIFETIME OF THE APOSTLES.

THE Apostles knew in the beginning of their ministry that the Law had ceased, yet they did not then, nor for many years after, announce its cessation. Well aware of the attachment of the Jews to their Law, of their prejudices in its favour, of the odium that would be excited against any person who would speak against it (a fearful exhibition of which was manifested in their attack on St. Paul at Jerusalem even after many years of preaching), and through respect for the Law itself, they proceeded gradually and in the way of development, allowing the Jews to remain in error, regarding the duration of the Law, for several years.

Deeming that it would be interesting and useful to trace the progress of the development, I have endeavoured in the present article to point out the various steps taken by the Apostles in this connexion, until they finally proclaimed the total abrogation of the law, and the revelation regarding it. I will show that the Apostles preached and practised for some years as if the Law existed; that it was only after the lapse of several years they decided that the Gentile converts were not bound to adopt the Law, nor undertake the obligation to observe it; that it was some years after—and the precise time cannot be fixed—they taught that the Jewish converts were exempt from the observance of the Law; and finally, and after some years had passed, that they proclaimed that no Jew was bound by the Law—or, in other words, the total abrogation of the Law.

I will also treat of another aspect of the Law: I mean

that regarding its influence on the Justification of the Sinner. Concerning this I will show that there was no development nor modification. The dogma relating to it was at once proclaimed by St. Peter (Acts iv. 12), fearlessly and persistently preached by St. Paul, whose main aim in writing the Epistles to the Romans and Galatians was to establish it, and who insisted on its reception by all Christians.

I have made much use of the work of Father Suarez (*De Legibus*, lib. ix. and x.), and endeavoured to condense from it, as clearly as I could, what was useful for my purpose.

Suarez gives it as his opinion that St. Peter and the other Apostles were, at no time, ignorant of the truth, that Christ had died for all men, had redeemed Gentiles as well as Jews, and consequently had made His Law, which is universal for that reason, for all nations.¹ The command² given to the Apostles to teach all nations, and to preach the Gospel to every creature, confirms this opinion.³ He finds, therefore, no sufficient ground for holding that the Apostles were forbidden at any time to preach to the Gentiles, or commanded to preach to the Jews before they preached to the Gentiles.⁴

As a matter of fact, however, they did preach to the Jews only, and that for some years.⁵ St. Peter, addressing the Jews, told them that "the promise is to you and to your children"; that they were the children of the Prophets; and that He exalted Him to give repentance to Israel, and remission of sins.⁶ They⁷ were led to observe this order of preaching probably by some texts of the Old Testament, partly by Divine inspiration: perhaps, because a revelation had not yet been given;⁸ or, if given, that they had not yet

¹ Lib. 10, cap. iv. nn. 17, 21.

² Matt. xxviii. 19; Mark xvi. 15.

³ Lib. 10, cap. iv. n. 17.

⁴ No. 19.

⁵ No. 19.

⁶ Acts ii. 39; Acts v. 31; and Suarez, No. 19.

⁷ No. 21.

⁸ "Perhaps, because a revelation had not yet been given." From these words it would appear that, according to Suarez, it is possible no revelation had then (i.e. in the first years of their preaching) been made to the Apostles regarding the abrogation of the Old Law, and that therefore it is possible that the Apostles did not then know of the abrogation. I transcribe a passage of cognate meaning from Cardinal Newman's work, "*Development of Christian Doctrine*," chap. ii. sect. 1, No. 12:—"Moreover, while it is certain that developments of revelation proceeded all through the Old Dispensation down to the very end of our Lord's ministry; on the other hand, if we turn our attention to the beginnings of Apostolic teaching after His Ascension, we shall find ourselves unable to fix an historical point at which the growth of doctrine ceased, and the rule of Faith was once for all settled. Not on the day of Pentecost, for St. Peter had still to learn at Joppa that he was to baptize Cornelius; not at Joppa and Cæsarea, for St. Paul had to write his Epistles," &c.

discussed the matter sufficiently, and defined whether the Gentiles were to be admitted into the Church after circumcision or without it.

They might have been influenced also by the wish to avoid giving scandal to the Jews; these latter holding certainly that close intercourse with the Gentiles was forbidden by the Law,¹ whatever may have been the foundation for that opinion.²

Cornelius³ was the first Gentile convert: that he was a Gentile, is manifest from the question put to St. Peter by the Jewish Christians;⁴ and that he was the first Gentile convert, is equally manifest from the repugnance⁵ which St. Peter expresses to have felt in holding intercourse with a Gentile, and from his statement that it was only on account of the vision and its meaning,⁶ and the command⁷ given to him, that he had gone to Cornelius. If further proof were needed, it is given in the fact of the astonishment⁸ on the part of the Jewish Christians at the effusion of grace on the Gentiles. It was clearly an occurrence unheard of before by the former. The Ethiopian, whose conversion is recorded in the Acts,⁹ was either a Jew—for Jews were in many countries—or at least a proselyte, as he had come to Jerusalem to adore, and had been reading *Isaias*.¹⁰ The conversion of many Samaritans is related;¹¹ but these were Jews, though erring in morals and doctrine.¹² If it be objected that St. Paul spoke to the Gentiles,¹³ it may be replied that it does not appear that he preached to them: besides the words are of very doubtful authenticity¹⁴ on this head.

From what has been written we arrive at the conclusion, confining ourselves to the Acts, that the Gospel was first preached in Judea and to the Jews only, then in Samaria, and finally among the Gentiles—in accordance with the words¹⁵ of our Lord—"You shall be witnesses unto me in Jerusalem, and in all Judea and Samaria, and even to the uttermost parts of the earth." After the conversion of Cornelius at Cæsarea, and of many other Gentiles at Antioch, and of a still greater number, we may con-

¹ Acts xi. 3; Galatians ii. 12; Suarez, No. 21.

² Suarez, No. 17, quoting Abulensis.

³ Acts x. ⁴ Acts xi. 3. ⁵ Acts x. 28. ⁶ Acts x. 28.

⁷ Acts x. 20; Suarez, Lib. 10, cap. iv. n. 16. ⁸ Acts x. 45.

⁹ Acts viii. 38. ¹⁰ Acts viii. 27, 28; Suarez, Lib. x. chap. 4, No. 16.

¹¹ Acts viii. ¹² Suarez, No. 16. ¹³ Acts ix. 29. ¹⁴ Beelen in loco.

¹⁵ Acts i. 8.

jecture through the preaching of St. Peter,¹ the question of the relation of the Gentiles to the Law was raised. Before the conversion of Cornelius there had been no ground for it, practically speaking. The Gentiles had not been before bound by Law, nor bound² to adopt it; but after the conversion of multitudes of these, the question became prominent, especially in Jerusalem, with the Jews, who still observed the Law and did so for years afterwards; and who thought that it was only by becoming incorporated with themselves through circumcision, that the Gentiles could share in the fulfilment of the Promise made to Abraham and to his seed. Accordingly they were Jews from Jerusalem, who, having gone down to Antioch, insisted on the Circumcision of the Gentiles according to the manner³ prescribed by Moses; and of course on their observance of the whole Law according to *the principle laid down* by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Galatians. St. Paul firmly resisted them: but though not doubting of his own view of doctrine, he yet thought it better to have a deputation sent to Jerusalem to the Heads of the Church, in order that the matter might be fully settled. If this course were not adopted, the disturbers at Antioch might appeal, and perhaps with effect, to the Apostles at Jerusalem as acting differently from St. Paul, and thus raise doubts in men's minds concerning him, and throw obstacles⁴ in the way of his ministry. St. Peter had not indeed required of Cornelius that he should be circumcised, nor had St. Paul of his Gentile converts. The former states that the Gentile converts received the like marks of Divine approbation that the Jewish had received,⁵ and rested content with that state of things; and the latter was equally well satisfied with the spiritual condition of his own Gentile converts. However, it was important to have the question now raised, once and for all decided, in order to calm excitement and to establish an uniform practice among the preachers.

If Circumcision were necessary, the Gentile converts were yet in their sins, and the Christian religion was insufficient of itself for their justification: if on the other hand it were not necessary, it would be a terrible hardship to impose by ecclesiastical law on them a yoke, which the Jews themselves could not⁶ bear.

One may here remark in passing how different had been

¹ Acts xi. 26.

² Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. x. n. 4.

³ Acts xv. 1.

⁴ Galatians ii. 2, "ne forte in vacuum, etc."

⁵ Acts xi. 15-17.

⁶ Acts xv. 10.

the treatment which the disputants with St. Paul had received at Jerusalem from that which the disturbers in Galatia received from himself subsequently. At Jerusalem the question was calmly decided without any reference to those who had raised it, but against the disturbers in Galatia the language of St. Paul is vehement: "Let him be anathema."¹ "Who hath bewitched² you?" "I would they were cut³ off who trouble you." The reason of this difference of usage could only be, that at Jerusalem the question was this—and this appears from the ruling that was made—Were the Gentile converts bound to embrace the old Law? In the case of the Galatians the question was—Was it the Old Law or the Christian religion that justified? In the one case the question was—Was there a precept to embrace the Old Law? In the other it was—Was the Old Law the only means of justification? That this was the view of the disturbers in Galatia appears clear from the epistle, and that their opinion was a heresy appears clear from the same.⁴

This has been rather by the way.

Now to return. The decision recorded in the fifteenth chapter of the Acts had not settled another question, which had not yet been agitated but was to be considered; and the question was this: Were the Jewish converts bound by the Law? There was plainly a distinction to be made between the case of the Gentile and that of the Jewish converts; the former were never bound by the Law, and therefore, though they were declared exempt from it after their conversion, it would not follow as a consequence, that the Jewish Christians who had been bound should be exempt also. The Gentiles were uncircumcised when they received the Holy Ghost; but the Jews had been circumcised when they received the same Divine gift. In declaring the former exempt, the Apostles left them, so far, as they had found them: if they decided that the latter were exempt they would remove from them a heavy burthen; the two cases were therefore different, and the decision in one did not affect the other. I have said that the question regarding the relation of the Jewish converts to the Law had not yet been agitated, nor was it for several years after. St. Peter appears to have observed the Law as if bound by it, at least down to the time of his interview with Cornelius; he expresses, shortly before that, abhorrence at the proposal made to him in the vision to eat what was unclean, and this could only arise from the conviction that he

¹ Galat. i. 8. ² Galat. iii. 1. ³ Galat. v. 12. ⁴ Galat. v. 2-4.

was bound by the Law, which established the distinction between clean and unclean meats, and his only excuse to those who had questioned him on his conduct¹ was, not any exemption from the Law, but the vision and the command² given to him: and certainly those who questioned him believed that both he and they were bound by the Law. So did the Jews, who disputed with St. Paul at Antioch (Acts xv.).

On another occasion mentioned in Galatians St. Peter ate with the Gentiles, but withdrew from them in order to avoid giving scandal to the Jews, who had come down from Jerusalem: a circumstance which clearly shows, that those who had come down thought that all Jews were bound by the Law, which in their opinion at least prohibited intercourse with the Gentiles.

St. Paul himself tells the Jewish Christians to continue in the observance³ of the Law; and at so late a period as that of his imprisonment at Jerusalem, there were many thousands there, who were zealous for the Law and therefore observed it,⁴ and believed that they were bound to observe it.

These were incensed against him, as they believed that he had taught a departure⁵ from the Law—that is, that he had induced Jewish converts to give up the observance of it. St. James and others induced him to make some legal observances in order to prove that the charge alleged was false (Acts xxi. 24); and they must have believed therefore that no Apostle had as yet preached a departure from the Law. Moreover St. James's anxiety to conciliate the zealous warrants us in holding, that he himself observed the Law still. No doubt St. Paul had taught⁶ before this, that he was not bound by the Law, that Christians⁷ were not bound by the Law, and that they were dead⁸ to the Law; yet to be consistent with the words of St. James "*falsa sunt*," (Acts xxi. 24,) we must maintain that though St. Paul so preached, he did not require that the Jewish Christians should give up the observance of the Law of Moses.

I have stated that St. Paul taught that Christians were not bound by the Law, and that they were dead to it. I will now examine briefly the principles on which he establishes this doctrine—the examination will lead to one or

¹ Acts xi. 3.² Acts xi. 12-17.³ Cor. vii. 18, 20, 24.⁴ Acts xxi. 20.⁵ Acts xxi. 21.⁶ 1 Cor. ix. 21.⁷ Rom. vi. 14.⁸ Rom. vii. 4.

two interesting results, and will bring us naturally to our last inquiry concerning the duration of the Law.

The connexion of the first four verses, Romans vii., and the argument of the Apostle, as given by commentators, are not satisfactory; as one may learn from the number and variety of interpretations, and the difficulty attending each of them. Suarez¹ gives five different interpretations of the words "Corpus Christi," in verse 4, supported by great names, but rejected by him: he gives a sixth, gathered from St. Anselm, and of which he approves; it is this: The Jews individually were bound to the synagogue, as their head; the bond or union may properly be compared to the bond existing between wife and husband; but the synagogue was dissolved through Christ (*per Corpus Christi*); the dissolution was, as it were, its death, which was of course the death of the Law; and hence all Jews were dead to the Law, that is, freed from its yoke.

It is bold, perhaps bordering on rashness, to give an interpretation different from that sanctioned by Suarez; however, a more satisfactory one, to my mind at least, can be given. I may remark in the first place that his interpretation would make the Apostle's words prove more than the Apostle asserted or intended. The Apostle states only that Christians were free from the Law (*vos Christiani mortificati*); whereas the interpretation of Suarez would establish that all Jews, believers and unbelievers, were free from it; that is, that the Law had absolutely ceased—a truth, no doubt; but a truth which the Apostle did not then wish to lay down.

Before I give the interpretation of which I approve, I must premise that the nominative case to "*vivit*," in Rom. vii. 1, is "*homo*," and not "*lex*:" for if it were "*lex*," then the meaning would be, that the Law hath dominion whilst the Law liveth; but what is the meaning of the clause, "*whilst the Law liveth*," but this—whilst it hath dominion. The meaning then would be that the Law hath dominion whilst it hath dominion—which is mere tautology. The Apostle needed not certainly to appeal to a knowledge of the Law on their part, "*scientibus enim legem loquor*," in order that the Jews might understand the truth of this preposition, which is self-evident. The meaning of the verse therefore is, that the Law hath dominion over a man whilst the man lives, and no longer; it does not bind

¹ Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiii., nn. 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18.

a dead man. In the second place I hold that the second verse cannot be taken as a proof of the truth of the first: for if it is so taken, the proof is more obscure than the proposition to be proved. One can more readily understand the first verse absolutely taken, than the necessary connexion between the second verse and itself; a husband dies; his wife is free to marry another, and only then: how does it follow from that circumstance, that an existing law does not bind a dead man? According to the interpretation for which I contend, the Apostle lays down, in the two first verses, two principles well known to the Jews, who had a knowledge of the Law. The first principle is, that the Law does not bind a dead man; the second is, that a woman is free to marry another after the death of her husband, and only then.¹ The Apostle applies these two principles in this way. We are incorporated with Christ by baptism, are buried with Him, Rom. vi. 4; we have therefore died with Christ; and as by his death He was freed from the dominion of the Law, according to the first principle (this gives the key to the meaning of the words "per legem legi mortuus sum." Galat. ii. 19), the Jewish Christians sharing in His death, share also in His exemption from the Law; they are therefore dead to the Law, and the Law is dead to them. Before their union with Christ, they were bound to the Law, which was as a spouse to them; and a cruel and tyrannical spouse, according to the words of St. Peter, Acts xv.; but after the union and death with Christ, they are free, according to the second principle, to take another spouse, Christ; for this end, that they might produce the fruit of good works. And to shew that they do not remain dead, and therefore incapable of producing these, the Apostle, alluding to the Resurrection of Christ, states that they arose with Him, Rom. vi. 5, 11. Our Lord is the spouse of the faithful, and allusion is made to the Nuptials in Matt. xxii. 2, Luke xiv. 16, Ephes. v. 32, and Apoc. xix. 9.

The chief difficulty attending the interpretation which I have given arises from the word "enim"² (in vii. 2), which generally indicates a cause or reason; but it does not always so indicate; it is pleonastic, sometimes, according to Weitmayer in his Biblical Lexicon; the Greek *γὰρ* is translated by "quidem" in Rom. ii. 25; it has the meaning of "moreover" in Rom. v. 19; it would bear well

¹ Of course he could relax his right by a bill of divorce; but the effect of the Law is to bind her to him for his life.

² In speaking of "enim," I mean the corresponding Greek word *γὰρ*.

the meaning of "indeed" in Rom. vi. 19. If we give the meaning *indeed* or *moreover* to the word "enim" in ii. 7, there will be no difficulty attending the interpretation which I have ventured to give. Admitting the interpretation which I have given, we learn from the Apostle that the Law had ceased for Christians; but had it also ceased for the unbelieving Jews? The words "vos mortificati estis," vii. 14, refer, as I have already stated, to the Christians; and confining ourselves to the argument of the Apostle and the principles laid down by me, we should hold that the unbelievers were not exempt from the Law. For if it were by incorporation with Christ and dying with Him that the Christians were free from the Law, one could infer that the unbelievers who were not incorporated were not free from it. Moreover, at first sight one might conjecture from what he states in Rom. xi. 11, 12, 15, and 26, that the Law was to continue for them; for he there speaks of the conversion of the Jews towards the end of the world as a distinct people, which they could be only by the profession of the Law.

From this allusion to the Jews as a distinct people, one might infer that the Apostle was unwilling as yet to proclaim the absolute cessation of the Law. Besides, there is difficulty in believing that St. Paul, who was about to go to Jerusalem at the time of writing this Epistle, and where he must have known that there were many who were zealous for the Law (Acts xxi. 18) would proclaim the absolute cessation of it, and without any urgent reason, as he says himself elsewhere (1 Cor. ii. 12), "quid mihi de iis qui foris sunt." But there was good reason for proclaiming the freedom of Christians, as thereby many of them would be relieved of a heavy burthen which they were unwilling to bear (Acts xv).

The time came when the whole truth regarding the Law was to be preached. In the Epistle to the Galatians the Apostle lays down broadly that the Law had absolutely ceased. "The Law was placed," he says (Galat. iii. 19), "until the seed should come"—that is, when the seed came, the Law ceased. The order observed by the Apostle leads one to conclude that the Epistle to the Galatians, in which the absolute cessation of the Law is laid down, was written after that to the Romans, in which only its cessation with regard to the Christians had been taught. For a like reason we may infer that the Epistle to the Hebrews was written after that to the Romans.

I now come to the final investigation concerning the Law, as to its duration, and that is the one regarding the precise time when it ceased.

In the "Hebrews" the Apostle proves from prophecy admitted by the Jews that the Law was to cease and had actually ceased. It was foretold that the Messias was to be a priest, and of a family different from that which supplied priests according to the Law. When, therefore, the Messias, our Redeemer, who is known to have observed every tittle of the Law, exercised his priesthood, the Law must have ceased, as the exercise would be against the Law if it existed. This He did at the Last Supper, when He offered for the first time the sacrifice of the New Law.

The same might be in part proved from Hebrews ix. 8, which shows that the former Tabernacle must have fallen before the way to heaven was made manifest or opened. The Old Law must have ceased then before the death of our Lord, which opened heaven. Suarez (Lib. 9, cap. xii. n. 25) strangely enough infers from this verse that the Old Law was to continue until the way into the Holies was made manifest. St. Thomas holds that the Law ceased at the point of Christ's death (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xii, n. 1), and quotes St. Augustine for the same opinion (Bealen.¹ Acts ii. 26), though Suarez labours (Lib. 9, cap. xiii. n. 3) to show that St. Augustine held a different opinion. But all that can be inferred from the passage of St. Augustine is, that some Jews thought ("putabant") that, after the Passion and Resurrection, and even the manifestation of the sacrament of grace consequent thereon, the old sacraments were to be celebrated not from custom, but through the necessity of Salvation. No doubt they did think so; but it does not follow from this that the Law was in force, nor does it that St. Augustine held that the Law was in force. Besides, the Jews, who held that the Law was then necessary for salvation, and against whom St. Paul wrote in the "Galatians" were outside the Church, as I will show hereafter, and of course it matters little what they held. Even if St. Augustine held that the Jews did well (benefaciebant) in observing the Law, it would not follow that he was of opinion that the Law still existed. The Apostles themselves observed the Law sometimes, and yet they knew that it had then ceased. The Jews for a considerable time were allowed to observe it, but they were taught not to expect

¹ *Tertium tempus a passione Christi, in quo legalia fuerunt mortua.*

salvation from the observance, independently of the merits of Christ.

And here we may answer an objection founded on the inconvenience arising from the position which I have taken—that the Jews in that case would be subject to no law in the interval between the Passion of our Lord and the complete promulgation of His Law. There was no practical inconvenience, as the Jews were ruled by the Old Law as of old, though mistaken regarding its continuance.

There are some texts in the Sacred Scripture, that at first sight would lead one to think that the Old Law was to last always. In Genesis, God says to Abraham, that the covenant between them is perpetual, (chap. xvii.); and in Exodus, the Lord speaks of a feast to be kept with an everlasting observance. The words “perpetual” and “everlasting” are not always taken in the strict sense. This appears from Genesis (xiii. and xvii.) in which a promise of an everlasting possession of the land is made; which, however, the descendants of the Patriarch have lost for centuries. The meaning of the words is, that there was no express limit to the covenant or observance—just as when we say, that a censure is perpetual; we mean that no time is expressed for its termination (Suarez). The different opinions regarding the time of the abrogation of the Law, are:—1st, that the Law ceased at the time of the institution of the Most Holy Eucharist; 2nd, that of St. Augustine and St. Thomas, that it ceased at the time of our Lord's death; 3rd, that of St. Bonaventure, Soto, Gabriel, Maldo (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiii. n. 3), that the Law was mortally wounded at the death of our Lord, and was shortly after that dead; 4th, that of Suarez, that the Law continued in force until Pentecost.

The Law therefore ceased, that is, it became *mortua*; but when did it become *mortifera*? The difference between *mortua* and *mortifera* in reference to a law, is this: a law is *mortua* when the obligation to observe it ceases; it is *mortifera* when it is sinful to observe it (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiv. n. 1). It is *de fide* that the Law is *mortifera* now; it was *de fide* in the time of SS. Augustine and Jerome (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiv. n. 3).

Suarez says, that when St. Jerome had read in an Epistle of St. Augustine's, that it was allowable for the Jewish converts to observe the legal ceremonies, he had the courage¹

¹ *Ausus est* is the word used; but I soften the expression, which would be harsh when applied to a saint.

to write to him, stating that he had read in his Epistle what appeared to be heretical. St. Augustine in his reply explained that he meant to speak of *that time only, when for the first time the Grace of Faith was revealed*; and adds that in process of time the Law became *mortifera*. With great emphasis he declares to St. Jerome, that he never thought otherwise, and that before he was reminded of the matter by St. Jerome, he had so explained his meaning in his writings against Faustus; "understanding," he continues, "that this dogma pertains to the truth of Faith."

It was therefore *de fide* in the time of St Augustine, that the Old Law was *mortifera*; but when it became *de fide* for the first time, that is not so clear. Suarez holds that it became *mortifera* towards the end of the Apostles' lives, when the New Law was sufficiently promulgated. It may be safely held that, after the destruction of Jerusalem, the New Law was sufficiently made known to the world, and was therefore binding on the whole world; and that the abrogation of the Old Law and the sinfulness of observing it was sufficiently promulgated to the Jews at the same time, and that therefore it became *mortifera*.

The consequence of this would be, that children dying without baptism, after the capture of Jerusalem, would not enjoy the Beatific Vision; and that it would be a mortal sin to circumcise anyone for any religious purpose whatsoever.

When saying that the Old Law is *mortifera*, I speak of the ceremonial part of it (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiv. n. 2): it is certain that the moral part of it is not *mortifera*, as under the Evangelical Law we are bound to observe it; and all hold that the Judicial Laws are not *mortifera*, as some of these are incorporated in the Evangelical Law—such as some of the impediments of Matrimony, and the amount of tithes (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xiv. n. 1). However, even with regard to these two divisions of the Law, it is to be remarked, that in observing them we do not observe them as entailing any obligation derived from the Old Law (Suarez, Lib. 9, cap. xi. n. 30).

I will now give a *resume* of what I have written. As a fact then, the Old Law ceased at the time of the Last Supper; but the fact of the cessation of it was not promulgated even at Pentecost, nor for years subsequently. Even many years after, thousands of the Jewish Christians believed that the Law still existed, and they observed it. Moreover, some, and among them the Apostles, who were aware that it had ceased, occasionally observed it. All this shows that

there was nothing censurable in observing the Law on the part of the Jews, whether they were aware or not that it had ceased. In fact it was not then *mortifera* or deadly. The Apostles adopted this line of conduct, in order to conciliate the Jews, to show their respect for the Old Law, to bury, as it were, the Synagogue with honor, and to mark a distinction between a Law given by God and the abominable ceremonies of the Gentiles, which were immediately suppressed. But the time came, when sufficient consideration having been paid to the Jews, sufficient respect having been shown to the Synagogue, a line of demarcation was to be drawn between Jews and Christians; and the Prophecies regarding the cessation of the Law, and the sinfulness of observing its ceremonial part, were to be fulfilled. And this was about the time of the destruction of Jerusalem.

THE COLUMBIAN MONASTERIES AND RULE.

WE have shown from most ancient and reliable authorities, that St. Columcille founded two houses of his order in the immediate neighbourhood of the present town of Boyle, one at Assylin, on the northern bank of the river, the other on Church Island, in Lough Cè.¹ We have also described the ruins still existing on the sites of these foundations, which may be the remains of the churches and cells, built by St. Columba himself, or by his immediate successors. Montalembert, indeed, states that the Irish built scarcely any churches of stone, and retained, as St. Bernard testifies, to the twelfth century, the habit of building their churches of wood.² But St. Bernard's testimony would only show at most that stone churches were unusual at that time in the north of Ireland. A very cursory glance at Petrie's "Round Towers," will prove the inaccuracy of the assertion to which the distinguished author of the "Monks of the West" here lends his authority. Long before the time of St. Malachy, even from the time of St. Patrick himself, there were stone buildings and stone churches in Ireland. We may refer, for instance, to Duleek, in Meath, where St. Patrick founded a church, and

¹ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, Third Series, vol. i., n. 7.

² "Monks of the West," Book ix ii.

whose very name, Daimh-liag, signifies stone church;¹ and this is one of the titles constantly used in Irish writings to designate the larger churches. Thus we read, in the "Annals of the Four Masters," under date A.D. 918, that "Caenanus (Kells in Meath) was plundered by the foreigners, and the Damh-liag was demolished." O'Donovan in his note says:—"Damhliag, *i.e.*, the stone church or cathedral. That ancient monastic isle at the mouth of Galway Bay, which still bears the name of Arran of the Saints, where St. Enda and so many holy men led an angelic life, was visited with affectionate reverence by St. Columba, and its soil was even then 'worn with the footprints of saints and renowned for its saintly monuments.' "Invisit aliquando (S. Columba) S. Endeum aliosque sanctos, qui plurimi in Ara insula angelicam vitam ducebant in ea insula quam sanctorum vestigiis tritam et monumentis inclytam magno affectu venerabatur."² The ruins of many stone churches, cells, and other monastical remains, erected in the very earliest ages of Christianity, some of them by St. Enda himself, may still be seen on the island. They are described, and proofs of their antiquity given, by the late Most Rev. Dr. Conroy, in two most interesting and beautiful papers in a former series of the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, "A visit to the Aran More of St. Enda."³ The Oratory at Kells, called St. Colum Cille's House, in one of the chambers of which is a great flat stone, called St. Colum Cille's Bed, and an engraving and description of which are given by Dr. Petrie, is ascribed to the time of Columba. In the island of Tory a round tower, belonging to the monastery founded by Columba, still remains. At Kilbarry, in the parish of Termonbarry, near the Shannon, in the east of the County of Roscommon, the ancient *Cluain Coirpthe*, founded about 580 by St. Berach, who spent some time with St. Columba at Iona, are the remains of churches near which, the tradition of the place has it, was a round tower, from the character of whose architecture, it is probable they were built by St. Berach himself. The people still tell the legend how the stones, which could not be had in that desert, were miraculously floated over the Shannon by the Saint.

In Duaid Mac Firis's "Book of Genealogies," compiled

¹ "O'Clery's Calendar."

² O'Donnell's "Life of St. Columba."

³ IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, Second Series, vols. vi. vii., nos. 54, 55.

from the most ancient and authentic records, we find an express refutation of "the error of those who asserted that there were no stone buildings in Erin until the coming of the Danes and Anglo-Normans into it." "An ancient authority," he writes, "says: The first doctor, the first builder, and the first fisherman that were ever in Erin were:—

‘Capa, for the healing of the sick,
In his time was all-powerful;
And Luasad, the cunning builder,
And Laigné, the fisherman.’”

He then gives the names of several stone-builders. "We could," he continues, "find a countless number of the ancient edifices of Erin to name besides these above, and the builders who erected them, and the kings and noble chiefs for whom they were built, but that they would be too tedious to mention here. Look at the 'Book of Conquests,' if you wish to discover them; and we have evidence of their having been built like the edifices of other kingdoms of the times in which they were built; and why should they not? And what is the reason that the fact is doubted? There is no reason but because there are not lime-built walls standing in the places where they were erected 1,500, 2,000, or 3,000 years ago; when it is no wonder that there are not, since in much shorter spaces of time than these the land grows over buildings, when once they are broken down or fall of their own accord. In proof of this I have myself seen within the last sixteen years lofty lime-built castles, built of lime-stone; and at this day, after they have fallen, there remains nothing of them but an earthen mound to mark their sites, nor could even the antiquarians easily discover that any edifices had ever stood there at all. Compare these to the buildings which were erected hundreds and thousands of years ago, one with another; and it is no wonder should this be done, except for the superiority of the ancient buildings over the modern, that not a stone, nor an elevation of the ground should mark their situation. Such, however, is not the case, for such is the stability of the old buildings that there are immense royal raths (or palaces) and forts (lios) throughout Erin, in which there are numerous hewn and polished stones, and cellars and apartments under ground within their walls; such as there are in Rath Maoilcatha, in Castleconor and in Bally O'Dowda in Tireragh, on the banks of the Moy. There are nine smooth stone

cellars under the walls of this rath; and I have been inside it; and its walls are of the height of a good cow-keep still.”¹ The murder of this learned man, the last of a long line of chroniclers of Lecain-MacFirbis, barony of Tireragh, Co. Sligo, affords a terrible commentary on the history of his times. He was undoubtedly descended from Dathi,² the last pagan monarch of Erin, killed by lightning at the foot of the Alps, A.D. 428, and interred in the Kings’ Burial Place, Roilig-na-Riogh, near Rath-Crucachain. Journeying to Dublin in the year 1670, MacFirbis stayed over the night at an inn in the village of Dunflin, Co. Sligo. He remonstrated with a young libertine, to whom when the name gentleman is given it certainly is “soiled with all ignoble use,” called Crofton, who was seeking to take improper liberties with a girl of the house, in his presence, and who instantly plunged a knife into the old man’s heart. Thus perished in his eightieth year “the last of the regularly educated and most accomplished masters of the history, antiquities, laws and language of ancient Erin.” We need scarcely add, that as in the eye of the law which then ran in Ireland, a person of his race and creed had no legal existence, less account was taken of his assassination than would have been of the death of a dog. His murderer pleaded, and it was a good defence, “that it was no felony to kill an Irishman.” “Lastly,” says Sir J. Davis, “the mere Irish were not only accounted aliens and altogether out of the protection of the law, so that it was no capital offence to kill them.”

As, therefore, there were stone builders in pagan Ireland, and as stone buildings were common in the country, there can be no doubt that stone churches began to be built from the earliest Christian period; although, no doubt, wooden churches, put up often in haste, and also more elaborately built timber edifices, such as the Church of St. Brigid at Kildare, were very usual. It is beyond question that churches of stone were built in the fifth, sixth, and succeeding centuries: and in many cases, the ruins still existing have been proved to be the very buildings erected by the early saints.

We know from Adamnan³ the materials of the first cells erected on Iona by Columba and his companions. Stakes of timber were driven into the ground. Branches were

¹ Translated by O’Curry: MS. Mat. of Irish History.

² O’Curry.

³ Book ii. c. iii.

intertwined through them, and the structure was plastered over with clay. Ivy was planted at the foot, and soon growing up gave strength and ornament to the building. We read, at a later time, that twelve *Corachs* were brought together to carry great oaks to Iona from the neighbouring shore, to rebuild the monastery. In Ireland the smaller churches or oratories were called *duirteachs*, i.e. houses of oak, because in the beginning they were for the most part built of oak, although there were stone oratories in Ireland even from the time of St. Patrick. The ruins which still mark the site of St. Columcille's monastery on Iona, though very ancient, are of much later date than the days of the Saint. During the ninth century the Danes ravaged the island and burned the monastery three different times. It was to save the precious relics from profanation, that the body of St. Columba was carried to Ireland and deposited in the same grave with St. Patrick and St. Brigid, thus fulfilling the prophecy in Irish verse, attributed to Columba:

"They shall bury me first at Iona;
But by the will of the living God,
It is at Dun that I shall rest in my grave,
With Patrick and with Brigid the immaculate,
Three bodies in one grave."

"The three names," says Montalembert, "have remained since that time inseparably united in the dauntless heart, and fervent, tenacious memory of the Irish people." In Ireland, probably some of the Columbian houses were built of the same simple materials used in Iona; particularly in places where there was not a supply of stones, but in after ages stone buildings replaced these primitive structures.

Visiting the ruins on the sites of the foundations of St. Columcille, in the neighbourhood of Boyle, not long ago with a friend, he asked: "Were not the monks of St. Columba called Culdees? What was their mode of life, their religious rule?" We have consulted all the authorities within our reach to give an answer to the questions of our friend, and we shall here set down, as briefly as may be, the result of our investigation.

We confess that it came on us with surprise to find that several Scotch writers, seeing that their most learned historians and antiquarians agree in attributing the conversion of their country, their Christianity, their early churches, and the very ancient division of Scotland into parishes, to Columcille, his fellow-labourers and their successors, felt

themselves bound to make out that the great missionary and his monks were Presbyterians. This might now seem a feat unique of its kind, had we not ourselves witnessed a learned Irish scholar, and Fellow of T.C.D., accomplish, we presume to his own satisfaction, the still more wonderful work of proving that "St. Patrick was a Protestant." We are gravely informed that the Columbian monks were Culdees,¹ who were of the Irish rule carried into Scotland by St. Columba;² that they were married men,³ and good Presbyterians, and that those of them afterwards called Bishops, received their appointment and episcopal power from "the College of Elders."⁴ These ancient Irish Columbian monks, we are told, preserved for centuries the pure doctrine, church government, and discipline of Presbyterianism, until at length, in the dark ages, they were crushed by the triumphant tyranny of Rome. Adamnan also was a Culdee, and therefore a Presbyterian. In some of those learned writers, particularly of our own time, who, on many subjects connected with the antiquities of Ireland, have shown an impartiality rare among Protestant authors, it is difficult to account for the extraordinary prejudice, misrepresentation of facts, and manifestly erroneous inferences observable in their treatment of some questions. When persons have formed a certain ideal in their own mind, it is wonderful how facts bend and accommodate themselves to this preconceived theory and foregone conclusion, in the mental vision of their authors. Just as when a man has formed a certain belief which has been long present before his consciousness, objects beheld assume before his mind that bodily form, and make on his nerve-centres that previously present image, as physiologists tell us.

The evidence adduced to prove the startling proposition that Columcille was a Presbyterian, is, that he did not consider Bishops necessary for the ordination of priests: and the only proof given of this assertion is, that St. Columcille and his successors, though not bishops, exercised jurisdiction over the Bishops of Caledonia. Now in explaining the sort of jurisdiction exercised by the Abbots of Iona over the Bishops of the neighbouring districts, the illustrious Montalembert has, perhaps, trusted a little too implicitly

¹ "Smith, Life of Columba," p. 118.

² Nicholson, Pref. to "Irish Historical Library."

³ Ledwich, p. 67.

⁴ Jamieson, p. 36, et seq.

to recent learned Protestant writers on Irish antiquarian subjects. He says:—

“The constitution of dioceses and parishes in Ireland, as in Scotland, does not go further back than to the twelfth century. Bishops, it is true, existed, but either without any clearly fixed territorial jurisdiction, or incorporated as a necessary but subordinate part of the ecclesiastical machinery, with the great monastic bodies.”

This is a statement which, we think, must be received with very great caution. It is, indeed, true that at the Synod of Rath Breasail, held about 1118,² a decree was made regularly dividing and more clearly defining dioceses throughout Ireland. The object and intention of the Council was to reduce the number of sees, and make all the dioceses, as far as might be, of equal extent. According to the theory of King, Reeves, and Todd, diocesan episcopacy as at present understood, was not known in Ireland until this synod. We cannot here enter into the proofs which put beyond all doubt the existence of diocesan jurisdiction in Ireland long before the twelfth century, and even from the time of St. Patrick. It could not of course be expected that from the beginning the boundaries of dioceses should have been accurately defined, as they are in our day. A synod was held by St. Patrick at Armagh, after that see had been fully established, called the Synod of Bishops.³ Tillemontholds the genuineness of the canons of this council. In the 24th canon mention is made of pagans, which shows its great antiquity. In the 30th canon, a “Bishop who may go into the diocese of another, is ordered not to attempt to ordain any one, unless he get permission for so doing from the Ordinary.” In the Tripartite Life of St. Patrick, we find the angel telling the saint: “The extent of the termion of your see from God, is to Droma-beg and to Sliabh Mis and to Bri-Airghi.”⁴ And again, in speaking of the church built by St. Patrick, where his charioteer, Buail, died, immediately after crossing the Shannon, the same ancient history says, that the Church of Killbuail “belongs to the jurisdiction of St. Patrick;” or as Jocelynn explains: “Ad jus Ardmachanum spectare dignoscitur.” There can be no doubt, then, that the diocesan system and jurisdiction

¹ “Monks of the West,” Book, viii. c. ii.

² Lanigan, vol. iv. p. 38.

³ O’Curry’s “Lectures on the MS. Mat. of Irish History,” p. 373.

⁴ “Irish Tripartite,” translated by W. M. Hennessy, in Sister M. F. Cusack’s “Life of St. Patrick,” p. 486.

existed in Ireland from the time of St. Patrick.¹ The decree of the Council of Rath Breasail, so far from proving that diocesan jurisdiction was then first established, clearly implies the prior existence of dioceses and episcopal jurisdiction. At the same time, it is clear that most of the early Bishops were monks or the disciples of monks, and continued to live in conventual life after their elevation to the episcopacy. A notable instance of this kind occurs in the case of St. Assicus, whom St. Patrick appointed first Bishop of Elphin. The Tripartite Life,² and Jocelynn,³ tell us that St. Assicus governed an episcopal monastery and college at Elphin. When "on account of the falsehood which had been said there of him," he fled northwards to Slieve League, in Donegal, we are told that his monks followed him; they failed to persuade him to return. He died in the desert, and they buried him in Rathcunga, in Serithe, now Racoon, in the parish of Dromhome, county Donegal.

St. Patrick established at Armagh a college in which he himself lived with a certain number of his clergy, and in which students were trained and educated for the Church, after the model of the monastery and college of St. Martin, at Tours, where he had been himself trained.⁴ This system seems to have prevailed generally through the early Irish Church, and will help to explain the jurisdiction, which, according to Bede,⁵ Columba and his successors, the Abbots of Iona, had over the Bishops of the neighbouring districts. Most of these Bishops had been trained in monastic schools,⁶ many of them in Iona itself. Their affectionate veneration, as Montalembert puts it, translated itself into a sort of prolonged submission to the conventual authority of their former superiors. St. Columba, as we learn from Adamnan, far from assuming any superiority over Bishops, showed them the utmost respect.⁷ He and his successors never exercised any functions peculiar to Bishops, as for instance the ordination of priests, for they had recourse to Bishops for all ordinations in the

¹ See "The Ancient Church of Ireland; A few remarks on Dr. Todd's Memoir of St. Patrick;" by Dr. Gargan, of Maynooth.

² Lib. ii. c. xi.

³ Cap. cvii.

⁴ Lanigan, vol. i. p. 312; Probus, L. iii. c. vii.

⁵ L. iii. 4.

⁶ *Fere omnes Hiberniae praelati de monasteriis in clerum electi sunt.* Giral. Cambren. "Topograph. Hibern." distinct. 3. c. xxix.

⁷ Adamnan, i. 36. i. 34.

monasteries.¹ St. Columba himself, through his humility, refused to be promoted to the episcopacy. The extraordinary fact, then, of exercising a certain directive jurisdiction, as Abbot of Iona, over the Bishops of the country converted by him, lends no sort of colour to the strange idea, that St. Columba was a Presbyterian and did not admit of any essential difference between Bishops and priests. St. Columba, therefore, who had been himself ordained priest by St. Etchen, Bishop of Fera-bile, in Meath,² though a priest, and not a Bishop, was not a Presbyterian.

Neither were his monks Culdees. In the five lives of the Saint given by Colgan in his "*Trias Thaumaturga*," the name Culdee does not once occur. We have in that great work a most minute account of St. Columcille's disciples, of all the Columbian monasteries, churches, and their superiors, both in Caledonia and Ireland down to the 13th century, but in all this history, in which the most minute details are given, from the most ancient and from contemporary writers, about the Columbian monks, we do not find a single word about such persons as Culdees, nor a name resembling it. Bede, although he speaks at length of Columba and his monks, and their missionary labours, never once mentions persons called by any such name as Culdees. We have here ample proof that the Columbian monks were never known by the title of Culdees. Much of the confusion, error, and misrepresentation surrounding the mysterious appellation Culdee seems to have arisen from making the term *Ceile De*, as it is found in the ancient Irish Christian writings, equivalent to the Latin term *Colidei*, corrupted into *Culdei*, and anglicized Culdees, which is not found until a comparatively recent period. The expression *Ceile De* means servant of God, *Servus Dei*. Many Irish names begin with *Cele* or its equivalent *Gilla* or *Kil*, followed by the name of our Saviour, or the Blessed Virgin or some of the saints. Thus we find Cele-Christ or Gilla-, Christ, servant of Christ, Gillamuire, servant of Mary Gillaphadruig, servant of Patrick, Gillabrigbde, servant of Bridget. The term *Ceile De*, at least until the 9th century, had no connection whatever with Culdees. It was applied originally to one of great and singular sanctity of life, and

¹ Adamnan, i. 36.

² "S. Episcopus Etchenus, qui ordinem presbyteratus dedit S. Columbae Kille." Calendar of Cashel, 11th February.

subsequently to monks and anchorites, to those who adopted the practices of monastic life. It was never used to designate any particular Order of monks, such as the Columbian or the Benedictine Order. Its modern equivalent is religious, which, applied originally to devout or pious persons, came afterwards to signify those who had devoted themselves to the service of God in the monastic state. To illustrate these meanings we will give a few passages in which the word occurs from the earliest and more modern Irish writings. Perhaps the earliest occurrence of the Irish word *Ceile De* is found in the ancient Tripartite life of St. Patrick, written by St. Evin, who was living in 504: "Patrick directed a *Ceile De* of his people, *i.e.*, Melach Britt, to resuscitate him (*Ailill*)."¹ Here the expression clearly means one who had devoted himself to the service of God under the direction of St. Patrick. In the "Annals of the Four Masters," anno 806, we have the record:

"In this year the *Ceile Dei* (an *Ceile De*) came over the sea, with dry feet, without a vessel . . . This ecclesiastic used to go every day southwards, &c."

In his note on the passage, O'Donovan renders the term "Vassal of God," and it is perfectly clear that it does not mean a member of any particular religious order. The appellation was especially applied to the celebrated Aengus *Ceile De*, who died about 824, and who, as O'Curry says, has been erroneously styled the *Culdee*. For, as the same great authority states, *Ceile De* had no reference whatever to *Culdees*, of whom there is at this period (824) no trace discoverable.² This holy monk Aengus was styled *Ceile De*, or *Servant of God*, not because he belonged to or founded any monastic Order called *Culdees*, but from his great sanctity. Colgan mentions a Saint Comgan, who was surnamed *Ceile De*, *i.e.*, says Colgan, *Dei Cola*, by which he also explains the surname *Ceile De* given to Aengus. The "Annals of the Four Masters," an. 1032, record the death of "Conn-na-m Bocht, head of the *Ceile Des* (*Celedh nde*) and anchorite of Cluain Mic Nois." Here the term is applied to anchorites. The same annals relate, at the year 1595, that Sir Richard Bingham took up his quarters in the monastery of Sligo, to besiege O'Donnell's warders who were in the castle. We are told that Bingham's soldiers constructed engines for the siege out of the bed

¹ Hennessy's Tripartite, p 467.

² "MS. Mat. of Irish History."

chambers of the Ceile Des (na cceile nde), i.e. of the monks of the monastery of Sligo. Giraldus Cambrensis says:—

“In north Munster there is a lake in which are two islands, one larger, the other small. In the former there is a church of ancient veneration; in the latter a chapel, which is devoutly served by a few unmarried persons, called Cœlicoli or Colidei.”

Colgan, in his “Annals of Armagh,” quoting the Four Masters, relates the plunder of Armagh by the Danes under Godfrid, who, he says, spared the churches and the *Colidei*,¹ *Pepercit tamen ecclesiis, Colideis et infirmis*. Lanigan, referring to this passage, writes: “I wish Colgan had given us the Irish word which he latinized by *Colidei*.”² The Irish word wished for by Lanigan is found in the Four Masters, who give the event under the year 919:

“Godfrey, grandson of Imhar, took up his residence at Ath-liath; and Ard-Macha was afterwards plundered by him and his army; but he spared the oratories with their *Ceile-Des* (*Chelibh-De*) and the sick.”

The old translation of the “Annals of Ulster” in the Clarendon Collection here quoted by O'Donovan, has, “who saved the houses of prayer with *their people of God*.” From this passage it appears that these so-called Culdees were at this period the officiating clergymen in the churches of Armagh, and Lanigan shows, from Usher, Ware, and Harris, that they continued in Armagh till the 17th century. They lived in community, sang in the choir, had a superior called prior, who acted as precentor, and who was elected by themselves and confirmed by the Archbishop. A house of the same institution was founded in the island of Devenish, and was considered a community of secular priests. Such also were the Culdees of St. Andrew's, in Scotland. They formed the chapter of the cathedral; and those who were seated in episcopal sees acquired the privilege of electing the Bishops out of their own body. There is no mention of Culdees in Scotland until the ninth century, as Chalmers testifies. In the early part of the twelfth century their places began to be supplied by the Canons Regular of St. Augustin. The so-called Culdees, therefore, as the learned and discriminating Lanigan concludes, were secular canons who had been generally established

¹See “Cambrensis Eversus,” edited by the Rev. Matthew Kelly of Maynooth, vol. i. p. 123.

²“Trias Thaum.” p. 296. ³“Ecclesiastical History,” vol. iv. p. 104.

since the ninth century. But although they were generally clergymen, the name seems to have been also given to pious, unmarried laymen, inasmuch as they formed a community, and lived together. This also is the conclusion come to by the new Bollandists,¹ viz., that they were secular canons or brothers, and appeared at soonest in the year 800.

Having shown that the monks of St. Columba were not Culdees, we shall, in a future number, consider what they were.

J. J. K.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.—III.

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.—BEN JONSON.

AFTER this silence of two years we have his first and best tragedy, "*Sejanus his Fall*," where among the principal tragedians we find William Shakespeare himself, Richard Burbage, the Roscius of his age, the original Hamlet and Othello, and the two editors of the first collected edition of his plays, John Hemyng and Henry Condell, a Shakespearean group indeed, to usher in the first tragedy of rare Ben Jonson.

It may be questioned whether the classical play was worthy of such championship; it certainly cannot hold a place beside any which Shakespeare has given us; and being what it is we need not linger over it. There are noble passages scattered about in it, as when Sejanus says:

"It is not Life whereof I stand enamour'd,
Nor shall my end make me accuse my fate,
The coward, and the valiant man must fall,
Only the cause, and manner how, discerns them :
Which they are gladdest, when they cost us dearest."

But Shakespeare has taught us not to rest content with even such lines as these, which lack somehow the ring of true metal, appearing a strain and effort and not a natural eloquence. *Sejanus* was his fifth play, and the last which he wrote during the reign of his patroness Elizabeth, who died in the March of this year (1603); indeed it was

¹ Vol. viii. p. 86 of October: *Disquisitio in Culdeas ap. Acta S. Reguli.*

produced by the King's Majesty's servants in the scene of his former triumph, the Globe Theatre, and as we have seen, sustained by his old dramatic friends. Probably this was the last play in which Shakespeare performed, for about this time he turned his back on London, and left to others to cultivate in person the favour of the new monarch, James the Sixth of Scotland and First of England. With this change came many others in its train, and among the rest a very unwelcome influx of Scotch followers, who flocked southwards to share in the spoils of a more fruitful and genial land.

Sir Walter Scott, with great natural and national shrewdness, and careful study of many-phased history, has painted in strong colors and with much effect the feeling in England at this raid from the north, in his "*Fortunes of Nigel*." Ben Jonson, though Scotch by descent, was English in education and feeling, and soon took part in what was, if not a national, at any rate a metropolitan demonstration. He joined with Chapman and Marston in writing "*Eastward Hoe*," and fell foul of the northerners to such an extent as to arouse the wrath of Sir James Murray, who got them all three thrown into prison at the serious risk of their ears and noses; which too often in those days paid the penalty for the brain that thought and the hand that wrote. The play is printed in Dodsley's collection, and it seems difficult to determine the exact passage that fired Sir James. Perhaps it was this:

"The Scots are dispersed over the face of the whole earth—but as for them, there are no greater friends to Englishmen and England, when they are out of it, in the world, than they are; and for my part I would a hundred thousand of them were there (in Virginia), for we are all one countrymen now, you know, and we should find ten times more comfort of them there than we do here."

A very mild libel to call for imprisonment, we may now think; but it shows how bitter were the feelings, and how easily galled were the minds whose withers could be so easily wrung. However, to prison they were sent, but luckily got out again without loss of noses or ears. Gifford says that Jonson would not have been molested, but he, "with a high sense of honour, voluntarily accompanied his two friends to prison, determined to share their fate."

A very characteristic scene marked the conclusion of

this affair, which Drummond of Hawthornden relates, from Jonson's own mouth :

"After their delivery from prison he banquetted all his friends; there was Camden, Seldon, and others. At the midst of the feast his old mother drank to him, and showed him a paper which she had (if the sentence had taken execution), to have mixed in the prison into his drink, which was full of lusty strong poison, and that she was no churl she told, she minded first to have drunk of it herself."

We have dwelt at too much length upon these earlier plays to have space enough to enter into details of those that followed, and which included such masterpieces as *Volpone*, *The Silent Woman*, and *The Alchemist*; but we may consider the former as good specimens of his various styles, humourous, satyric, and tragic.

The reign of James the First was like a long summer day for our dramatist; troubles like passing showers came across it, but these only made that brightness still more sunny. The royal favour was never withdrawn from him. However critics might carp at the severe censures which he fulminated around their heads, and try to destroy his popularity, the King understood and appreciated him. The Masques in which he was so often engaged, brought him into closest intimacy with James and the Court; for in these spectacular plays, royal and noble personages were the auditors, when not, as was often the case, themselves the players. No great festival at court was considered duly celebrated unless Jonson had a masque prepared for the occasion: did the King visit a distinguished noble—and James was not slack in conferring honours of this kind upon his loving subjects—be sure Jonson was ready to meet him on his arrival, to entertain him during his stay, and to speed the parting guest, with some quaint device, teeming with classic allusions, and redolent of the sort of scholarly wit, in which the modern Solomon delighted. And then in due time, an edition of the masque was prepared for publication, the margin and footnotes overflowing with parallel passages, over which the two scholars, King and Poet, brooded with equal delight: and many a dry joke was cracked, and not unfrequently a kind word was said by the generous author, for those who sought to gain, or it might be to regain, the royal favour. There are abundant proofs of this intimacy, in which James especially delighted. In Charles's reign a different spirit prevailed: more correct perhaps, but certainly less genial—but while James was

King, and especially while Prince Henry lived, Ben Jonson was a power in the court of England.

These masques were peculiar performances, and owed, as many modern productions do, quite as much to the machinist and scene-painter, as to the author. Interspersed with songs, a poet rather than a dramatist was required; and, indeed, a poet's bright and airy fancy was chiefly needed to devise, as well as to give expression to the half-classic, half-fairy scenes. Here was a new sphere for Ben Jonson, for which his natural taste and highly cultivated mind especially fitted him. Molière did not scorn a similar occupation under Louis the Great, and why should Jonson, his equal as a dramatist, and his superior as a scholar, decline a sort of literature which brought him equal renown and favour?¹ As dramatic works they cannot, of course, take place beside the great comedies of either writer; but they are well worth examining, as affording a great insight into the habits and feelings of two great courts, and painting, none the less accurately because undesignedly, times which with all their faults and sins, seem to have an inexhaustible interest for succeeding ages.

These masques died with King James; an attempt was made by Charles the Second to revive that species of royal entertainment, but it failed. In 1616 Jonson collected his works into a goodly folio volume, and went to live at Oxford. As he tells Drummond, he was an M.A. of both Universities (Cambridge and Oxford), by their favour and not his study; as he is careful modestly to explain. They both graced him with honorary degrees, and perhaps Cambridge tried

¹A parallel might easily be drawn between Jonson and Molière in more respects than this one, of writing masques for royal entertainments. For instance, they both directed their powerful pens to the exposure and ridicule of the Euphuism of their respective days. Indeed Shakespeare himself did not disdain to fire a shaft at the passing folly: but each in his own way, which was not a little characteristic of the man. While Shakespeare contented himself with introducing one character, Osric (a braggart gentleman, as the old quarto calls him), into *Hamlet*, and letting him talk, in a single scene, the court language of the day; and while Molière dashed off a one-act farce, *Les Précieuses Ridicules*, at the affected manner of speech of half a century later; Ben Jonson elaborates a whole five-act comedy, *Cynthia's Revels*, which treats the manner of phrase and motion in quite a scientific way, giving something like a diagnosis of it. So, while we write, aesthetics is presented in a ludicrous form by Du Maurier in *Punch*, by Burnand in *Comedy*, and by Gilbert and Sullivan in *Opera*, *The Colonel* of the one, and *Patience* of the others being paralleled by Poilieron's *Le Monde où l'on s'ennuie* just now the "rage" of Paris.

to recall to mind the poor stripling, who in former but not far distant days, had twice entered among its undergraduates, and as often left with a sad and wounded heart. So it was to Oxford that he retired for a learned leisure, which however, was never to be his, in this troubled life.

We have spoken of the peculiarity of Jonson's comedies, how they grouped together and worked out in a skilful plot a number of characters, each of which had one fundamental quality—its humour. They have no passions, like ambition, love or hatred, which we can either sympathize with or abhor. So they are outside of us, things apart, whose actions may amuse but cannot really hold us by any natural ties. Very often indeed they do not amuse us at all: indeed his thoughts not unfrequently seem to be so fixed upon his duty as a censor of life and manners, that he takes no heed of the audience—he is really too much in earnest to care whether we like them or not. What he detests he detests with all his heart, and so he paints it in the most undisguised manner, and often offends the reader through his very earnestness. Knowing how blunt and coarse was the ordinary language of society in his day, we must naturally expect, and be prepared to endure much of the same kind in his very real representations. He is never blasphemous, and never consciously immoral. He paints life as he sees it; for what it is he is not responsible, but for a true picture he feels that he is. He was no panderer to vice or folly, no palliator of the times in which he lived. His mission, he felt to be that of a lay preacher—what Thackeray claimed so justly for himself—and this removes him at once far above the ordinary race of poets and dramatists, who less live to write than write to live. This claim he urges incessantly upon his readers, and it is one that was fully allowed by the highest and best of his day.

The two Universities testified to it in their degrees of honour, while several bishops of the day were proud of his acquaintance, and felt that they had in him a great moralist and a profound scholar, as well as a rare dramatist.

That Ben Jonson was a profound scholar, is a fact which is too often lost sight of, especially by writers of a past generation, who formed an ideal, as false as it was coarse, of the great dramatist. They delighted in painting him as a proud, jealous, and overbearing man; the associate of vulgar toppers, ever boasting of himself, and quarrelling with all about him. And yet Ben Jonson moved in such learned and royal society as we have seen, and spent his leisure in

hard and unusual lines of study. His intimacy with the illustrious John Selden, allowed to be one of the most learned writers of his age, shows this in so striking a manner that we must quote a passage or two from the writings of this remarkable scholar in illustration of the fact.

When the great dramatist was made Poet Laureate by King James, he consulted Selden on the history of the office, who, in reply, inserted a special chapter "*De honore et privilegiis Poetarum*" in the '*Titles of Honour*' he was writing. He concludes in these words—

"But of the crown of laurel given to poets, hitherto. And thus have I, by no unseasonable digression, performed a promise to you my beloved Ben Jonson. Your curious learning and judgment may correct where I have erred, and add where my notes and memory have left me short. You are

— omnia carmina doctus

Et calles mython plasmata et historiam.

And so you both fully know what concerns it, and your singular excellency in the art most eminently deserves it."

What sort of a library Ben Jonson had we may judge by what Selden says in the preface to this same work. He wanted a rare classical work to clear up a difficulty, and not finding it elsewhere, he tells us,

"I went for this purpose to see it in the well-furnished library of my beloved friend, that singular poet, Mr. Ben Jonson, whose special worth in literature, accurate judgment and performance, known only to that *few* which are truly able to know him, hath had from me, ever since I began to learn, an increasing admiration."

And again, when he had made that wonderful collection of authorities, which he brought together to illustrate the obscure history, "*De Diis Syris*," and brought much of it to bear upon a difficult inquiry Jonson had suggested to him; he sends his profound dissertation to the poet for his examination and critical judgment, beginning his letter "To my honoured and truly worthy friend, Mr. Ben Jonson," in these words:—

"Thus ambitious am I of your love, but of your judgment too, I have most willingly collected what you wish. What the Greeks and Latins have of Adargatis, Derceto, Atargata, Derce," (all one name of Dagon) "and the like, you best know, being most conversant in the recondite parts of human learning."

And then, having weighed and dissertated upon his authorities, Hebrew, Syriac, and Greek, in the longest and

most learned letter we have in all his writings, he concludes—

“In the connection of these no vulgar observations, if they had been to a common learned reader, there had been often room for divers pieces of European theology dispersed in Latin and Greek authors of the Gentiles, and Fathers of the Church too, and often from parts of Mythology ; but your own most choice and able store cannot but furnish you incidentally with whatever is fit that way to be thought of in the reading. Whatever, and in what, I have here collected I consecrate it to your love, and end with hope of your instructing judgment.”

Such being Selden's opinion of Jonson in matters with respect to which there could not well be a higher authority, no wonder if others united with him in commending the varied learning of the profound student, which his extraordinary memory enabled him to store up, and should feel and expect in many ways what Lord Falkland has so charmingly sung, in lines of which we can but quote a specimen.

“His learning such, no author, old or new,
Escaped his reading that deserved his view,
And such his judgment, so exact his taste
Of what was best in book, or what book best,
That had he joined those notes his labour took
From each most prais'd, and praise-deserving book,
And could the world of that choice treasure boast,
It need not care though all the rest were lost.

* * * * *

To him had daily flock'd what reverence gave
All that had wit, or would be thought to have ;
How the wise, too, did with mere wits agree,
As Pembroke, Portland, and grave D'Aubigny.
Nor thought the rigid'st senator a shame
To add his praise to so deserv'd a fame.”

Of course, Selden has his laudatory lines also, and, equally of course, his “*Carmen Protrepticon*” is in choice Latin. Jonson sends in due order “*An Epistle to Master John Selden*,” in which occurs this quaint geometrical figure :—

“You that have been
Ever at home ; yet have all Countries seen ;
And like a Compass, keeping one foot still
Upon your Center, do your Circle fill
Of general Knowledge ; watch'd Men, Manners, too,
Heard what Times past have said, seen what our's do.”

And so the amenities of life are cultivated among the wise and good, and our once poor player takes rank with the greatest and most learned of his age.

Gloom, however, was closing around the latter days of the great dramatist and scholar. His constitution, never good, was unequal to the close and untiring application of devouring books of recondite learning, and storing up volumes of notes and extracts, which marked what men called his leisure, being widely apart from his dramatic works.

Inigo Jones shaded the last rays of royal favour, which James had so long cast upon him, and Charles the First had more taste for Shakespeare than for the humorous author. It is true that the new King raised the honorarium of the Poet Laureate from marks to pounds, and added the "Terse of Canary Spanish Wine out of our own stores of wine at Whitehall," which, we believe, has ever since been enjoyed by his successors; but Masques had gone out of fashion with the genial gossiping King, and the poet's occupation seemed well nigh gone also.

Troubles crowded upon him; his fine library was destroyed by fire, and with it those notes he had taken. Palsy crept over him; he seldom moved out, yet was there life—a vigorous, intellectual life—in the grand old man. It is interesting and touching also, to mark the change which seemed to be passing over his dramatic instincts. Among his papers we find not only "The English Grammar made by Ben Jonson for the benefit of all strangers, out of his observation of the English language, now spoken and in use," and what he calls his "Timber, or Discoveries made upon Men and Matter, as they have flowed out of his Daily Readings; or had their Reflux to his Peculiar Notion of the Times"—works which cry aloud for notice, but which tyrant space forbids—not only these, but an unfinished, or, at any rate, a mutilated copy of a play of quite a different character from any he had written before.

It is no longer a stately tragedy, nor an ingenious exhibition of artificial habits and eccentric humours; but a tale of simple rustic, English life, with a silver thread of deepest human passion running through it, which comes home to and moves deeply the heart.

The Sad Shepherd; or, a Tale of Robin Hood, is a pastoral drama of exquisite beauty, and shows us what Jonson could do when his heart was allowed to guide his pen, and when the poet got the better of the dramatic censor of

morals. The sylvan scene at Sherwood, the rural sports, and the mischief wrought out by the envious witch and her children; all are redolent of country life, while through them all passes the Sad Shepherd mourning, in lines of great beauty, the loss of his fair Earine, who has been drowned in the Trent. The opening lines will suffice for a specimen:—

“Here she was wont to go! and here! and here!
 Just where those Daisies, Pinks and Violets grow:
 The world may find the Spring by following her;
 For other Print her airy Steps ne’er left:
 Her treading would not bend a blade of Grass!
 Nor shake the downy Blow-ball from his Stalk!
 But like the Soft West Wind she shot along,
 And where she went, the Flowers took thickest root,
 As she had sow’d ’em with her odorous Foot.”

We must quote briefly from the Prologue, for it is, as it were, the Dramatist’s review of the past and his promise for the future:—

“He that hath feasted you these forty years,
 And fitted Fables for your finer Ears,
 Although at first he scarce could hit the bore,
 To you, with patience harkening more and more.
 At length hath grown up to him, and made known
 The working of his Pen, is now your own,
 He prays you would vouchsafe for your own sake
 To hear him this once more——”

Then, speaking of the Sad Shepherd, he continues:—

“Hear what his sorrows are; and if they wound
 Your gentle breasts so that the end crown all,
 Which in the scope of one day’s charm may fall!
 Old Trent will send you more such tales as these,
 And shall grow young again as one doth please.

A promise never, alas! to be fulfilled, which leaves a blank in English Elizabethan literature, which none else could fill. So it was that he may be said to have died pen in hand, revising his Grammar and Discoveries, and pouring out his rich fancy and warm heart over this

“Well of English undefiled.”

He died on the 6th of August, 1637, at the age of 63, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, under that simple stone in the north aisle, which has grown into a national monument. Not indeed such an one as his loving friends designed, when they opened a large and successful sub-

scription for something more worthy of the man and place. But civil discord delayed the completion of the work, which never afterwards was taken up again. Sir John Young, of Great Milton, Oxfordshire—Jonson's Jack Young—chanced to pass through the Abbey, and gave one of the workmen eighteen pence to cut upon the plain stone, the words, since so memorable, "O rare Ben Jonson."

There was the end of the great design, perhaps none the less striking than a costly monument, and certainly with an epitaph which is better remembered than any other over an English grave. In Jonson the last of his family died: Wife and children had all passed away before him. His troubles threw him back upon himself, his mind and books, and we are the inheritors; to us he has bequeathed his undying progeny, and may we cherish them for their own and for their father's sake.

LITURGY.

The custom of placing Lamps before Statues.

REV. SIR.—As your articles on Liturgy are very instructive, would you kindly treat of a subject that appears to be very important, viz. :—

1. On what authority are lamps permitted to be burned before statues in Catholic Churches?

2. On what authority are lamps permitted to burn before statues in such places as oratories, convents, &c.?

3. Is there any authority required from the Bishop of the diocese for doing so?

4. Are lamps to be permitted to be burned before statues indiscriminately, such as statues of the Sacred Heart, the Blessed Virgin, St. Joseph, &c.?

5. Are these lamps to be permitted where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved?

6. Is it permitted at any time to have lamps burning before statues, when the Blessed Sacrament is publicly exposed?

Reply to I.—We have the authority of the *Caeremoniale*¹ *Episcoporum*, of the Congregation of Rites,² and of Pope Clement XIV.³ for this practice. Other authorities might be cited, but these, we presume, are sufficient.

¹ Lib. i. cap. xii. 17.

² 31 March, 1821.

³ Bull. R. Continuatio, t. iv. p. 444. Apud Mulbauer, Tom. ii. p. 3.

The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum*,¹ besides ordering the use of lamps before the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament, allows and commends the use of them before the other altars of a church, on which the Blessed Sacrament does not repose. In the same place, it also sanctions the employment of them before the relics of the saints.

Pope Clement XIV.² approved of the bequest of a sum of money left by Maria Anne, Queen of Portugal, to purchase oil for a perpetual lamp before a statue of the Blessed Virgin, and ordered that this money should be expended solely in accordance with the wish of the testatrix.

The Congregation of Rites³ supposes, in many of its decrees, that lamps may be lighted before the relics and statues of the saints. "Idcirco," writes Gardellini, in his note on the decree of the 31st of March, 1821, "*si lampades accendi velint in honorem alicujus sancti, cujus imago in medio altaris sita est, vel lateraliter extra mensam ponendae sunt, vel pensiles e conspectu altaris.*"

From all this it follows that a lamp is lighted in Catholic churches in token of homage and reverence. The precise nature of this homage is to be gathered from what we know and believe regarding the person or object in whose honour it is lighted. Thus we light a lamp before the Blessed Sacrament, and the act is one of adoration; before the statue of the Blessed Virgin, and it is the homage which we call relative "*hyperdulia*;" before the relics and images of the saints it is relative "*dulia*." Lamps are also lighted on other occasions to express some mystical meaning. The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* sums up their purposes in these words, "*tum ad cultum et ornatum, tum ad mysticum sensum.*"⁴

Reply to II.—To explain the meaning of lighting lamps before statues, seems to us to supply a satisfactory answer to the query, on what authority they are used in Oratories, &c. There, as in churches, they are legitimately used as tokens of respect and reverence.

Reply to III.—The authority of the Bishop is not required for doing so.

Reply to IV.—That they are allowed before the statues of saints is plain from what has been said.

Reply to V.—The *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* expressly

¹ Lib. i. cap. xii. 17.

² Bull. R. Continuatio, t. iv. p. 444. Apud Mulbauer, Tom. ii. p. 3.

³ 31 March, 1821.

⁴ Lib. i. cap. xii. 17.

allows them in churches where the Blessed Sacrament is reserved. The altar of the Blessed Sacrament should, however, be easily distinguishable from the others, either by having many lamps before it or one larger and better than the others. According to the *Caeremoniale*¹ there should be before the tabernacle containing the Blessed Sacrament at least five lamps; the Roman Ritual requires "many or at least one lamp." "*Lampades coram eo plures, vel saltem una, die noctuque perpetuo colluceat.*"² Of course, the Blessed Sacrament should be kept at the high altar in parochial churches, and in the churches of Regulars, unless there is good reason for selecting one of the smaller altars; but in cathedrals the Blessed Sacrament is not, as a rule, to be kept at the high altar, on account of the pontifical ceremonies which make it necessary for the celebrant and his ministers to turn their back so often to the tabernacle, and to take other positions which would be considered not sufficiently reverential to the Blessed Sacrament in the tabernacle. Accordingly, the Congregation of Bishops decided, "*Tabernaculum SS. Sacramenti in Cathedralibus non debet esse in altari majori propter functiones Pontificales quae fiunt versis renibus ad altare; in Parochialibus vero et Regularibus debet regulariter esse in altari majori tanquam digniori.*"³

Reply to VI.—The *Instructio Clementina*⁴ orders that the relics and statues of saints should not be placed *on the altar* where the Blessed Sacrament is publicly exposed. This applies to all public expositions of the Blessed Sacrament.⁵ But there is no prohibition in this instruction, or elsewhere, as far as we know, regarding the other altars of a church, particularly if they are not in the sanctuary. Gardellini, for example, teaches in his *Commentary on the Instructio Clementina*, that the statues in a church need not be covered during the ordinary Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament.⁶ Quite the contrary. He thinks that it is in keeping with the practice and spirit of the Church that they should be uncovered, in order that they, by their

¹ Lib. i. cap. xii. 17.

² De Sac. Euch**

³ 10 Feb. 1579. 29 Nov. 1594. See also *Caer. Epis. Lib. i. cap. xii. 8. Rit. Rom. De SS. Euch. Sac.*

⁴ Tom. iv. cap. viii. 4.

⁵ S. R. C. 2 Sept. 1741. Gard. *Commentaria ad Inst. Clemen.* § iv.

⁶ "*Altera pars sanctionis (Instructionis Clementinae) quae est de velandis imaginibus, pariter obtinet in sola Expositione Quadraginta Horarum, nec est necessario trahenda ad alias nedum minus solemnes, sed etiam solemnissimas, quae non ex praecepto sed ex pia institutione, laudabili consuetudine et devotione interdum fiunt.*" § iii. n. 3.

presence, might suggest to the faithful to ask the saints to aid by their powerful intercession the weak prayers they address to the Author of grace.¹ If this be so, we can see no objection to the lighting of the lamp. This practice is, as far as we know, prohibited by no positive order, and it is not of itself calculated to distract the adorers of the Blessed Sacrament.

In a late number² of the RECORD we printed several decrees regarding Scapulars. We continue, by request, to give other decrees on the same matter.

I.

The practice of giving blessed Scapulars to laymen for distribution is forbidden. For valid enrolment, the Scapular or habit must be received from the hand of a priest duly deputed for the purpose :

"Ho trovato stabilita la Confraternita di Nostra Signora del Carmine. Il Sacerdote autorizzato secondo le regole benedice gli Scapolari, ed un secolare va a distribuirli in tutto il territorio. Si possono in questo modo lucrare le Indulgenze?"

S. I. C. resp. "*Negative* quoad devotos, qui, pro ingressu in societatem, habitum benedictum de manu Sacerdotis auctoritatem habentis non receperunt." 18 Sept., 1862.

II.

Re-enrolment, by one having the requisite authority, is necessary, in case the first enrolment was invalid because the Scapular was not of the proper kind. The mere substitution of a properly made Scapular, by a person who has no power to enrol in the Scapular, will not suffice. The case decided is this: One of the faithful receives the Scapular from a duly qualified priest, but the investment is invalid because both pieces of cloth are at the same end of the string. By and by, the person finds out that the Scapular is not of the proper kind, and exchanges it for a properly made one, with which he invests himself. The Congregation decides that this person is not enrolled :

"An pro valida admissione ad Confraternitatem B. Mariæ de Carmelo, caeteraque omnia lucra sufficiat *reliquis servatis* impositio habitus confecti duobus pannis in una eademque extremitate funiculorum positis, modo postea ad lucrum effectivum Indulgentiarum, privilegiorum, etc., ipsemet admissus quilibet sibi imponat habitum rite confectum juxta decretum." 12 Feb., 1840.

S. C. Ind. resp. *Negative*. 18 Sept., 1862.

¹ Gard. Comment. § iii. nn. 5. 7.

² May, 1881.

III.

The Scapulars may be validly given to children who have not yet arrived at the use of reason. When they come to the years of discretion, so as to be able to understand what was done for them, they can gain all the indulgences and privileges attached to the Scapulars by observing the necessary conditions for associates without a renewal of the initiation :

“Cum in civitate vulgo *Turcoing* nuncupata, Archidioecesis Cameracensis hoc in nonnullarum piarum matrum more positum sit, ut parvulis suis etiam rationis usum nondum adeptis sacrum Scapulare consueto ritu imponi faciant, superior domus religiosae Missionariorum Societatis Mariae ejusdem civitatis, de hujusmodi impositionis validitate dubitans, exquirat :

“Utrum sufficiens sit isthaec Scapularis impositio, ut parvuli cum ad rationis usum pervenerunt, indulgentiis aliisque privilegiis illud gestantibus concessis frui possint et valeant ?”

S. C. Ind. resp. *Affirmative*. 29 Aug, 1864.

IV.

One and the same blessed Scapular may be used for the enrolment of many persons, when those who present themselves for investment have not each a Scapular of his own. The Form must, of course, be repeated over each individual, and the Scapular placed on his shoulders. Moreover, the first Scapular worn by a person so invested must be duly blessed :

“Nonnunquam accidit ut, cum sacerdos ad id legitime deputatus, Scapulare B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo aliudve fidelibus imponit, deficiant Scapularia priusquam omnium fidelium votis satisfieri potuerit ; hinc superior domus religiosae Missionariorum Societatis Mariae humiliter supplicat :

“Utrum unum idemque Scapulare semel benedictum valide possit pluribus per vicem imponi, repetita solummodo super singulis receptionis sive impositionis formula ?”

S. C. Ind. resp. *Affirmative*, ita tamen ut primum Scapulare quod deinceps adscriptus induere debet sit benedictum. 18 Aug., 1868.

V.

The Form given in the Ritual and Breviary of the Carmelites need not be used under pain of invalidity. The enrolment is valid, provided the *substantials* are observed, namely, the blessing and imposing (impositio) of the Scapular, and the reception into the confraternity :

“Utrum hujusmodi formula usurpari solita in actu impositionis Scapularium essentialis sit, ut quis Scapulare rite accepisse

censeatur jusque habeat ad indulgentias illud ferentibus concessas, an vero absque indulgentiarum dispendio possit omitti, prasertim in morbis aliove urgente casu?"

S. C. Ind. resp. "Tum ad primam quam ad secundam partem proferenda esse verba quae sunt substantialia, ad formam decreti hujus S. Congregationis, 24 Aug., 1844, quod se sic habet:—An rata sit fidelium adscriptio Confraternitati B. M. V. de Monte Carmelo, quae fit a sacerdotibus quidem facultatem habentibus, non servata tamen forma in Rituali et Breviario Ord. Carmelitarum descripta?"

S. C. resp. "*Affirmative*, dummodo sacerdotes facultatem habentes non deficiant in substantialibus, nempe, in benedictione et impositione habitus, ac in receptione ad Confraternitatem." 24 Aug., 1844; 18 Aug., 1868

R. B.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

ON THE SPECIAL FACULTIES GRANTED TO CONFESSORS IN FAVOUR OF PERSONS GAINING THE JUBILEE.

AT the request of the Editor, I shall endeavour to reply to a question of obvious practical importance which has been suggested by more than one correspondent as a suitable subject for exposition in these pages. The question may be stated as follows:—

"It is certain that, whereas the Indulgence of the Jubilee may be gained as often as the prescribed works are performed, the special faculties granted to confessors can be exercised in favour of the same individual but *once*. Take, however, the case of a person who has already gained the Jubilee, but who did not, when gaining it, require the exercise of those faculties, can the faculties be now exercised in his favour if he repeats the prescribed works and gains the Jubilee a second time? In other words, are we to suppose that the provision which restricts the gaining of the Jubilee, as regards the concession of those special faculties, to *one* occasion, is to be understood in the sense that this *one* occasion must necessarily be the *first*?"

Before proceeding directly to answer the question as thus stated, it is well to observe that there is closely con-

nected with it another question of scarcely less practical importance, of which we must take care not to lose sight. It is this: whether, *on the first occasion* on which a person performs the prescribed works to gain the Jubilee, he may *more than once* obtain the benefit of the faculties in question? The case contemplated of course is that in which, in consequence of a relapse, or of the commission of some other reserved sin, or of his again incurring a reserved censure, it becomes necessary for him again to receive absolution before the Jubilee can be gained.

The statement of this second question, taken in connexion with the first, puts before us the possibility of three interpretations of the restricting clause of the Encyclical—“*hac vice tantum*”—by which the concession of the special faculties is limited.

For it is possible to understand it (1) in the sense that *only one absolution* can be given by virtue of those faculties; or (2) in the sense that while those faculties are available for obtaining absolution *once or more frequently*, as the case may require, they are available only *on one occasion of gaining the Jubilee*; or (3) in the sense that they are available only *on the FIRST occasion* of gaining it.

It is well to deal separately with the two questions by which this variety of interpretation is suggested.

In the first place, then, let us take the question, Can the special faculties be exercised *more than once* in favour of a person *who has not yet gained the Jubilee*?

I may here, perhaps, venture to transcribe, with a few trifling modifications in form, an exposition of this question published, on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1869, in a number of the former series of the RECORD, which probably may not now be accessible to some readers who take an interest in the discussion of the point. Although the view then set forth must be substantially modified in consequence of recent decisions, a statement of it will form a useful introduction to the statement of the opinion which must now be held.

The exposition, then, to which I refer was in substance as follows:—

Loiseaux, in his Treatise on the Jubilee, considers that the clause *hac vice tantum* clearly shows that, even in the case of a person who has not gained the Jubilee, the faculties

cannot be exercised a second time. "Une seule chose," he says, "est à examiner: le confesseur (lui ou un autre) a-t-il déjà usé de ses pouvoirs en faveur de ce pénitent? S'il a fait, il ne peut plus l'absoudre . . . Cela résulte des termes de la concession *hac vice tantum* qui doivent être restreints à *une seule absolution*."

On the other hand De Lugo and Sanchez hold that the limitation excluding the repeated exercise of the faculties is to be understood in reference only to the case of a person who has already gained the Jubilee:—"Si aliquis," says De Lugo, "communione distulit . . . poterit ante communionem adhuc iterum absolvi a novis reservatis, licet diebus praecedentibus confessus et absolutus jam fuerit ab aliis." In this view, then, the limitation is to be understood as limiting the concession of the faculties to *one occasion of gaining the Jubilee*, and not necessarily to *one ABSOLUTION* only.

Loiseaux indeed considers that since the publication of Benedict XIV.'s Encyclicals, published on the occasion of the Jubilee of 1750, this opinion is untenable. But, as may be seen by referring to those Encyclicals, it is in reality in no way at variance with them. Thus, Benedict XIV.'s first reference to the restriction of the faculties occurs in his Constitution *Convocatis*, in which he says:—

"Intelligent [confessarii] item uti non posse! [hujusmodi facultatibus] cum iis poenitentibus qui Jubilaeum semel jam lucrati fuissent."

In another portion of the same Constitution, when speaking of persons who, in order to gain the indulgence of the Jubilee several times, repeat the performance of the prescribed works, he adds:—

"Hoc tamen [declaramus] neminem posse nisi *semel*, id est, *prima tantum VICE* frui seu potiri favoribus Jubilaeo adjunctis."

Finally, in his Encyclical *Inter praeteritos*, written for the purpose of removing all doubts that might arise regarding the interpretation of his previous instructions, he says:—

"In eadem Constitutione [Convocatis] atque eodem numero declaravimus qui *semel* illarum [gratiarum] particeps factus est *prima vice* qua Jubilaeum consecutus fuit, *iterum* eorum participem fieri non posse, si, POST PRIMAM JUBILAEI ACQUISITIONEM, iterum in censuras incurrerit, aut casus reservatos commiserit,"

In these passages then—and in these alone does he impose on confessors any limitation as to the repeated

exercise of those special faculties—it is obvious that Benedict XIV. refers exclusively to the case of persons *who have already gained the Jubilee*. Such persons, he says, cannot again be absolved by virtue of the Jubilee faculties, although they can gain the plenary indulgence of the Jubilee as often as they repeat the performance of the works enumerated in the Bull. He does not say, nor does he appear to imply, that the faculties are not available more than once for a person who is still engaged in performing those works *for the first time*, and who consequently has not yet gained the Indulgence of the Jubilee. It is manifest then, that if we had no other guide upon the subject than the decisions of Benedict XIV., confessors would by no means be forbidden to act on the opinion of De Lugo and Sanchez.

So far, in substance, for the exposition given in 1869. In thus transcribing it, I should perhaps state that, although the application to one Jubilee of the rules or decisions given in reference to another is far from being a safe principle of interpretation, and is indeed, on the contrary, a most fruitful source of error, there is no such danger incurred in thus applying the rules that were laid down by Benedict XIV. for the Jubilee published by him in 1750. For we have the express authority of decisions of recent date that those rules are to be followed in all cases of Jubilee, whether ordinary or extraordinary, unless the terms of the Bull granting the Jubilee are such as to render it necessary to adopt a different interpretation.

“In Jubilaeo, tum ordinario tum extraordinario, servandae sunt omnes regulae a S. P. Benedicto XIV. traditae, quibus non adversatur Bulla Jubilaei.”

This decision, establishing a principle of the widest application and of the most obvious practical importance, was given in 1852 by the Sacred Congregation of Indulgences, in answer to a question proposed by M. Loiseaux, the author of the excellent treatise on the Jubilee more than once mentioned in the preceding pages.

But, as I have already indicated, the decision is here referred to merely to guard against a possible misconception. For, as regards the point now under consideration, it is plain from the extracts above transcribed that the authority of Benedict XIV. cannot be quoted as decisive in favour of either view.

Subsequent, then, to the appearance in these pages of the exposition set forth above, no fewer than six decisions regarding the repeated gaining of the Jubilee Indulgence, and the restriction of the Jubilee faculties, have been issued at Rome, some from the Congregation of Indulgences, others from the Penitentiary.

They are as follows :

I.—PENITENTIARY (1st June, 1869).

“QUAER. 13°. Celui qui, pendant le Jubilé, a été absous en vertu du Jubilé de censures et de cas réservés, et qui retombe ensuite dans des cas et sous le coup de censures réservés, peut-il être absous une seconde fois *en renouvelant les œuvres prescrites* ?”

“RESP. *Negative.*”

II.—CONGREGATION OF INDULGENCES (10th July, 1869.)

“DUB. X. Attenta clausula ‘*hac vice tantum*’ quaeritur an qui in censuras et casus reservatos inciderit una tantum vice absolvi possit, prout edixit Benedictus XIV. in Constitutione [*Inter praeteritos*], vel potius in hoc Jubilaeo toties quoties in censuras et casus reservatos inciderit absolvi possit ?”

“RESP. *Affirmative ad primam partem : negative ad secundam* [id est, una tantum vice absolvi potest, non toties quoties].

III.—PENITENTIARY (25th January, 1875).

“DECLARAT 3 S. Poenitentiaria, vi praesentis Jubilaei, una tantum vice absolvi posse a censuris et casibus reservatis, et similiter semel tantum acquiri posse ipsius Jubilaei indulgentiam.”

IV.—PENITENTIARY (1875).

“QUAER. 1°. An confessarii absolvere possint poenitentem qui jam a reservatis et a censuris absolutus in ea *denuo* inciderit *antequam opera impleverit* ad Jubilaeum adquirendum praescripta ?”

“RESP. Virtute Jubilaei posse *una vice tantum* absolvi a reservatis et a censuris ; seu *negative.*”

V.—PENITENTIARY (26th February, 1879).

“DECLARAT 4°. Jubilaeum quoad plenariam Indulgentiam, bis aut pluries lucriferi posse. injuncta opera bis aut pluries iterando ; semel vero, id est prima tantum vice, quoad favores eidem Jubilaeo adjunctos, nempe absolutiones a censuris et casibus reservatis, commutationes aut dispensationes.”

VI.—PENITENTIARY (25th March, 1881).

[This Decree, published in reference to the present Jubilee, merely renews and confirms, by command of the Sovereign Pontiff, the decisions previously issued for the Jubilee of 1879.

It is set forth in full in the May number of the present volume of the RECORD].

Of these six decisions it is obvious that the first makes no reference to the question now under examination. The 2nd, 3rd, 5th, and 6th,—at least if considered apart—might fairly be regarded as ambiguous.

But the 4th deals expressly and exclusively with the case before us, of a person who has not yet gained the Jubilee,—“*qui jam a reservatis et a censuris absolutus in ea denuo incidit antequam opera impleverit ad Jubilaeum acquirendum praescripta*,”—and as it resolves the question in the *negative*, it seems to remove all possibility of controversy on the point.

We have not indeed a formal decision to the effect that this declaration is to be applied to all future Jubilees, as, for instance, to the Jubilee which is now proclaimed; but manifestly it is to be taken as an authoritative exposition of the phrase “*una vice tantum*,” and consequently as laying down a rule which cannot prudently be departed from unless some other exposition at variance with it should on some future occasion be given by the Holy See.

Having thus ascertained that, *even on the first occasion* of gaining the Jubilee, the faculties are available but for *one absolution*, we may now proceed to examine the question set forth at the beginning of this paper:—“Is the limitation, which restricts the gaining of the Jubilee, so far as regards the concession of the special faculties to *one occasion*, to be understood in the sense that this one occasion must be the *first*?”

In the paper to which I have already referred, this question also was resolved in a sense favourable to the exercise of the faculties on *any one occasion*, whether this was the *first*, or *second*, or any *subsequent* occasion, of gaining the Jubilee.

This too was the view taken by M. Loiseaux in his Treatise on the Jubilee, and since then set forth and defended by him at considerable length in the Belgian periodical, the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*.

The grounds on which it rests may be stated thus:—The *only* limitation assigned in the Bull or Encyclical issued by the Sovereign Pontiff, in granting the special faculties of the Jubilee, is that they *cannot be exercised more than once*. Now this limitation is obviously respected whether the occasion on which they are exercised is the *first*, or *second*, or any

subsequent occasion of performing the prescribed work and gaining the Jubilee Indulgence. There is, therefore, absolutely no reason for restricting it to the *first* occasion.

Moreover an express decision of the Sacred Penitentiary may be quoted as establishing the correctness of this view.

The question was in fact submitted for decision by the Bishop of Como, in reference to the Jubilee proclaimed on the occasion of the Vatican Council. The text of the question and of the reply is as follows :—

“TITUS, postquam *pluries* praesentis Jubilaei indulgentiam obtinuerit, in censuram reservatam lapsus est. Hinc quaeritur.

“1. An possit a suo confessario Titius absolvi, eo quod nunquam fuerit in anteactis confessionibus aliquo reservato irretitus, ac propterea nunquam hoc Jubilaei privilegio usus sit?

“Si affirmative,

“2. Utrum Titius denuo debeat opera praestare quae ad Jubilaeum consequendum injuncta sunt?

“3. An solutio, quam Eminentia Vestra Reverendissima proferre dignabitur, habenda sit tanquam regula generalis in ceteris etiam Jubilaeis tenenda?

“COMI, Kalend. Januarii, An. Dni, 1873.”

“S. POENITENTIARIA super praemissis sic respondit :

“Ad 1^{um} et 2^{um}, *affirmative*.

“Ad 3^{um}, *Standum Litteris Apostolicis*.

“DATUM Romae, in S. Poenitentiaria, Die 13 Januarii anno 1873.

A. PELLEGRINI, *S.P. Reg.*

A. CAN. PALOMBI, *S.P., Substit.*”

Manifestly this decision fully sustains the view set forth, in 1869, in these pages, namely, that whatever diversity of opinion might exist in reference to the question discussed in the earlier part of this paper, there could be no doubt that, in the case of a person who had already gained the Jubilee, but had not yet been absolved by virtue of the special faculties, those faculties could be exercised if he were again to perform the prescribed works in order once more to gain the Jubilee.

It remains, however, to examine whether, as in the former case, subsequent decisions may not have introduced a modification in this respect also. The answer indeed of the Penitentiary just quoted conveys an important admonition bearing upon this view of the case. The rule laid down in 1873 is *not* to be regarded as a general rule. The question seeking for a declaration that it might be so

regarded was answered in the words:—"Standum Litteris Apostolicis."

Has any new light then been thrown upon the question by the subsequent action of the Holy See?

On reference to the Decrees already set forth on page 496, it will be seen that whereas all those issued previous to 1879—that is to say, previous to the present Pontificate,—are obviously in harmony with the view set forth above, we find in the decree of 1879, and consequently in that of 1881, another form of expression with which, to say the least, that opinion cannot easily be reconciled. In those two Decrees the word "*Semel*" is carefully explained, not as meaning merely *UNA Vice*, so as to admit the exercise of the faculties on *any one occasion* of the Jubilee being gained, but as meaning *PRIMA Vice*—"Semel, ID EST, PRIMA tantum vice," an expression which, as has already been observed, it is not easy to understand as conveying any other meaning than that the faculties in question are restricted not merely to some *ONE* occasion, but to the *FIRST* occasion on which the Jubilee is gained.

But while thus stating what seems to be the import of the most recent decrees on this subject, it is right also to add that writers of authority, such as M. Loiseaux, in some recent numbers of the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, and the American Redemptorist, F. Konings, in his useful little manual explaining the Encyclical granting the present Jubilee, still interpret the clause, "*hac vice tantum*," in the sense of the exposition published in these pages in 1869. In view of the fact that this opinion is thus maintained by writers of authority, having all the evidence in the case fully before them, it would be presumptuous to represent any other interpretation of the clause, as *certainly* true. Other considerations, too, are not wanting which go to show that the view taken in 1869 may still be regarded as *probable*. Hence it would seem that, at least in any diocese where that view is adopted in the diocesan publication of the conditions and regulations of the Jubilee, no confessor need feel any difficulty in acting upon it.

W. J. W.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE ARRANGEMENT OF SOME FEASTS
IN THE IRISH DIRECTORY FOR JULY.

The following interesting point has been submitted for explanation :—

“ Is it not by an oversight that the Office and Mass *de Dominica* are set down in our Latin Directory for Sunday, the 10th of July, ‘ in Dioecesis Dublinensi, Tuamensi, et Dromorensi ’ ? ”

“ On that same Sunday, the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary is assigned for all the other dioceses of Ireland.

“ Then when we come to Sunday, the 24th of July, we find this Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary set down for the three dioceses just mentioned, while the rest of the Irish clergy, having celebrated that Feast a fortnight before, are now directed to read the Office and Mass *de Dominica*.

“ Is it possible to explain this strange liturgical complication on any liturgical principle? Does it not seem obvious that, as the clergy of Dublin, Tuam, and Dromore, had not celebrated the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary before Sunday, the 10th of July, that Feast should have been set down in the Directory on that day, for them, as well as for the rest of the clergy throughout Ireland ?

“ Either Sunday, the 10th of July, was a day available for the celebration of this Feast, or it was not. If it was, why was *de Dominica* set down for the priests of Dublin, Tuam, and Dromore? And on the other hand, if that Sunday was not available for the celebration of the Feast, why were the priests of the rest of Ireland directed to celebrate it on that day ?

“ In case of a plain instance of oversight, such as this seems to be, on the part of the Very Rev. Editor of the Directory, is not a priest justified in disregarding the arrangement set forth the *Ordo* ? ”

Our reverend correspondent is quite correct in supposing that in case a direction given in the *Ordo* is plainly and unquestionably at variance with a rubric or a liturgical decree, the rubric, or decree in question, is to be followed in preference to the incorrect statement in the *Ordo*. This principle is embodied in the following answer of the Sacred Congregation of Rites :—

“ QUÆR. 6. Cum pro nonnullis sanctis propriis regni Hispaniarum, de quibus recitatur officium ritu duplicis minoris, habeantur lectiones primi nocturni *de Communi*, pro aliis vero *de Scriptura occurrente*, quaeritur quae certa regula servari debeat quoad numeratas primi nocturni lectiones in officiis duplicibus minoribus ?

"7. An quoad easdem lectiones primi nocturni in duplicibus minoribus standum sit dispositionibus directorii vel breviarii?

Rksp. S. C. R. Ad 6^{um}. Lectiones primi nocturni in casu esse de Scriptura, nisi diversae in Indulto expresse assignantur.

"Ad 7. Jam *provisum in proximo*. (27 Aug., 1863).

But as regards the application of the principle thus laid down, it is necessary to bear in mind that the decision just quoted has reference to a case in which the direction given in the *Ordo* is plainly and unquestionably at variance with the requirements of liturgical law. We learn too from an earlier decision (23rd May, 1833), that the same principle is by no means to be applied in cases of *doubt*, or even in cases where it appears *more probable* that the directions of the *Ordo* are incorrect. Furthermore, the decision of 1833 teaches us, that even the fact that it *seems* to some one even *certain* (*certum alicui videretur*) that the *Ordo* is incorrect, is not sufficient to justify a departure from its directions.

Now there are few departments of ecclesiastical science in which it is more difficult to decide with absolute certainty that a rule, laid down by any writer of authority,—for instance, by a priest entrusted with the charge of drawing up the diocesan calendar,—is clearly incorrect.

The case before us is admirably adapted for illustrating this statement. No doubt it would appear at first sight almost evident that the arrangement referred to by our correspondent was the result merely of an oversight. But a reference to the Indults of the years 1853 and 1864, which the Very Rev. Editor of the Directory mentions in parentheses in the *Ordo* for the 10th of July, is sufficient to clear up the whole difficulty.

The Indult of 1853 (14th August) establishes for the ecclesiastical Province of Dublin, in compliance with the petition of the Archbishop and Bishops of the Province, this Festival of the Sacred Heart of Mary. The Indult of 1854 (6th August) in compliance with the petition of all the Irish Archbishops and Bishops, extends the concession to all the dioceses of Ireland.

In both cases the terms of the concession are the same: "*Officium sanctissimi cordis B. V. M. prima Dominica post festum sanctissimi cordis Jesu non impedita festo duplici.*"

Now it so happened this year that the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was not celebrated in any diocese in Ireland on its ordinary day—the day following the Octave Day of the feast of Corpus Christi. For, this year, that Friday happened to be the 24th of June, the Feast of

St. John the Baptist, which as a Double of the First class could not be displaced. Hence the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus was celebrated on the earliest day available for it as a transferred feast. As regards the Irish dioceses generally, this was Thursday, the 7th July. But in Dublin, Tuam, and Dromore, in consequence of arrangements resulting from the feasts of the diocesan patrons occurring in June, there was no day available for the transferred feast until Thursday, the 21st of July.

Thus in Ireland generally, in accordance with the terms of the Indults of 1853 and 1854, the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary was set down in the Directory for Sunday, the 10th of July,—the first Sunday after the celebration of the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the 7th. But in Dublin, Tuam, and Dromore, the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Mary could not be set down for an earlier date than Sunday, the 24th, that is to say, the first Sunday after the celebration of the Feast of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, which, in those three dioceses, as we have seen, was not celebrated until Thursday, the 21st.

This, it may be assumed, in the absence of an opportunity of referring the matter to the consideration of the Very Rev. Editor of the *Ordo*, was the principle on which the arrangements of Feasts was made to which our correspondent refers in his interesting letter.

W. J. W.

DOCUMENTS.

THE NEW PAPAL CONSTITUTION "ROMANOS PONTIFICES." (CONCLUSION).

NUNC ad illud progredimur controversiæ caput, in quo de temporalibus missionum bonis disputatum est. Ex liberalitate fideium ea parta bona sunt, qui cum sua sponte et voluntate dona largiantur, vel intuitu missionis id faciant, vel ejus qui missioni praeest. Jam si missionis intuitu donatio contigerit, ambigi solet, an viri religiosi quibus donum sit traditum, accepti et expensi rationem reddere Episcopo teneantur. Atque istud quidem fieri oportere, sacrum consilium christiano nomini propagando super dubio proposito ob missiones Britannicas religiosis Ordinibus sive Institutis commissas die xix. Aprilis MDCCCLXIX., rescripsit in hæc verba: "(1) Missionarii regulares bonorum temporalium, ad ipsos

“*qua regulares spectantium, rationem Episcopis reddere non tenentur*; (2) Eorum tamen bonorum, quae missioni, vel regularibus intuitu missionis tributa fuerunt, Episcopi jus habent “*ab iisdem missionariis regularibus, aequae ac a Parochis cleri “saecularis, rationem exigendi.*” Quo vero tabulis accepti et expensi ratio constaret, sacer idem Coetus die x. Maii anno MDCCCLXVII., in mandatis dederat ut bona missionum diligenter describerentur, ea secernendo quae propria missionum essent ab iis que ad sodalitia sodalesve singulos pertinerent.

Nihil enimvero in his decernendis vel praecipiendis est actum, quod juris communis doctrinis vulgatissimis apprime non congruat. Nam quaevis oblatio parochi aut alteri Ecclesiae Rectori data piae cujusdam causae intuitu, ipsimet piae causae acquiritur. Ex quo fit, ut qui rem pecuniamve oblatam accepit administratoris loco sit, cujus est illam erogare juxta mentem et consilium largitoris.¹ Quoniam vero administrantis officio incumbit rationes actus sui conficere, eique reddere cujus res gesta fuit,² ideo parochus vel Ecclesiae Rector facere non potest quin rationes reddat Ordinario loci, cujus est jurisdictio et causae piae tutela.³ At missiones, de quibus apud Nos actum fuit, pleno jure ad Episcopum pertinent; huic ergo cujusque oblationis earum intuitu collectae rationes oportet exhibere. Neque haec ex eo infirmantur, quod Urbanus II. in Concilio Claromontano, alique post eum Romani Pontifices decreverunt⁴ circa Ecclesias Parochiales, quoad temporalia Monasteriis junctas, teneri vicarios respondere Episcopis de *plebis cura*, de temporalibus vero non ita, cum monasterio suo sint obnoxii; siquidem seposita etiam ratione historica unde ea profecta est juris dispositio,⁵ certum exploratumque est in iis pontificiis decretis ac litteris appellatione temporalium, beneficii fructus et quae beneficiati personae adhaerent compendia significari.

Quocirca ea confirmantes quae a s. Congregatione de Propaganda Fide rescripta et mandata sunt, statuimus, religiosos sodales, redditus Episcopo rationibus, docere debere de pecunia, intuitu missionum sibi allata, et quantum de ea et quos in usus impenderit aequae ac missionarios Cleri saecularis, juxta praedictas resolutiones ejusdem Congregationis die xix Aprilis MDCCCLXIX., et Instructionem die x. Maii MDCCCLXVIII.

¹ Fagnan. in cap. *Pastoralis, de his quae fiunt a Praelatis*, n. 29—Card. de Luca in *Conc. Trid.* discurs. 18, n. 5.—Reiffenst. Lib. 3 *Decret.* tit. 30, n. 193.

² L. 1. § *officio ff de tutelae et rat. distr.*—L. 2. § *et sane ff de negot. gest.* L. *Curator, L. Tutor. Cod. de negot. gest.*

³ Sac. Cong. Concilii Nullius, seu Nonantulan. *jurium parochialium* 27 Junii 1744 ad dub. XII.

⁴ Lucius II. *ad Priorem s. Pancratii in Anglia*, Alexander III. *ad Monaster. s. Arnulphi*, Lucius III. *ad Superior. Praemonstrat. et ad Abbatissam s. Hilarii in dioecesi Fesulana*.

⁵ Gonzal. Comment. in Cap. I. *de Cappel. monach.*

Tandem ne quis obrepat error aut dissensus in his quae modo jussimus exequendis, definiendum censemus, quae pecuniae, quaeque res viris religiosis oblatae intuitu missionum intelligantur. Namque receptum est hac in re, spectari primum oportere quid largitor voluerit; quod si non appareat, placuit, parochus vel rectori ecclesiae collatam donationem praesumi.¹ At multum ab hac regula recessum est propter consuetudinem, quam quidam ecclesiastici juris periti fere communem evasisse docent, cujus vi "hodie pene solae oblationes quae in Ecclesia sub missis ad altare fiunt et quae pro administratione sacramentorum, pro benedictionis nuptiis aut mulieribus post partum, pro exequiis et sepulturis, aut aliis similibus functionibus specialiter offeruntur, ad parochum spectant; consuetudine reliquas ferme omnes ecclesiis ipsis aut sacellis aut aliis certis finibus applicante."² Praeterea si in parochum rectoremve, a quibus spiritualia adjumenta fideles accipiunt,³ haud inconcinne praesumi potest collata liberalitas, ubi Ecclesia bonis praedita sit, per quae religionis decori et ministrorum tuitioni prospiciatur, longe aliud judicium esse debet ubi eam bonorum copiam Ecclesia non habeat, ac liberalitate fidelis populi unice aut potissimum sustentetur. Tunc enim largitores putandi forent voluisse consulere cultus divini splendori et religionis dignitati, ea ratione et modo quem ecclesiastica auctoritas decerneret. Ideo apud christianos primaevo lege cautum fuerat ut pecunia omnis dono accepta, inter Ecclesiam, Episcopum, Clericos, et egenos divideretur. Legis porro sese interponens auctoritas, si largitionum tempora et causas praestituat, illud efficit quoque, ne fideles semper pro arbitrio possint modum et finem designare in quem oblatam stipem erogari oporteat; nequit enim facere privatorum voluntas, ut quod a legitima potestate in bonum commune praecipitur certo destituatur effectu. Haec nobis considerantibus visi sunt prudenter et opportune egisse Patres Concilii provincialis Westmonasteriensis II., cum partim interpretantes piam et aequam donantium voluntatem, partem ea, quae Episcopis inest, utentes potestate imperandi pecuniae collationes, decernendique quo tempore et qua de causa conferri oporteat, statuerunt in capite *de bonis ecclesiasticis*, quid censendum sit intuitu missionis collatum. Jubet igitur ratio, itemque Nos constituimus, hac in re religiosis ad leges Westmonasteriensis Synodi sese affatim accommodare oportere.

Sublatis controversiis cognitioni Nostrae propositis, confidimus, curam a Nobis in iis componendis adhibitam eo valituram, ut ad tranquillitatem et incrementum rei catholicae in Anglia non leviter conferat. Equidem pronunciationes Nostras ad juris et aequitatis

¹ Argum. ex cap. *Pastoral* 9 de his quae fiunt a Praelat. cap. *Transmissa*, de Verb. sign. ac praesertim cap. I de *Statu Monach.*

² Reiffenat. *L 3 Decretal.* tit. 30, n. 193. Van. Eapen. *jus eccles. univ.* part 2, sect. 4. tit. 2, cap. 10, nn. 20 et 21.

³ Argum. ex cap. *quia Sacerdotes* 14, caus. 10, quaest. 1.

regulam studiose religioseque exegimus, nec dubitamus quin in iis exequendis par diligentia et religio eniteat illorum inter quos iudicium protulimus. Sic enim fiet, ut Episcoporum ductu et prudentia religiosi sodales de Anglicis missionibus apprime meriti strenue et alacriter e laboribus suis fructus salutis ferre pergant laetissimos, atque utrique (ut voce utamur Gregorii Magni ad Angliae Episcopos) *communi...consilio, concordique actione quae sunt pro Christi zelo agenda disponant unanimiter, recte sentiant, et quae senserint, non sibiimet discrepando perficiant.*¹ Concordiam hanc postulat paterna caritas Episcoporum in adiutores suos et mutua Cleri in Episcopos observantia; hanc concordiam flagitat finis communis qui situs est in salute animarum junctis studiis ac viribus quaerenda; hanc eandem exigit necessitas iis resistendi qui catholico nomini infensi sunt. Haec vires gignit et infirmos quoque pares efficit ad grandia quaeque gerenda; haec signum est quod sinceros Christi discipulos ab iis disterminat qui se tales esse mentiuntur. Ad hanc igitur singulos et universos enixe cohortamur in Domino, rogantes cum Paulo ut impleant gaudium Nostrum, ut idem sapiant eandem caritatem habentes unanimes. Idipsum sentientes.²

Demum ut firmiter ea consistent quae constituimus, volumus atque decernimus, praesentes Litteras et in eis contenta quaecumque, etiam ex eo quod praedicti religiosi sodales et alii quicumque, in praemissis interesse habentes cujusvis status, gradus, ordinis et dignitatis existant, seu alias specifica mentione digni iis non consenserint, nec ad ea vocati et auditi, causaeque propter quas praesentes emanaverint sufficienter adductae, verificateae et iustificateae non fuerint, aut ex alia qualibet etiam quantumvis juridica et privilegiata causa, colore et capite etiam in corpore juris clauso, nullo umquam tempore de subreptionis vel obreptionis, aut nullitatis vitio seu intentionis Nostrae, vel interesse habentium consensus, aliove quolibet, quantumvis magno et substantiali, individuumque expressionem requirente defectu impugnari, infringi, retractari in controversiam vocari, aut ad terminos juris reduci, seu adversus illas restitutionis in integrum aliudve quodcumque juris remedium intentari vel impetrari; sed ipsas praesentes Litteras semper firmas, validas et efficaces existere et fore, quibuscumque juris seu facti defectibus, qui adversus illas ad effectam impediendi vel retardandi earum executionem quovis modo vel quavis de causa opponi possent minime refragantibus, suos plenarios et integros effectus obtinere, easque propterea, omnibus et singulos impediementis penitus rejectis, ab illis ad quos spectat, et pro tempore quandocumque spectabit inviolabiliter servari; sicque et non aliter in praemissis per quoscumque iudices Ordinarios et delegatos judicari ac definiri debere, ac irritum fore et inane si secus super

¹ Apud Bedam, *Histor. Angl.* II. 29.

² Philip. II., 2.

his a quoquam quavis autoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari.

Non obstantibus praemissis, et quatenus opus sit Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae Regula *de jure quaesito non tollendo*, aliisque Apostolicis ac in Universalibus, Provincialibus et Synodaliis Conciliis editis constitutionibus et ordinationibus, nec non quorumcumque Ordinum, Congregationum, Institutorum, et Societatum, etiam Jesu, et quarumvis Ecclesiarum et aliis quibuscumque, etiam juramento, confirmatione Apostolica, vel quavis alia firmitate roboratis statutis et consuetudinibus, ac praescriptionibus etiam immemoralibus, privilegiis quoque, indultis et Litteris Apostolicis quomodolibet in contrarium praemissorum concessis, editis et factis ac licet pluries iteratis. Quibus omnibus et singulis, etiamsi pro illorum derogatione specialis forma servanda foret, tenores earumdem praesentibus pro plene ac sufficienter expressis habentes ad praemissorum effectum dumtaxat specialiter et expresse derogatum esse volumus, ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Quocumque autem modo earumdem praesentium Litterarum exempla in Anglia publicata fuerint, volumus ut statim post hujusmodi publicationem omnes et singulos quos concernunt vel concernent in posterum perinde afficiant, ac si unicuique illorum personaliter intimatae ac notificatae fuissent.

Nulli ergo hominum liceat paginam hanc Nostrarum decisionum, declarationum, decretorum, praeceptorum et voluntatis infringere vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare praesumpserit, indignationem Omnipotentis Dei et Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romae apud s Petrum anno Dominicae Incarnationis Millesimo octingentesimo octuagesimo primo, Octavo Idus Maii, Pontificatus Nostri Anno IV.

C. CARD. SACCONI *Pro-Dat.*—T. CARD. MERTEL.

Visa

DE CURIA I. DE AQUILA E VICECOMITIBUS

Loco ✠ Plumbi

Reg. in Secret. Brevium.

I. CUGNONIUS

CORRESPONDENCE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

VERY REV. DEAR SIR—In the December Supplementary No. of the RECORD, p. 740, it is asked : “What is to be done if there be no font (Baptismal) in the church?” The correspondent is very properly referred for the solution of that and other questions to the late and lamented Very Rev. Mr. O’Kane’s work.

I have considered that your correspondent might desire a fuller explanation than he may get in that inestimable work : hence I have thought that the following suggestions from one of some years’ experience on the Mission, may be deemed by you as not totally unworthy a small space in the RECORD.

In answer to the above question I would say : Let the blessed Baptismal water be kept in a basin, containing also a tea-cup or other convenient vessel for the pouring of the water on the head of the person to be baptized. This basin, in order to preserve the water from dust, &c., could have a lid (wooden or of other material) laid over it, and might be kept in the sacristy press, which could be under lock and key. The water, I need hardly say, could be blessed in the basin, from which a supply could be taken in bottles to outlying churches in parish, said bottles to be in the same way replenished from time to time as might be needful.

The water could easily be poured from the bottle on the head of the infant. Instead of a basin, a ewer (from which the water could be directly used) is employed in some churches.

Of course, another basin, held under the infant’s head, receives the water that has been used in baptizing. Over this latter basin (containing still the water with which the child has been baptized), after the ceremony, the priest could have his hands purified by the use of a little meal which could be placed on his hand by a person who would also pour the requisite water on the priest’s hands. In the absence of a regular *Sacrarium*, all the contents of this latter basin could be emptied into a hole in the ground (say, in the church yard), specially prepared and intended for that purpose, and kept covered by a large stone. Over this hole the basin could also be purified, after being emptied by two or three rinsings performed by the priest himself, the person in attendance, or clerk, supplying and pouring on the water.

Over this basin, thus purified, the one (covered as before stated) containing the Baptism water could be placed, both being laid by and kept exclusively for this purpose.

For cases of great urgency when a priest might be called on to baptize in private houses, say in the town where he resides, it would be very desirable, I should think, to keep in reserve a bottle of such water in a church, even where there was a Baptismal font. In such a case a person could be sent to fetch the bottle of water to the place where the child was dying.

A little management in this way would save the priest a great deal of annoyance and trouble, and would prevent his being exposed to clash with important regulations, and even commands, laid down for his guidance.

The rite to be observed in blessing the Baptismal water is clear from the Ritual and from the Very Rev. Mr. O'Kane's instructive work. I would observe, however, that it will be found most convenient to dip the thumb and index-finger, at the same time, into the cells, the thumb into the "Bapt." (seu Cat.) and the index-finger into the "Chr."; and then to bring them, separated, over the basin, making the sign of the cross three times on the surface of the water, first with the thumb and then with the index-finger, the thumb or finger being raised from the water after the formation of each cross. These fingers are then to be purified over the basin that is near at hand, the clerk supplying the meal and water. When the fingers will have been dried, they are to be again dipped into the cells, as before, for the *pouring in* (or what is equivalent in our present case) TOGETHER of the oil and chrism into the basin, whilst saying the prescribed form. He then follows the direction of the Rubric as explained in O'Kane, finally purifying his hand, as laid down. The pouring in (or application) of the chrism is to take place whilst *three* crosses are being formed and the prescribed words said, having the *first* cross formed whilst ending with CHRISTI, the *second* with PARACLETI, and the *third* with TRINITATIS.

Your obedient servant,

M. A. J.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers :—

From Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin—

Tractatus de Veneratione et Invocatione Sanctorum, de Veneratione Reliquiarum et Imaginum, etc. Commentarii de Impedimentis Matrimonii Dirimentibus. Auctore PATRICIO MURRAY.
Rhymes of the Roadside. By MAC-ALLA.

From Messrs. BROWNE & NOLAN, Dublin—

Programmes of Sermons and Instructions, etc., etc. In Two Volumes.
The Sacred Ceremonies of Low Mass, according to the Roman Rite. By A PRIEST OF THE CONGREGATION OF THE MISSION.

From F. PUSTET, Ratisbon—

Dissertationes Selectae in Historiam Ecclesiasticam. Auctore BERNARDO JUNG-MANN. Tom. II.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
Censor Dep.

Imprimatur.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

SEPTEMBER, 1881.

RICHARD CRASHAW.

IN a late essay in the *ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD* we referred incidentally to the anti-papal tone of a large body of English writers even before the revolt of Henry VIII. We treated their attitude as a sign and portent of the coming storm, especially of what literature was to be after the removal of all restraints. The fears expressed by Fisher in the Convocation of 1531 were unhappily fully justified in the issue. Just as England became Protestant to the core, so the literature of England was, in time, saturated with hatred of the church. While the country was moving backward and forward, the written speech of Englishmen gave, indeed, no certain sound. The bitterness of Skelton and Tyndale was carefully avoided by their immediate successors. But the reserve assumed by most of the writers of the middle of the sixteenth century was soon cast away. The new era began with the persecutions of Elizabeth's later years, with the historical fictions of Foxe, and the Protestant poems of Spenser. Catholic modes of thought lingered on in the antiquarians, and, strangely enough, in many of the dramatists, but they were felt no more as a force in popular literature until the genius of Dryden invested the claims of the church with new powers of persuasion. Yet even in the Puritan period, between Elizabeth and Charles II., there were wanting neither learned defenders of the church nor inspired poets, like the subject of this notice, to perpetuate the traditions of better times.

Richard Crashaw was born in the early part of the
VOL. II. 2 K

seventeenth century. Some of his biographers, but without any authority, assign 1616, the year of Shakespeare's death, as the date of his birth. His father was a preacher in the Temple in the days when Isaac Walton describes the Temple sermons as contradicting in the evening what had been maintained in the morning. It is not recorded to which side the elder Crashaw leaned—whether to Canterbury or Geneva—but if we could infer anything from the temper of his son, we might safely conclude that he rather adopted the High Church views of Hooker than the Calvinism of his forgotten rival. In any case he gained a considerable reputation and enjoyed the friendship of some of the most noteworthy men of his time. His son Richard was placed at an early age upon a foundation in the Charter House. He seems to have passed many years in the quiet cloisters of that famous school, and we can easily imagine that the noble fidelity of its last Carthusian inmates was not without its influence upon his religious life. While he was still at the Charter House he formed some friendships in Cambridge, especially with William Herry, a member of the governing body of Pembroke Hall. Crashaw was elected to one of the Pembroke Scholarships in March, 1632. Milton left the University a short time afterwards and retired to Horton, to muse over the first creations of his beautiful fancy. But for some years he kept up his connection with Cambridge and with the small knot of friends who, in spite of his unsocial habits and saturnine temperament, were closely drawn around him. Edward King, whose untimely fate he bewailed in the exquisite numbers of *Lycidas*, was still on a foundation. It would be interesting to learn whether the two poets, who curiously struck the same chords, were associated during their college days. Outside their literary tastes there could have been little sympathy between them. Milton represented the prevailing views of Cambridge in his own time. From the first the future Latin secretary of the Commonwealth was heart and soul with the party of Eliot and Pym. Crashaw, on the other hand, had the instincts of a cavalier. But before the sharp division of parties they may have met on the neutral ground of poetical literature. In 1634 Crashaw published his Latin "*Epigrammata*." They attracted no little admiration, but they were more distinguished by point and finish than by good taste. One famous line preserves their memory, a distinction due to its startling character and the criticism it

aroused. No choicer conceit could perhaps be culled from any author than his description of the miracle of Cana :

Lympha pudica Denm vidit et erubuit.

After passing from Pembroke Hall to Peterhouse he was elected to a fellowship in 1637. The next few years were no less eventful in the life of Crashaw than in the general history of England. He did not, like his friend Cowley, engage in political controversy and defend with his pen the cause for which Falkland died on the field. But there was another side to the contest between Charles and the Parliament which engaged all his energy. The year of Crashaw's fellowship was the year of Laud's supremacy. After a long struggle he seemed to have driven Calvinism out of the Church of England. He had gradually surrounded himself with a body of prelates after his own heart. He had effectually used the power of the Crown to introduce a ritual and ceremonial carefully copied from the Catholic Church. In 1637 his triumph was so complete that he ventured on the bold step to which the subsequent misfortunes of Charles I. may be traced. He tried to reinstate episcopacy in Scotland. The attempt was not made for the first time. Scotch writers conveniently forget that James I. not only restored the episcopal sees, but that, probably, in gratitude for the plunder of the English Catholics, the General Assembly of 1618 acquiesced in the re-establishment of Episcopal Government. The legislation of James remained a dead letter, but its temporary success was enough to stimulate the zeal of Laud. We know the result. Laud was not disheartened. His failure beyond the Border only made him more active at home. Among other bodies that felt the influence of his reforming energy were the Universities. In Oxford his success was comparatively easy. That great corporation had all along retained much of its ancient spirit. But in Cambridge it was very different. From the time of Cranmer Cambridge had become, and continued to be, the great seat of the New Learning, as it was the fashion to call the advocacy of Protestant doctrines. Yet even at Cambridge there were men like George Herbert—gentle spirits for the most part—who felt a yearning, often unaccountable to themselves, for something higher than the frigid theology of the Puritans. The foremost of these was undoubtedly Crashaw. During the two eventful years before the sitting of the Short Parliament, and the early years of the Long Parliament, he constantly filled

the pulpit of St. Mary's Church. To a blameless life, a wide range of learning, and the highest gifts of eloquence, he added a large acquaintance with mystic divinity, particularly the writings of St. Theresa. Under their guidance he was being led, unconsciously to himself, to the full light of Catholic truth; but for the present they merely imbued him with a devotional spirit alien to Protestantism, and gave him a power peculiar to himself as a preacher in the University. "In the Temple of God," to use the quaint language of a contemporary writer, "under His wing, he led his life in St. Mary's Church, near St. Peter's College, under Tertullian's roof of angels; there he made his nest more gladly than David's swallow near the house of God; where, like a primitive saint, he offered more prayers in the night than others usually offer in the day." The sermons in St. Mary's excited something of the same mixed feelings which the still more celebrated sermons in another St. Mary's aroused two centuries later. At an early stage Crashaw was bitterly denounced by Usher. The Long Parliament, after its first sessions, began to take notice of the religious practices at the Universities, and, in 1644, both Oxford and Cambridge were effectually "purged" after the manner depicted in the corridor of the House of Lords. Crashaw and many other fellows, supposed to sympathize with Laud, were violently ejected.

This event was the turning point in his life. Although he was rapidly moving, under the influence of God's grace, to the Catholic church, he had up to this time, as far as can be learned, never been thrown into Catholic society. He probably rested satisfied, like Laud himself, in a "via media." But amongst the royalists, who were making a last stand for Charles I., he met many devoted Catholics, whose lives no less than their arguments removed his lingering doubts. He was received into the church in 1644. No motive but one could have been ascribed for the conversion of a man who had renounced so much for conscience' sake, and none was ascribed by Cowley, Wilmot and the friends who knew him best. But a late editor, whose ingenuity was not to be baffled, must needs imagine one. He ascribes his conversion to the influence of the Countess of Denbigh. The Countess of Denbigh was actually a Protestant when Crashaw became a Catholic, and remained so for almost a year. In one of his most charming poems, written to over-

come her hesitation, he describes her, an idea borrowed, but prettily adapted by both Moore and Thackeray, as one who :

“Stands trembling at the gate of bliss ;
Holds fast the door, yet dares not venture,
Fairly to open it and enter.”

How Mr. Gilfillan, who edits this poem amongst others, could have been led into such a mistake we find it impossible to determine. Crashaw probably owed, however, to the good offices of the Countess of Denbigh his introduction to Henrietta Maria. The Queen of England was then living in Paris with a small retinue, principally composed of English Catholics to whose cause she had been as true as she was fearless in defence of her husband. During his stay in Paris Crashaw became a favourite at the exiled court. To his various and profound learning he added many graceful accomplishments ; he was an admirable linguist and excelled both in music and painting. But he was yearning to carry his faith and devotion to the Eternal City, and after remaining long enough in Paris to provide for the publication of his works, which appeared in 1646, he set out for Rome with a letter of introduction to Cardinal Palotti. He was kindly received by the Cardinal, though more impressed by his personal character than by the bearing of some members of his suite. After a short preparation Crashaw was ordained priest and appointed to a canonry at Loretto. Even while a Protestant he had a strong devotion to the Mother of God ; and now he was destined to end his days at her most famous shrine. He was distinguished during his few remaining years by his fervour and piety. While he seemed to have length of years before him, and just when his intellect was attaining its full maturity, he was cut off in 1650 by an untimely malady. The Puritan writers in England ascribed his death to poison, a wanton and insulting fiction, which has long been consigned to contemptuous silence. Among nobler spirits his fate excited other emotions. Thomas Car, a Protestant friend from his early days at Cambridge, religiously collected the few literary remains he could find after him at Loretto, and gave them to the world in 1652. Cowley paid a tribute to his worth which would alone have preserved his memory. His “Lines on Crashaw” is perhaps the finest threnodial song elicited by personal affection that the English language can show. No panegyric on Crashaw could equal the fact that, by his own contem-

poraries, he was not thought unworthy of the rapturous feeling that breathes through the opening passage:

“ Poet and saint to whom alone were given
The two most sacred names of earth of heaven,
The hard and rarest union which can be,
Next that of Godhead with humanity.”

Crashaw appeared in a time of transition. The greatness of the Elizabethan era had passed away, and literature was preparing to enter upon new fields of thought. Even under Elizabeth a corrupt school sprung up, rivalling in extravagance of diction the fantastic pageants in which the great of that day found their delight. The Euphuists died out more quietly than the corresponding school in France. They owed their extinction to the indignant contempt put by Shakespeare in the mouth of Hotspur and to the admirable travesty at the close of Hamlet. But though they ceased to exist they were not without a perceptible influence, especially in the selection of language, upon a succeeding class of writers of indefinitely higher powers, but marked by grave though not equal defects. Johnson called them metaphysical poets. The name has been objected to, not without just grounds, but is likely to be used as long as his masterly criticism survives. A philosophical term can seldom be removed out of its proper sphere without limitations of meaning too apt to be confused in a novel application, and when used to denote peculiarities in art is necessarily inaccurate as a definition, because it suggests what is neither true in itself nor intended by the critic. The term selected by Johnson is at least justified to this extent that it is striking in itself, and that every proposed substitute, like De Quincey's "rhetorical," is equally ambiguous. Johnson called the most popular poets in the early part of the 17th century "metaphysical," to denote an over refinement and subtlety of thought developing itself in a diction too strange to be intelligible, and in analogies either too remote to be readily apprehended when drawn from objects familiar to all, or still more commonly failing in the main purpose of illustrations from being derived from subjects of scientific research. The term was taken beyond the intention of Johnson as one of reproach, and has had much to do with the unfavourable judgment, passed before his time, upon a body of writers who deserved a better fate. England produced few more original poets than Donne, the founder of the school, though

his popularity lasted shorter than that of any of his followers. The quaint and obsolete forms of speech in which he absolutely revelled, made his works a closed book to the great mass of readers, but his thoughts live on in many a glowing passage of Dryden and in the polished satires of Pope.

To this school Crashaw partially belonged. His great friend Cowley was its master spirit. Neither remained long subject to its fascinations, the best and most durable work of both shows little trace of its influence. But Crashaw escaped sooner, and it is no small evidence of his innate taste for literary excellence, that it is only in poems written in his youth we can discover the defects at all, and even then he shunned the worst faults which disfigure the pages of Donne. He never shared Donne's taste for subtle distinctions, but he had, for a time, the same passion for a kind of firework display of metaphorical language. Combined with these peculiarities, the metaphysical poets showed a more pardonable leaning for epigrammatic verse and for unexpected turns of expression. They were fond, and none fonder than Crashaw, of using every licence of versification and rousing surprise by the skilful use of various meanings. When employed in their proper place, light and airy compositions of this class are amusing if not instructive, and form a relief to the sedate majesty of graver poetry. Even though the idea conveyed may be too deep for trifling, a quick and sprightly turn of thought oftentimes saves it from offensiveness. Who would wish away Crashaw's well-known epigram upon "Nothing" or the following lively morceau, though they both are founded on Scripture texts.

" All we have is God's, and yet
Cæsar challenges a debt,
Nor hath God a thinner share,
Whatever Cæsar's payments are;
All is God's; and yet 'tis true,
All we have is Cæsar's too;
All is Cæsar's: and what odds,
So long as Cæsar's self is God's."

But when the same mode of treatment is applied to the sacred incidents in the Passion of our Lord we at once feel the result of a depraved literary fashion. The series of epigrams written upon these awful themes in his younger and Protestant days by Crashaw, and written too evidently with true feeling and reverent piety, without one thought that conceits could not be devotional, is one of the strongest

proofs we know that the guiding principles of art can never be violated without shocking other principles higher and holier still. But with Crashaw an artificial taste was a mere passing fancy; the loftier elements of his genius soon asserted themselves in poems, few, indeed, but imperishable. The remark happily made upon Gray is almost equally true of Crashaw, that no poet steps down to immortality with a smaller volume. But unlike Gray's his works were not elaborated through a lifetime. From internal evidence, especially from the nature and treatment of the subjects, it is clear that, excluding the lighter poems to which we have referred, they were all written, some immediately before, most immediately after his conversion.

In their collected and published form they are divided into three parts: 1st, Steps to the Temple; 2nd, Delights of the Muses; 3rd, Sacred Poems. The first of these opens with the trifles we have described, but they quickly give place to works of another cast, and the collection closes with one of the most magnificent fragments in the language. The *Sospetto d'Herode* justifies the view of Coleridge that in "power and opulence of invention Crashaw was excelled by no poet of his time." It is founded on the murder of the Holy Innocents, a subject, judging from the number of his allusions, that seems to have peculiarly arrested his attention. Whether he had not time to complete it, or that he was drawn away by other occupations, he left it in an unfinished state, a *torso*, however, displaying the power and skill of a great artist. In this poem he adopted the form of verse lately popularized by Spenser. He scarcely rivalled Spenser's occasional graces of expression, but he undoubtedly gave his favourite stanza greater freedom of movement, a fuller resonance and a grander sweep of versification, especially in the terminal line. Few stanzas in the "*Fairy Queen*" flow on so smoothly as the invocation to Virgil in the opening passage:—

"Thou whose strong hand with so transcendent worth,
Holds high the reign of fair Parthenope,
That neither Rome, nor Athens can bring forth
A name in noble deeds to rival thee!
Thy name's full noise makes proud the patient earth,
Far more than matter for my muse and me.
The Tyrrhene seas and shores sound all the same,
And in their murmurs keep thy mighty name."

The "*Sospetto*" opens, like "*Paradise Lost*," in Pandemonium, and pictures Satan stretched in unutterable horrors and filled with "immortal hate." He dreads the

Redemption long ago unfolded to him, by the text of the prophets and the forebodings of the sybils now fulfilling themselves in prodigies of divine condescension :

“ Heaven’s golden winged herald, late he saw
 ‘To a poor Galilean virgin sent :”

He is lashed by the Furies into fell purposes of vengeance, and through the ministering care of Sin and Death, who are used as they are by Milton, sends Cruelty to tempt Herod to his fatal crime. Herod’s jealousy is insidiously aroused, the fears created by the visit of the Wise Men are changed into abject terror. At this point the poem breaks off. Whether he would have scope enough in the “cruel afterpiece” we cannot now determine, but though the action is limited in itself, a poet of such creative power and fancy would probably have evolved scenes of mingled grandeur and pathos from the contrast of tyrannic power and suffering innocence. The poem is not without some obvious defects, but they are rather due to the taste of the time than to any want in Crashaw himself. It was still the fashion of poets, and long continued to be, to interweave the gloomy scenes of ancient mythology in descriptions of the supernatural. He jars upon our ears in depicting the horrors of Hell by the bed of Procrustes, the unavailing labours of Sisyphus, the ceaseless thirst of Tantalus, and

“ Whatever schemes of blood, fantastic frames
 Of death Mezentius or Geryon drew.”

But in many striking passages he fore-shadowed, and we have no doubt, suggested the mode of presenting supernatural beings, notably the enemy of mankind, so finely developed a few years later in “Paradise Lost.” Indeed the Satan of the “Sospetto d’Herode” marks the transition from the minute portraiture of Dante to the style, for which Milton has justly got so much credit, of producing impressions by undefined proportions. Crashaw’s Satan is at first introduced as he is shown in popular paintings, but who could read the following stanza without being reminded of the “Archangel ruined,” in Milton’s great epic?

“Struck with these great concurrences of things
 Symptoms so deadly unto death and him,
 Fain would he have forgot what fatal strings,
 Eternally bind each rebellious limb ;
 He shook himself and spread his spacious wings
 Which, like two bosom’d sails, embrace the dim
 Air with dismal shade ; but all in vain
 Of sturdy adamant is his strong chain.”

If the "Sospetto d'Herode" forecast the grander conceptions of Milton, the first poem in the "Delights of the Muses," may have inspired at least one passage in the sweetest of his lyrics. The exquisite description of the "soul of harmony," at the close of "L'Allegro," seems to have been a finished summary of "Music's Duel." This is, if not the highest, the best known poem of Crashaw. It is founded on the musical contest of a "lute master," or musician, with a nightingale. The fancy came down from ancient legends; but was not fully drawn out until it was made the subject of a Latin poem by Famianus Strada, a celebrated Jesuit historian of the sixteenth century. The idea was embodied by Ford, in a scene of wonderful beauty, which probably acted as an incentive to Crashaw, who has elsewhere recorded his admiration of that unfortunate dramatist. Crashaw deals with Strada as Dryden dealt with the originals of his magnificent fables. He amplified his ideas until he made them his own. To Strada belongs the first conception and dramatic interest of a contest between trained musical skill and the native wood-notes free of nature's songstress. But the exquisite finish—the delicate combinations of harmonious sounds—its truth and fidelity in rendering the different phases of musical expression, are Crashaw's alone, and are amongst the marvels of poetic art. The resources of music itself could scarcely rival the quick succession of various emotions in the details of the struggle, as in the following effort of the nightingale:—

" This lesson, too,
 She gives him back; her supple breast thrills out
 Sharp airs, and staggers in a warbling doubt
 Of dallying sweetness, hovers o'er her skill.
 And folds, in wav'd notes, with a trembling bill,
 The pliant series of her slipp'ry song;
 Then starts she suddenly into a throng
 Of short thick sobs, whose thund'ring volleys float,
 And roll themselves over her lubric throat
 In panting murmurs, still'd out of her breast,
 That ever bubbling spring, the sugar'd nest
 Of her delicious soul, that there does lie,
 Bathing in streams of liquid melody."

The power of wedding harmonious numbers to ennobling thoughts, was, in truth, possessed by no poet in that age to an equal degree, except by Milton alone. We doubt if there are many passages in the whole range of English

poetry in which a natural image, beautiful in itself, is more gracefully conveyed, than in his poem on the death of his friend Herry:—

“ I have seen, indeed, the hopeful bud
Of a ruddy rose, that stood
Blushing to behold the ray
Of the new saluted day.

When, lo!

While he sweetly 'gan to show
His swelling glories, Auster spied him,
Cruel Auster ! thither hied him
And with the rush of one rude blast,
Shamed not spitefully to waste
All his leaves, so fresh, so sweet,
And lay them trembling at his feet.”

The “Sacred Poems” consist largely of translations from the hymns in the liturgy of the Church. Many of these have been excelled by later poets; many, too, amongst them his version of the “Dies Irae,” are still able to hold their own. His ardent devotion to the Mother of God shines out in his rendering of the hymns devoted to her honour. The “O Gloriosa Domina,” commencing—

“ Hail most high, most humble One !
Above the world, below thy Son.”

leaves nothing to be desired in fulness and grace of expression. His “Stabat Mater” is not so much a translation as an ode, expanding, with the licence allowed to that form of verse, the most pathetic ideas in the great song of maternal grief. The shorter measures, especially when followed, as in the fourth line of the subjoined passage, by a light ending, might seem at first sight not so well suited to the severe character of the original; but they are relieved by the solemn flow of the final cadences.—

“ O ! teach these wounds to bleed
In me ; me so to read
This book of loves, thus writ
In lines of death, my life may copy it.
With loyal cares,
Oh ! let me here claim shares ;
Yield something of thy sad prerogative
(Great Queen of Griefs), and give
Me to my tears ; who, though all stone,
Think much that thou shouldst mourn alone.”

But undoubtedly the finest poem in this section of his works is that on the "Most Holy Name of Jesus." In elevation of thought it does not yield to Milton's "Nativity," and is much superior in tenderness of feeling. Milton's ode, with all its beauty, has something of the coldness of a study—something of the scientific baldness of a careful analysis; but Crashaw's is lit up from beginning to end by the warmth and splendour of the "interior ray," which he invokes saints and angels to shed upon his path.

His poems close with three elegiac epistles, not improbably the model of Pope's "Epistles of Eloise." We cannot help regretting that Pope, while he surpassed them in poetical merit, did not imitate their Catholic sentiments. They are ascribed to the widowed bride of the youthful St. Alexis, whose story, as the readers of the late Cardinal Wiseman will remember, after being treated for generations as a legend, was so strangely confirmed by the discovery of St. Clement's Church in Rome. No poetical interpretation of the incidents depicted on the columns of that ancient church could be more touching than the mingled grief and resignation of the Roman lady who was so quickly transformed.

" Alexis' widow now is sorrow's wife."

We may seem to have dwelt too long upon a poet who does not fill a large space in literary history. But we believe that Crashaw has been lightly passed over, not because his works do not exhibit genius of a high order, but because he was the very embodiment of the Catholic spirit. No critic, capable of judging, has really given unbiassed attention to the poems of Crashaw without admitting that, though he died when his life was "in its spring," he was excelled by no poet of his time save one. But with the great mass of readers he has been sacrificed to Protestant prejudice. For Crashaw was essentially a Catholic poet, seeking his whole inspiration in the doctrines and ceremonial of the Church. The motto, suggested by his own devotional feelings, represents at once his intellectual aim and the fervid piety of his short career:

" Live, Jesus, live : and let it be
My life to die for love of thee."

J. E.

RELIGIOUS INSTRUCTION IN INTERMEDIATE SCHOOLS.

EVERY decade of years in our century brings a fresh revolution in thought, and every revolution means an advance, and every advance, if not properly directed, is a positive retrogression. I am writing from a Catholic standpoint, from which it is abundantly clear that the activity of individual thought, and the interchange of ideas among men, if not restrained or controlled by the Gospel teaching, must lead inevitably to that refined atheism with which we are not altogether unacquainted, and which to thoughtful minds is more repulsive than even squalid barbarism. This reflection is of the utmost importance at the present time, when the national passion for knowledge has been stimulated by competition for rewards, and artfully directed into those grooves which modern thought has worked out for itself. The Intermediate Education Act was hailed as a measure of infinite good to the youth of Ireland; its Board was constituted without an objection; its programmes have been issued and accepted almost without demur; and its adjudications received as impartial judgments made by enlightened and liberal minds. On all hands it has been pronounced a success; and if in these pages I point out a few dangerous tendencies, I desire to guard myself against the suspicion that I am contravening public opinion. I merely wish to point out dangers that would arise, if the framers of that Act could follow out their own designs; and if ample precautions be not taken to supply palpable defects, and neutralize in the working of the Act whatever is positively hurtful.

Although this paper is a consideration of the ethical, rather than the educational aspects of the system, limited to secular studies and secular advantages, I cannot refrain from quoting an extract from Sir Charles Dilke's work, "Greater Britain," to show the tendency of modern American thought on the subject of competitive and elective systems of education. These conclusions have been accepted by the Michigan and Cambridge Universities after experiments, which, if not prolonged, were certainly exhaustive:

"The system of elective studies pursued at Michigan is one to which we are year by year tending in the English Universities. The Michigan professors say, and Dr. Hedges bears them out,

that a far higher average of real knowledge is obtained under this system of independent work than is dreamt of in colleges where competition rules. They acknowledge frankly that there is here and there a student to be found to whom competition would do good. As a rule they tell us this is not the case. Unlimited battle between man and man for place is sufficiently the bane of the world not to be made the curse of schools. Competition breeds every evil which it is the aim of education, the duty of a university to suppress—pale faces, caused by excessive toil, feverish excitement that prevents true work, a hatred of the subject on which the toil is spent, jealousy of best friends, systematic depreciation of men's talents, rejection of all reading that will not pay, extreme and unhealthy cultivation of the memory, general degradation of labour—all these evils, and many more, are charged upon the system."

Such are the doctrines evolved from the free, unfettered experiences of Young America. They are worthy of consideration in this land of ancient ideas.

One of those rare minds that can at a glance foresee consequences, said to the present writer immediately after the passing of the Act of 1878: "The Tories have outwitted the Irish priesthood at last. They have introduced into the primary and secondary schools, and they will introduce into the university scheme, the system of payment by results; and the consequence will be that in a short time your whole educational system, from the lowest bench in the country school to the *aula maxima* of the university, will be thoroughly secularized." That there is some foundation for these forebodings is a fact beyond dispute. The dangerous tendencies of the system in elementary education have been already explained in two thoughtful articles that appeared in the RECORD; but, practically, they can be minimised by the careful and constant supervision of the managers, by the periodical examinations in religious knowledge, by the episcopal visitations; and they would be entirely removed, if the system of diocesan inspection, recommended by the Maynooth Synod, were introduced into Ireland. The extraordinary advantages of this system are well known to those who have visited England, and who must have been struck by the zeal of the teachers, and the proficiency of the children not only in Christian Doctrine, but in Scripture and Ecclesiastical History, and the devotional practices and ceremonies of the Catholic Church. To obviate therefore the dangers in the primary system, nothing more is required than a patient and precise use of the remedies at our disposal.

The case is quite different in Intermediate Schools. For here we are dealing with men, not with children; with ready and eager intellects, not with infantine, undeveloped minds; not with youths, impatient of study and confinement, but with those who are filled with a passion for knowledge, and the ambition of excelling; and here there is an evident and powerful temptation to neglect religious knowledge, which apparently can be of no practical utility in the race of life, in favour of the technical and secular learning that is rewarded not by exhibitions alone, but by the larger prizes which years will bring. We live in a utilitarian age. Everything must subsidise secular advancement. Spiritual and intangible things must subordinate themselves to visible advantages of wealth and position. This is the teaching of the age. This is the cardinal heresy of our century. And this *cui bono* doctrine has penetrated our colleges and schools, and masters and scholars alike are subject to its influence. The former consult for the interests of the college, and for the twelve months prior to the examinations dream of nothing but the place the college will take in the columns of the *Freeman's Journal* in September. The latter strain every faculty that they may win honours, and gladden their parents' hearts by carrying off exhibitions and prizes. Perhaps there is anger and mortification from failures during former years, perhaps a very exalted position that must be maintained. But there is certainly every incentive to work for money and honours, and every temptation to neglect and set aside altogether the religious knowledge on which neither teachers nor Commissioners, nor the world, will set a premium.

The consequences of such neglect to the individual and to society cannot well be exaggerated. For let us remember again that the question now is, not of children in whose minds the absence of positive knowledge will leave blank ignorance and nothing more; but of matured intellects, restless, active and inquiring, and far more receptive and retentive of the knowledge that is unto death, than of the wisdom that giveth life. In such minds we can never find the vacuity of sheer ignorance. The want of a thorough, detailed, and comprehensive knowledge of Catholic theology will eventuate in the adoption of those attractive philosophic conjectures, that constitute the literature and almost the religion of the day, and which are so vaporous and unsound, yet, withal, so grandly spiritual, that they have been well called "the dreams of fallen angels."

Even on a lower level, there are dangers not the less perilous because more prosaic. History forms a department in these examinations; and to reach the required standard history must be read as a philosophical system, and not merely as a narrative of facts and events. That system of mnemonics with which we were familiar—that laborious compilation of dates and names in the mind, is altogether superseded. The Senior Grade Student is now educated to approach his Lingard or Smith with something of the critical tastes and comprehensive views which he has been taught to admire in Hume or Schlegel. He must collate facts, question authorities, make allowances for religious prejudices; and in a short time he will be disposed to take a broad liberal view of things, which to his inexperienced mind will mean the rejection of everything he has learned by sound tradition, and the acceptance of new theories founded very often on the grossest distortion of facts. He will read Profane History without the side-lights of Ecclesiastical History. He will forget or disbelieve the patent truth, that history can be made to prove anything; and will think himself advancing to the light, when he has been deceived by the dexterity of the playwright. And the supervision of a Catholic tutor will be of little use. The student has formed his opinion on the subject; and he will look on his preceptor as a judge regards the special pleader, who is fain to prove in spite of all evidence to the contrary, that right is wrong, that black is white. Botany and Zoology must be studied. What better manual on the subject than the text-book of the College of Science, “Darwin on Species?” Natural Philosophy must be read. There are Tyndall’s admirable treatises on Light and Heat. Pure Mathematics are bracketed with 2,000 marks. No ancient or modern writer excels in this logical and deductive science, the young atheist Clifford, who a few months ago, in Madeira, breathed his last, and “vanished,” as he believed, “into the infinite azure of the past.” These are the first writers that have clothed the dry skeletons of facts and figures with rhythmic nervous rhetoric, and struck musical poems out of the dumb cold statue of science. Our young enthusiast cannot help admiring their transcendent talents. The admiration develops into Hero-Worship. If he have a real love for his work, they become his saints, as surely as Savonarola becomes the idol of the ecclesiastical zealot. And in the cycle of time and thought, the suspicion darkens his mind for the first time—perhaps, after all, these

men were not deceived in their higher speculations? Can it be that the traditions of my youth are but nursery tales? If Rome is in antagonism with reason, where is truth? In the new revival, this temptation is inevitable. It will arise from scientific or literary research as surely as miasma arises from the prairie mould that is turned for the first time. It is only indifference to the students' highest interests that can believe these dangers problematical. And what provision have we made? Where is the prop for staggered faith? Where the light for darkened minds? Is it not a fact that the Catechism of the hedge-schools of fifty years ago is the religious class-book of the Senior Grade Student of to-day? And surely no one can suppose that the categorical question and answer on the rudiments of religion is sufficient to meet systematized infidelity, supported by logic that is incisive enough even to well-trained minds, and presented in the finest sentences into which the English language can be moulded.

There is no taste or passion, for it might well be called a passion, so powerful as the taste for literature. It is so exalted, so refining, so free from objections, that it may be indulged at will; and it has pleasures and fascinations that are second only to those that are enjoyed by students of the fine arts. The music of poetry, the subtle analyses of human character that are constantly found in novels, the glowing and luscious descriptions of scenery, and, above all, the high philosophy that deifies man's intellect and humanity—all these must have an inexpressible charm for a young and enthusiastic mind, eager to measure itself with the boundless infinity of knowledge. It takes many years and much experience to humble the human mind, and force man to confess that after all he is but—

“An infant crying in the night,
An infant crying for the light,
And with no language but a cry.

The eager school-boy does not admit it. He must have knowledge even though it be forbidden. And what that forbidden knowledge is let those tell who have tasted the fruit and known the sickness of shattered faiths and dreary doubtings, and that terrible darkness that supervenes on partial or total unbelief. And they can tell, too, how a sentence or a phrase will often raise doubts and questionings, that derive substance and authority from the ability of the writer. And I appeal to universal experience to,

testify that all the literature of the day, home and foreign, poetic or philosophic, didactic or narrative, in books, magazines, and newspapers, is filled not only with phrases and sentences, but with powerfully developed arguments and elaborated sarcasms against the Church and Revelation and God. And it is only a healthy, well-strung, and thoughtfully pious mind that can withstand their influence.

I can, however, imagine the reader saying: "What does a boy who is puzzled over the particles of the Anabasis, or an irregular verb in 'Athalie,' know of Comte, or Fred. Harrison, or Swedenborg, or Mill? And is there not an impassable gulf between the mind of the young girl who is spelling out the chromatic scale and the mighty, darkened intellect of George Eliot? Are they not infinitely more interested about their marks at the examinations than about man's future, or the sacerdotal system, or the perfectibility of human nature?" They who say so know but little of the popular culture, or the ambitious tastes of the day, and make little account of signs and proofs that daily pass before their eyes. There is no country in the world in which this passion for literature has taken such firm hold of the professional and mercantile classes as in Ireland; and I venture to say that in Cork, Limerick, or Dublin, there will be found a larger average of young men acquainted with current literature than in Manchester itself, the centre of English thought and progress. Celtic talent is very versatile; but it is fond of running in literary lines. More than half the editors of American newspapers have been born and educated in Ireland; and every department of literature in England is illustrated by the subtle genius of our race.

Last winter I travelled a short distance by rail with a young commercial, who could not have been more than twenty years of age. When he had pulled the collar of his great coat around his ears, donned his travelling cap, and carefully wrapped his rug around his feet, he took from his valise, to my utter astonishment, the "Latter-day Pamphlets" of Carlyle, and laid on the cushion as a reserve the last number of a periodical published in London and Dublin, which has for contributors some of the most notorious atheists in England, and which admits every shade of opinion, no matter how advanced, provided it be representative of modern ideas. And who does not know that if educated women still take the "Young Ladies' Journal" for dress patterns and fashions, they seek sentiment

in "The Sorrows of Werther," and piquant philosophy in "Faust?" A little *brochure*, lately published in Dublin, shows what I mean. It is called "A Son of Man," and is a faithful illustration of the "calm despair and wild unrest" that must inevitably follow from advanced secular education without a religious training, simultaneous and commensurate. And I might take as a text one of the sayings of the victim of the story, who, writing from the university, declares, that "when one commences to study botany and physiology, he must soon forget Revelation and all supernatural religion." From the tone of the work it is evident that the writer has seen all the evils to which I am adverting; but the exalted tastes and comprehensive readings of the day could not be better exemplified than by the author, for that tale could not have been written without an intimate knowledge of German habits, the German language and German literature, that years ago attracted the fancies and tastes of advanced thinkers like Shelley and Coleridge and Carlyle, but are now familiar in all educated circles, and to students even of incipient literary tastes. And if our typical boy is now busy with dialects and accents, he will soon pass from this chrysalis state with tastes formed and developing with riper knowledge. We, too, remember painfully guessing with lexicon and grammar the Sphinx riddle of the "Œdipus." We read it now, not as a task, but as a splendid tragedy. And he will revert to his studies¹ to discover in them not difficulties, but beauties; and the transition is easy from ancient to modern tragedy, from Æschylus to Swinburne, and easier still from Racine to Voltaire, from the essays of Bacon and Macaulay to those of Carlyle and Arnold, from the ballad poetry of Scott to the mystic, involved, and refined metaphysics of Emerson, who classifies the Divine Author of Christianity with Shakespeare and Plato:

"One in a Judæan manger,
One by the Avon's stream,
One over against the mouth of Nile,
And one at the Academe."

And if habits of restraint and self-respect be not engrafted in him by the discipline of his college career, he may also become liberal in his ethics, and easy in his morals,

¹"The love of study is in us almost the only eternal passion. All the others quit us in proportion as this miserable machine which holds them approaches its ruin."—*Montesquieu*.

and may learn in time, with the exponent of our latest school of poetry, to despise

“The languor and lilies of virtue
For the raptures and roses of vice.”

The consequences, therefore, of this revival of thought, if not wisely restrained or directed, must be mournful in the extreme. Admiration is soon succeeded by imitation. It is hard to admire the style without adopting the sentiment; and it must be admitted that in our day English writers have brought style to a perfection that was undreamt of in the days of Johnson, and even of Macaulay. And the more daring the impiety of the idea, the more resonant and thrilling is the language that articulates it. It is a strange and significant fact that Catholic writers cannot catch the fire and the glow that illuminate every page of profane literature. Since the Oxford revival, England has been crying for its Catholic poet, who is to eclipse the great pagan poets of the day, and awaken by his music the faith that is fondly believed to be dormant but not dead in the hearts of the English people. He is not forthcoming; and meanwhile human love has its lyrists, and philosophy its doctors, and even vice has its hierophants, and the priests of Baal are silver-tongued, and they ring out their new teachings with an audacity that must carry conviction to weak minds. And if the ears of our youth be enchanted, who is to defend their reason? or take the poison from the food that is honey in their mouths? Will they believe that the wisdom of the world is folly before God, or appreciate the sublime humility of the Apostle, who, from his reverence for truth, would not condescend to use “the persuasive words of human eloquence?” How will the intellects, trained to believe in the majesty and grandeur of the human mind, suffer to have their belief shaped for them by the Divine dogmatism of the Church? How will they bend before the village curate, whose knowledge, however great, is mediæval, and whose ideas are so reactionary, to acknowledge their weaknesses and beg pardon for their transgressions? How can they, whose ears are filled with the pet phrases of some German transcendentalist, listen to the Sunday homily according to the *Petite Methode* of St. Alphonsus, the gravity and monotony of which are unrelieved by one racy expression or one bold idea? Of course, the semblance of religion will still be maintained. They know that “freethinker” is a word that means

unutterable things to the minds of our faithful people, and the priest is still a power in the land, and there is the dispensary to be competed for, and the suffrages of clients for the Petty Sessions' Court to be obtained. But religion is not the active principle of their lives; and take away the restraints imposed by the character of our people, put our young and clever professionals in the mess-room of an English barrack, or on the deck of a British troopship, throw them amongst literary men in London, or into the fierce battle of life that is fought out in America, and very soon they will lay aside the mask, talk of religion and country with the easy levity of a Frenchman, and supply the lost objects of early faith with ambitious dreams, or limit their belief, like Mill, to the caprices of a woman.

How is all this to be prevented? The Intermediate Education Act is practically irrevocable. It has passed from its tentative state, and stands endorsed with the nation's approval. And its principles have been taken up and are about to be developed and applied to a broad liberal measure of university education. And we who are particularly interested in this vital subject have seen with pleasure the nation's pulses quicken under the new-born ambition of proving itself again a nation of scholars. We have witnessed with pleasure the excitement that has thrilled the entire country, when the hope was given to it of realizing and exhibiting all the grand things that its orators and poets have said and sung. We see the universal interest excited when the results are given to the country, and it is a novel and pleasant experience to behold the farmer or labourer, whose son is in the favoured class in the National School, quite as hopeful and as eager to see the list of prizes as the city merchant or professional whose child is in the first bench at Blackrock or St. Colman's. But the system is not complete. It does not form a perfect man. As a means to a projected end, it is very nearly successful. But the end and object of the Act are not quite in unison with the views of the Church on education. The Christian ideal does not enter into the calculations of Premiers. The "Vivian Grey" of Beaconsfield is not quite a model for Irish youth. We have higher aspirations. Our ambition does not expend itself in sending year after year into public life, the clever, flippant and sensuous youth that graduate in English public schools or in Parisian Lycées. But if these secularists do their part, why should not we do ours, and establish in all our Intermediate Schools a system

of religious instruction adequate to the wants of the age, correlative with the secular system, and made obligatory either by episcopal supervision, or by public criticism, that can be directed on religious as well as intellectual advancement? This has not yet been done. There is no such thing as a system of religious instruction in our schools. There are, perhaps, the Catechism lessons, and the weekly lecture; but who will say that these are commensurate with the rapid development of thought and taste that are generated by superior systems of education?

It is not the object of this paper to formulate such a system or enter into its details. I merely paraphrase the many words of wisdom that have been spoken on this subject by the leaders of thought among ourselves. And, perhaps, this application of great principles to present necessities will not be unacceptable to that great brotherhood, the Irish priesthood, into whose hands the gift of Irish faith is committed. From every side we receive warnings of the inception of a great apostacy amongst the nations of the earth. They come to us in grave and earnest admonitions from the Princes and Pastors of the Church, and in the loud and defiant vauntings of the prophets of Agnosticism in England and America. Ten years ago, the great prelate who rules the Catholic Church in England, said: "There is a period setting in—not for the whole world, not for the Church of God, but for individuals, races, and nations—of a departure from faith, in which the human reason will have to wander once more alone, without guide or certainty; not, indeed, as it did before, but in a worse state, in a state which is in truth a dwarfing and a degradation of the human intelligence." And again: "I am old enough to know that, forty years ago, men believed more than they believe now, that doctrines were then held as indisputable which are now openly disputed." And again: "I will try to bring before you the signs and marks of this rising or revolt of the intellect of men that were once Christians, and to show that the intelligence of Christian nations has, in these last ages, begun to manifest the phenomena and signs of a departure from faith, which shows that there is a current carrying the minds of men away from faith in Christ and in God unto the darkness of unbelief."¹ And the following contains the pith and marrow of the philosophy of

¹ "The Four Great Evils of the Day."—*Manning*.

morality advocated by one of the boldest of modern scientists:—

“Sin is a word that has helped to retard moral and social progress more than anything. Nothing is good or bad, but thinking makes it so; and the superstitious and morbid way in which a number of entirely innocent things have been banned as sin has caused more than half the tragedies of the world. Science will establish an entirely new basis of morality; and the sunlight of rational approbation will shine on many a thing hitherto overshadowed by the curse of a hypothetical God.”¹

To prevent the adoption of these pernicious doctrines by our Irish youth must be the proximate and pressing duty of those to whom the faith and morals of the rising generation are largely entrusted. There is sound material for a new knighthood of chivalrous faith and virtue, if all the generous impulses and ideas of virgin minds and hearts be swayed by the convictions that have hitherto governed our people. The possibilities that the future has in store for Ireland are unlimited. Everything depends on our foresight and activity. If religious instruction be practically eliminated from our public schools, by not being raised to a level of importance with secular learning, we shall not remain a high-principled race, nor become a cultured one. For, as Emerson says, “The foundation of culture, as of character, is at last the moral sentiment.” But if, to use the well-known figure, human knowledge be made to take its place side by side with its elder sister, the wisdom that is from above, we may hope to see in our own time our Irish youth, abreast of the youth of other nations in the rush of progression, with large comprehensive knowledge, ready wit and facile eloquence, and with all their generous impulses and enthusiasm swayed and directed by loyalty to Mother Church and Mother Ireland.

P. A. S.

¹“The New Republic.”—*Mallock*.

DR. MURRAY'S LATEST WORK.¹

THE work named above, the latest from the pen of Dr. Murray, is a welcome and most valuable contribution to theological literature. Dr. Murray's name—clarum et venerabile—is quite a sufficient *imprimatur* for any theological work, and the present treatise is worthy of its distinguished author. The subject matter is of very vital importance to Catholics, and its treatment by Dr. Murray is such as it could receive only from a master mind. In stating Catholic doctrine he is clear, candid, uncompromising. With him there is no *via media*. He minimizes nothing to conciliate his opponents. He ranges through the vast field of theological science with that ease and security which extensive and accurate knowledge inspires. His language is well selected, forcible, eloquent. His arguments are such as will silence, if not satisfy his opponents, and will leave his admirers nothing further to desire; and he meets objections in such a way as to dispose of them once for all and for ever.

A book of this sort must be a welcome boon to every priest. But to very many priests Dr. Murray's book will be something more. To ex-students of Maynooth, who, like the present writer, labour at a distance from our loved *Alma Mater*, the perusal of Dr. Murray's volume will bring a sensation somewhat akin to that so beautifully expressed by Moore—

“ And doth not a meeting like this make amends
For all the long years I've been wandering away ? ”

The book is essentially subjective. It is our old Professor speaking to us still; and, as we peruse its pages, we fancy ourselves in the lecture hall once again, side by side with friends whose memory we can never cease to cherish; we seem to ourselves to hear from the professorial chair the same sonorous voice, the same clear, distinct, measured intonations that charmed us of old. We listen with rapt attention, as our master expounds some doctrine that was intricate, puzzling to us; or we see him coming down like an avalanche on some opponent, until, as we have done reading some proof or the reply to some

¹ *Tractatus de Veneratione et Invocatione Sanctorum; Commentarii de Impedimentis Matrimonii dirimentibus.* Auctore Patricio Murray, D.D., Sac. Theol. et Juris Can., Professore apud Maynooth. Dublin, 1881.

objection, we start from our reverie to see truth triumphant, and the pulverised bones of heresy scattered in hopeless confusion all around.

It is difficult to exaggerate the value of Dr. Murray's labours. In the quiet retirement of college life, he has for nearly half a century been doing yeoman's service for the Church of God. Besides his professorial labours in the training of the Irish priesthood, he has acted a distinguished part in all the religious controversies of the time. When he entered on his duties as Professor of Dogmatic Theology, one great obstacle confronted him. The treatise "*De Ecclesia*" is the groundwork of all dogmatic teaching, and, with the exception of Bellarmine's great work, there was no Church Tract worthy of the name. Works on the subject there were in abundance, but the authors were mere copyists, and the works superficial and unsatisfactory. And even though Bellarmine's work were easily attainable, yet so numerous were the modern developments of error, that the Church treatise required to be written again. To this herculean labour Dr. Murray applied himself. He resolved, in imitation of Bellarmine, not to take on hearsay what the Reformers or their offspring taught. From their own lips, and by their own words, he resolved to judge them. With zeal, energy, and patience, he delved deep down into the chaos of religious error; and, after years of untiring labour, he accomplished his great work in such a way as to leave nothing further to be desired on the subject. When to his great work, "*De Ecclesia*," we add Dr. Murray's various theological essays and controversial letters, his treatise "*De Gratia*," and the work immediately to be noticed, we have such a *catena aurea* of good works as will entitle their author to the "*euge serve bone*" of the great Judge yet. And the friends of Dr. Murray will rise from the perusal of his latest work with the pleasing conviction, that years have brought no cloud upon his intellect, that multiplied labours have detracted nothing from the vigour of his mind. Compare his first work with his latest, and you can readily identify the fearless athlete of forty years ago with the trained veteran of to-day.

The work before us is in two parts. The first treats of the Catholic doctrine on the Veneration and Invocation of Saints, and of some consequences of that doctrine. The second part is a commentary on the diriment impediments of Matrimony. Our doctrine on the Invocation and Veneration of Saints is supposed to be a very sore point

with us. Because of it we are, even in the full light of the nineteenth century, every day set down as unreasoning and idolatrous, as substituting the Creature for the Creator, as rebels against God's law by giving to creatures like ourselves honour which that law has expressly forbidden, and repeatedly condemned. Were these charges made by itinerant Bible-readers, or Church Mission orators, they would neither attract attention nor cause surprise. But when they come from men of position and education, to explain the phenomenon, we are tempted to recur to the well known saying, "quos Deus vult perdere prius dementat." Prejudice will not permit the enemies of the Catholic Church to look her in the face, the Apostles of free inquiry will not, when there is a question of Catholicity, judge for themselves. For nineteen centuries the Catholic Church is before the world. Her history is known; her teaching no secret. Her authoritative symbols, her Catechisms, the Canons of her Councils, the decrees of her Popes, the writings of her Theologians are open for all men to read and study, and yet our doctrines are to-day painted the very reverse of what they are! Even the cautious Pearson¹ does not hesitate to write, "what is now taught by the Church of Rome is, as unwarrantable, so a novitious interpretation." This writer's consistency will appear later on. The 22nd of the 39 Articles, in language not over polite; informs us that "the Romish doctrine concerning Purgatory, pardons, worshipping and adoration, as well of images as of reliques, and also invocation of Saints, is a fond thing vainly invented, and grounded upon no warranty of Scripture, but rather repugnant to the word of God." It is no wonder that believers in this Article say strange things about us, but that any educated person should believe in it is indeed more than strange. It is much more easy to misrepresent than to refute our doctrine, and to this easier task our adversaries betake themselves. They invent doctrines for us, and as a matter of course easily undo their own work. Had they taken our doctrines as they really are, the work of refutation would be doubtless more difficult, but the difficulty would be rarely undertaken, and the tall talk about idolatry, and superstition, and creature-worship, would vanish into thin air.

The Catholic doctrine on the Veneration and Invocation of Saints is stated by Dr. Murray with his wonted clearness

¹ "Pearson On Creed," p. 511. Ed. 1848.

and precision, and there can be no doubt that his excellent work will open the eyes of such Protestants as care to see, and will do much to shame into silence that stupid prejudice that has up to the present time found such noisy expression amongst us. The first Disputation is devoted to the explanation of introductory matter, and it is not too much to say that a close and careful study of this Disputation will dispose any candid reader to accept with little hesitation all the leading propositions of Dr. Murray's book. Proceeding on the undeniable principle, that real excellence of any sort, and honour (*cultus*) of some sort, are correlative terms, he lays down that there are three species of excellence which may each respectively be a motive for a corresponding species of honour (*cultus*). There is (1) uncreated and infinite excellence, which exists in God alone, and to this all men owe, and to this *alone* Catholics pay supreme honour, called technically "*cultus latriæ*." There is (2) created but supernatural excellence, consisting in the supernatural gifts conferred by God upon the Saints, and to this Catholics pay an inferior honour, technically called "*cultus duliae*." Now, since this created excellence, even though supernatural, falls infinitely short of the uncreated excellence of God, it follows that the honour paid to the Saints on account of their limited excellence, is on Catholic principles infinitely beneath the honour due and paid to God alone. There is a third species of excellence, created but natural, to which every one who values natural goodness pays a certain amount of respect. But of this excellence and of the civil *cultus* which befits it, there is no question here. When the excellence exists in the object honoured, then the honour or *cultus* is given directly to that object, and is called "*cultus absolutus*." Such is the honour paid to the saints. For though all their gifts be mercifully given them by God, still the gifts are really in them. When an object is honoured, not on its own account, nor for any excellence existing in it, but by reason of its connexion with some other object in which excellence resides, the honour so given is called *cultus relativus*—relative honour. Such is the honour paid to images and relics. All this is beautifully set forth in the opening pages of Dr. Murray's volume, and it is easy to see how so clear and logical a statement must of necessity shake the mass of prejudice that stands opposed to our doctrine.

The Council of Trent, Sess. 25, lays down our doctrine as follows :

"The saints reigning with Christ in glory offer their prayers to God for men. It is good and useful suppliantly to invoke them, and to have recourse to their prayers, their help, and their patronage, because of the favours they obtain from God through Jesus Christ our Lord, who is our only Redeemer and Saviour."

In presence of this official language of the Church, the whole structure of Protestant prejudice is washed away as sand before the mountain flood. There is no substituting the creature for the Creator here. The saints do not draw from any treasury of their own, favours to be conferred upon us. They "pray to God for us." It is "good and useful," *not necessary*, "suppliantly to invoke them," "to ask their prayers because of the blessings they obtain for us from God." Nothing derogatory to the merits of our Redeemer is here. For whatever blessing the saints obtain for us are obtained "through His only Son, our Lord Jesus Christ, who is our *only* Redeemer and Saviour," whose merits are the only ultimate source of graces for all mankind.

On the language of the Council, Dr. Murray properly remarks, that though the "*Veneration*" of the saints is not expressly mentioned, it is manifestly implied in the decree on the "*Invocation*" of saints, and indeed more than implied in the subsequent part of the same chapter. Dr. Murray's first proposition is this: "*The religious veneration of the saints is lawful and useful.*" This proposition can present no difficulty to any one who has carefully read the introductory disputations. Space will not permit more than a summary of the first of the many arguments adduced by the learned author to establish this proposition.

Here on earth, every one in whom there is any special excellence, is justly entitled to honour corresponding in kind and degree to that excellence. And Dr. Murray says that every argument which establishes this claim for good men here on earth, is an *a fortiori* argument for the religious veneration of the saints as sanctioned by the Catholic Church. The first of these propositions requires no proof. It is simply the dictate of right reason, of common sense. In all places, and at all times it has been acted on by all right-thinking men. It is laid down or implied in Scripture texts, almost without number, Rom. xiii. 7; Phil. ii. 25-30; 1 Tim. v. 17, are instances. Cicero, with no other than the light of reason to guide him, said,¹ "habet enim venerationem justam

¹ De Nat. Deorum, B. 1. c. 17.

quidquid excellit." Even Mr. Carlyle who would certainly not accept Dr. Murray's theological conclusion, lays down the premise from which that conclusion follows, by the strictest logical sequence. He says :¹

" One comfort is that great men, taken up in any way, are profitable company. We cannot look, however imperfectly, upon a great man without gaining something by him. He is the living light fountain, which it is good and pleasant to be near, the light which enlightens, which has enlightened the darkness of the world, and this not as a kindled lamp only, but rather as a natural luminary, shining by the gift of heaven : a flowing light fountain, as I say of native original insight of manhood and heroic nobleness : in whose radiance all souls feel that it is well with them. On any terms whatsoever, you will not grudge to wander in such neighbourhood for awhile."

Now if it be lawful and laudable, as it confessedly is, to honour excellence here on earth, it must be praiseworthy in the highest degree to honour the supernatural excellence of the saints. The excellence is, in all cases, the motive for the honour paid, therefore the higher the excellence, the more justly is the honour due. The saints have been the leaders of the Army of the Lord : they have fought the good fight : clinging on to the standard of their Master, they fought and fell ; with His own hand has He crowned them : " eye has not seen nor ear heard nor the heart of man been able to conceive " the blessings which they enjoy ; secure in the enjoyment of these blessings they rest in the sunshine of the Beatific vision for ever. No earthly excellence, therefore can compare with theirs. And if earthly excellence be a just motive of *cultus*, surely no one who believes in the immortality of the soul, can refuse to the saints the honour so justly due to them. This is the substance of Dr. Murray's argument, and no one can read the original without feeling convinced that he has established his proposition beyond the possibility of doubt. Reason is manifestly on his side. And so true is this, that Pearson, already quoted, against our doctrine, in the very next page of his book (p. 512) lays down that doctrine himself. He says :—" And if all the saints of God, living in communion of the Church, deserve the best of our affections here on earth, certainly when they are dissolved, and with Christ, when they have been blessed with a sight of God, and rewarded with a crown of glory, they may

¹ Hero Worship, l. 1, p. 2.

challenge some respect from us, who are here to wait upon the will of God, expecting when such happy change shall come," This is the writer who describes our doctrine as "unwarrantable" and "novitious!" Now, is there anything in Revelation opposed to our doctrine? This leads us to consider the objections which Dr. Murray has disposed of in so masterly a way. There can be no real antagonism between Reason and Revelation, and since Dr. Murray has certainly established his proposition from Reason, it follows that in dealing with scriptural objections the burden of proof devolves upon his adversaries. They must therefore show that any text adduced as an objection, admits of no meaning consistent with Dr. Murray's thesis. If they fail in this, the objection falls to the ground. And again it will be quite sufficient for Dr. Murray to offer even a plausible interpretation of any text objected to him. Most of the ordinary objections to the present proposition, are met by the distinction already given between supreme and inferior honour:—between *cultus patriæ* and *cultus dulciæ*. These texts, ordinarily objected; vindicate for God alone *supreme* honour. So does the Catholic Church. But they say nothing of that inferior honour—*cultus dulciæ*, which on Catholic principles is due to the saints, And to the texts from Deut. iv. 13. and x. 20., Coll. ii. 18., as Dr. Murray justly observes, it is not saint-worship but demon-worship that is prohibited. The objection from "Apoc. xix, 10," treated by Dr. Murray at page 18. deserves special notice. St. John says:—"And I fell down before his feet to adore him. And he saith to me, see thou do it not, I am thy fellow-servant, and of thy brethren, who have the testimony of Jesus, adore God." This text is relied upon by Protestants generally as a conclusive argument against us. The Angel, they tell us, would not permit St. John to honour him—prohibited it, and this prohibition is intelligible only on the supposition that such honour would be unlawful. Dr. Murray of course admits that the Angel prohibited St. John's act, but he does not admit, as a consequence of that prohibition, that the honour tendered by St. John in that particular case or such honour in general was or is unlawful. St. John's act implied the superior excellence of the Angel, to him the bearer of so many mysterious messages, the medium of so many heavenly visions. In presence of so high, so holy a creature, St. John, the Apostle, Evangelist, Prophet, Martyr, the special friend, and favoured familiar of Jesus, casts himself humbly upon the ground. This

humiliation the Angel will not have, and for this reason—"I am thy fellow servant." Now, surely from the fact that the Angel would not have such honour from one admitted to be his own equal—"conservus tuus,"—it does not follow that saints or angels may not be lawfully honoured by us who are so much in every way inferior to them. We give the following passage from Dr. Murray, in the original, lest any of its beauty may be lost in translation:—

"Dicendum est S. Joannem cultum religiosum dulciæ Angelo ut tali cognito deferre voluisse. Vel ergo dicendum est ejusmodi cultum esse licitum, vel Joannem legem divinam cultum illum vetantem absolute ignorasse, aut cognita tali lege eum illam scienter et deliberate violasse, et ideo reum se criminis constituisse, quod secundum quosdam Protestantes, est idololatrium, secundum omnes, gloriæ Dei graviter injuriosum; imo sanctissimum Apostolum, Evangelistam, etc., extrema jam senectute, annis et meritis unum, post bonum certamen tamdiu certatum, eo ipso tempore, quo elatus est ad tot tantæque arcana divina, et visiones coelestas videndas et testandas, sub fine visionum istarum, et post quam omnia ipsi patefacta sunt, at (secundum obj.) post monitum Angeli vetantis cultum illum ut *illicitum*, aut adhuc ignorantia ea adeo turpi crassa laborasse, aut iterum (xxii 8), idem scelus patrare voluisse—quæ omnia Christianis auribus auditu Christianis mentibus cogitatu quam sunt horrenda verbis significari non potest." (D. i., n. 37, p. 19.)

All this stupid blasphemy must be maintained by anyone who quotes the above text from Apocalypse as opposed to Catholic doctrine. What a pity that Bloomfield, or Whately, or Gayer did not live in Apostolic times, to act as spiritual director to St. John!

Students of Dr. Murray's writings will easily recall to memory passages in which, with dexterity and effect, he turns the weapons of heretics against themselves. He does so here with complete success. He shows that not only is there no argument against us in the text of Apocalypse, but that it supplies a most conclusive argument in our favour. St. John knowingly paid religious honour to the Angel. But surely St. John would not have done so, if such honour had not been lawful; and therefore it was lawful. The major proposition of this argument is admitted; the minor proposition has been already proved, in the extract given above; and the conclusion follows as of strict logical necessity.

Dr. Murray's second leading proposition regards the *Invocation* of the saints, and in the words of the Council of

Trent, he lays down that such "*Invocation is lawful and useful.*" It would be difficult to point out any article of Catholic Faith, that has always been such a rock of scandal to Protestantism as this; Real Presence, Transubstantiation, even Papal Infallibility, is not a more dreaded phantom to the orthodox Protestant imagination. It is described as Paganism grafted on Christianity, a system subversive of Redemption, and involving Catholics in hopeless, inexcusable error. Now, we beg to remind our self-constituted judges, that at least for many long and long centuries before *their* theological system was heard of, *our doctrine* was believed and practised by the purest, the wisest, and the best of professing Christians. It is then a very ancient practice, this Invocation of Saints; and if we err in maintaining it, we err in very respectable society. St. Basil, for instance, who was pre-eminently the theologian of the Early Eastern Church, says, in a Profession of Faith addressed to Julian the Apostate:—

"Secundum immaculatam fidem Christianorum, quam divinitus sortiti sumus, confiteor unum Deum Omnipotentem Patrem, Filium et Spiritum Sanctum. Suscipio autem SS. Apostolos, et Prophetas, et Martyres, et ad supplicationem quae est ad Deum hos *invoco*, ut per eos, id est per interventionem eorum propitius sit mihi misericors Deus." Ep. 205.

At the very least, therefore, our doctrine is very ancient. And to remove all doubt on this point, we would recommend to our adversaries a torchlight procession in the Roman Catacombs. Now it is lawful and it is useful to ask the prayers of holy persons here on earth. This is admitted, and there is abundant Scripture proof to establish it if it were denied. "The continual prayer of a just man availeth much," and therefore do we ask living saints to pray for us, knowing that, as they are pleasing to God, they may obtain for us favours which may be denied to our unworthy prayers. But surely this motive is irresistible as a reason why we should pray to the Saints "who reign with Christ in glory," whose love for God, whose friendship with Him, whose supernatural gifts are indefinitely greater than those of any living saint. And Protestant prejudice has been prying, and plotting, and planning for three hundred years, without being able to find one text from Scripture or from reliable Tradition to bring the above argument into doubt.

The main argument, in fact the sole one, of Protestants against the above doctrine is that it argues a want of con

fidence in our Redeemer, and is derogatory to His infinite merits. And a most conclusive argument this would be, had it any foundation in fact. But it has not. It crumbles like a "house of cards" the moment the real doctrine of the Church is stated. Read over the decree of Trent, and this Protestant argument vanishes. There is a doctrine invented for us, and attributed to us, that is derogatory, nay, destructive of the merits of our Redeemer. But that doctrine is none of ours. It is a "doctrine of demons;" it is the offspring of Protestant prejudice, the *brutum fulmen* of the baffled assailants of divine truth; but repudiated, abhorred, and anathematized in every age by the Church of God. If our practice of "Invocation of the Saints who reign with Christ" imply a disregard of the merits of our Redeemer, then how can Protestants justify the scriptural custom of asking the prayers of holy people here on earth? Impossible. We Catholics disregard the merits of our Redeemer! Indeed! We, who hold and would die to defend it, that every grace given to man from the first grace given to Adam to the last that shall be given to the latest of his race, was, or will be given simply, and solely, and entirely in virtue of the merits of our Blessed Lord. The merits, the intercession of the Saints, those of the Blessed Virgin, may move, and do often move Almighty God to give us many blessings; but every grace, even the smallest, was purchased for the saints, for the Blessed Virgin, quite as well as for us, by the merits and sufferings of our Blessed Lord. We know that the saints have been purified, sanctified, by the merits of our Redeemer, and we rejoice in His mercy, and in their triumph. We know that from the height of their glory, from the splendour of their eternal home, they look down anxiously on us who still sojourn in "the valley of tears." We know that charity—that love stronger than death—inflames them, and makes them pray for our welfare on our journey homeward, and for our final triumph over the dangers of the way. We therefore ask them—God's friends and familiars—to lift up their pure holy hands to Him for us, to ask Him that He may strengthen us in the conflict, that He may keep us erect, faithful, going loyally onward on our divinely appointed way, until, the conflict ended, the exile over, and the night past, our enraptured eyes shall open to the blessed light of the eternal day.

There is a good deal more in the first part of Dr. Murray's volume over which it would be a pleasure
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to linger. But space does not permit, and we must pass on to a brief notice of the second part. This part regards the diriment impediments of Matrimony. The subject is a most practical one. And to Priests who may at any moment be called on to decide intricate and difficult cases, Dr. Murray's volume will be a welcome, as it is a safe and valuable guide. His readers will undoubtedly regret that he did not write a complete treatise on Matrimony; but this regret will not in the least diminish their grateful appreciation of what he has done. There are some excellent handbooks on the subject already, such as Carriere, Feije, &c., but the student is often puzzled in the application of the principles which they lay down. And the study of Dr. Murray's work would seem to warrant a conjecture that he applied himself specially to such questions, as were not satisfactorily treated by other writers. This conjecture is confirmed by the fact that he treats the more important and difficult impediments at length, while others are briefly disposed of. And again, Dr. Murray is specially clear and systematic where the confusion hitherto existing was a source of dangerous perplexity. He has discovered an undoubted want, and he has admirably supplied it. And in doing so he has inserted nothing that is superfluous, he has omitted nothing that is necessary to his object. He has in a quiet unobtrusive way done a most useful work. A few instances will illustrate this. In treating of "error," all authors tell us that "error qualitatis," when it becomes equivalent to "error personae," as it may be, is a diriment impediment. But authors very often leave us to ourselves to determine when this is really so, and thus the principle though quite correct becomes quite useless, for want of a rule to direct us in its application. Rules on this subject, clear and practical in the extreme, are given in Nos. 12, 13, 14, 15, of Dr. Murray's volume. Again, he treats the impediment of *consanguinity* in a very masterly way, and gives most practical rules for the construction of the genealogical table. Under the impediment of "*Disparitas Cultus*" he gives an excellent dissertation on *mixed marriages*, which will be a valuable source of information and direction to priests labouring in a mixed community like ours.

But it is in treating of the impediment of *Metus*, that Dr. Murray's clearness, and logical precision, are most conspicuous. What amount of external influence acting on the will vitiates consent, and constitutes a diriment impediment

to the matrimonial contract, is a difficult question, and consequently we find many writers of name involving it in hopeless confusion. Dr. Murray on the contrary lays down the ordinary principles of the Human Act Treatise. He explains them clearly, develops them logically, and applies them so accurately, that all the difficulties of the subject disappear. No one can read the author's treatment of this impediment without heartily congratulating him, and thanking him for his work.

Again, the impediment of Clandestinity is treated in a most exhaustive manner. The question of domicile and quasi-domicile, is, as every student knows, the great subject of debate under this heading, and in discussing it, Dr. Murray has left nothing to be desired. Into this subject, Carriere and some other modern writers have introduced an element of discord which has for a long time perplexed theological students. On a mistaken interpretation of a letter of Benedict XIV. to the Archbishop of Goa, they have maintained that a *month's residence* in a place (*simplex habitatio*) is sufficient to constitute persons parishioners of that place, and to give them a right to contract marriage therein. This question has been very warmly discussed in theological schools, for the past forty years, and it is not at all improbable, that consequences more serious than mere theological discussion have resulted from the promulgation of the opinion. The Sacred Congregation in a reply to the Irish Bishops in A.D. 1867, decided the question. Dr. Murray gives the decree at length in No. 386, and explains it clearly and fully. The substance of the decree is that the month's habitation is merely an index of the intention of the contracting parties. It affords a presumption that they have the intention required for securing at least a quasi-domicile, and in the absence of any indication to the contrary, would justify a Priest in treating the parties as having acquired quasi-domicile. The various other practical questions that arise under the impediment are treated by Dr. Murray with the most minute accuracy and clearness. It is a pity that so many typographical errors should be found in such a book, but Dr. Murray has applied the only remedy left to him, a long and exhaustive list of "corrigenda."

From this hurried sketch the reader will readily infer that Dr. Murray's recent work is a most valuable one. But we would say, "tolle, lege." Secure the book and judge for yourself. To the Priests of Ireland, to Irish Priests all the world over, its all-sufficient introduction is its distin-

guished author's name. More pretentious works will be relegated to the lumber room, but this book will live. And we carry away with us from its perusal, this among other pleasing convictions, that we can always look back with confidence to our Alma Mater, to find men ever ready and always able to vindicate the grand old causes—the faith and the discipline of our Holy Church.

J. M.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.—III.

“What is the practical value of the opinion of St. Alphonsus, in which he teaches, that in a case of extreme necessity, when all preparations are made for a marriage, and neither the Sovereign Pontiff, nor the Bishop, can be applied to without postponing the marriage, any existing occult diriment impediment imposed by ecclesiastical law, ceases to exist, and that the Parish Priest or Confessor may, therefore, declare the celebration of such a marriage in the circumstances both valid and licit?”

Before proceeding to examine the third question proposed by our reverend correspondent, under the head of Matrimonial Dispensations, we desire to state that we purpose to consider the question on its own merits, and not with reference to the probability which any solution of it is supposed to derive from the authority of St. Alphonsus. Our correspondent seems to take for granted that the solution which he attributes to St. Alphonsus is one in favor of which the authority of so great a name may be cited without fear of contradiction. But as a matter of fact, though St. Alphonsus is often quoted in favor of this solution of a very complicated question, and though he certainly mentions this solution with apparent approval, still he nowhere adopts it explicitly as his own. This caution is all the more significant when we bear in mind the warning addressed by St. Alphonsus to the reader, in the *Monitum Auctoris ad Lectorem*, prefixed to his Moral Theology.

“Caeterum, benigne Lector, te admonitum volo, ne existimes me opinionones illas [caeterorum auctorum] approbare ex eo quod non

reprobem; eas enim quandoque fideliter exponam cum suis rationibus, et Patronis, ut alii, pro sua prudentia, cujus ponderis sint, adjudicent."¹

Before the case, then, which we are about to consider can arise, we must suppose:—

1. That all preparations are made for the marriage, so that it cannot be deferred without giving rise to grave suspicion, scandal, or other very notable inconvenience.

2. We must suppose that a dispensation cannot be obtained either from the Holy See, or from the Bishop, in sufficient time to obviate the inconvenience.

3. We must suppose that the impediment is occult. For, as St. Alphonsus remarks (*De Mat.* n. 1122), if the impediment be public it is difficult to suppose that scandal could arise from the postponement of the marriage. In truth the celebration of the marriage would be more likely to give scandal in such circumstances than its postponement.

4. We must suppose that the occult impediment is not only absolutely dispensable, but, moreover, that it is an impediment in which the Holy See is accustomed to dispense.

This is the case which has given rise to so much controversy, and which, owing to the difficulties with which it is beset, has come to be known amongst theologians as the *casus perplexus*.²

"Sed hic discutiendus est casus," says St. Alphonsus, "valde facilis eventui, et difficilis solutione. Rogatur: quid agendum, si sponsi accedant ad ecclesiam ad contrahendum matrimonium, et alter eorum manifestet confessario impedimentum occultum, dum omnia sunt parata, et non sine scandalo et infamia matrimonium differri?"—*De Poenit.* n. 613.

In these circumstances we may suppose the contracting parties (1) to be conscious of the occult impediment, or (2) to be inculpably ignorant of it.

If both parties (1) are inculpably ignorant of the impediment, and if the Parochus or confessor foresees that the manifestation of it to them is not likely in any way to solve the difficulty, or to remove the inconvenience of a postponement of the marriage, then many of the theologians, acting on the general principles *de*

¹ A respected correspondent will find in this statement an answer to a question which he sent for solution some short time ago. It regarded the extent to which St. Alphonsus is to be supposed to adopt the opinions of Busembaum, which he quotes without any comment.

Feije, *De Imped. et Disp. Mat.* n. 640.

monitione facienda vel omittenda, remark that their *bona fides* should not be disturbed, but that a dispensation should be procured and applied as soon as possible.

But (2) if the contracting parties, or one of them, be conscious of the impediment, then the special difficulty of this case has to be encountered.

The various solutions of this difficulty that have been put forward, may be conveniently reduced to four.

Two of these are extremes, and two seek the golden mean.

According to the first of the two extreme opinions, there is no remedy to be applied but the postponement of the marriage. On the one hand, there is question of a *lex irritans*, which will not relax its obligation on account of any *private* inconvenience its observance may entail. On the other, there is *ex hypothesi*, no means of obtaining a dispensation from Rome, or from any Bishop, in sufficient time to render the postponement of the marriage unnecessary. Consequently, the only remaining course available—no matter how inconvenient it may be—is to postpone the marriage until a dispensation can be procured.

The second of the extreme opinions adopts quite a contrary view. It maintains that in these circumstances the Parochus or confessor may grant a formal dispensation. Just as the Bishop may grant a dispensation in occult diriment impediments when the Pope cannot be applied to, so may the Parochus or confessor grant a like dispensation when neither the Pope nor the Bishop can be approached in sufficient time.

We cannot adopt either of these opinions: not the first, because we believe the Church has provided some suitable and convenient remedy to meet this difficulty; nor the second, because we find no authority for saying that the Parochus, or confessor, is invested in such circumstances with a dispensing power. We must, therefore, seek for a solution of the proposed difficulty in one or other of the two intermediate opinions.

The first of these teaches that, in the circumstances referred to, the impediment—both in its diriment and prohibent character—absolutely ceases to exist; and, therefore, that the Parochus, or the confessor, may announce to the parties that the marriage may be validly and licitly celebrated without any present dispensation. The one leading argument in favour of this opinion rests on the principle that a law to be binding must be *utilis*, and not *nociva*. But the law prohibiting the marriage in the circumstances mentioned

becomes, if it must be observed, *nociva*. Therefore it ceases to bind :—

“ In tali casu censetur cessare lex qua prohibetur tale matrimonium. Quoniam lex ordinatur ad bonum communitatis unde quando lex desinit esse bona, et potius evadit perniciosa, habet epieikeia, quod non obliget. Neque est de intentione legislatoris obligare quando quod praecepit ratione subjectae materiae incipit esse praejudiciale et proinde superior immediatus, licet inferior legislatore, potest in tali casu dispensare, seu potius declarare, quod lex non obliget.

“ Confirmatur ex eo quod quando concurrunt duo praecepta, minus cedit majori. . . .

“ Praeterea tenetur princeps procurare utilitatem subditorum In tali autem casu, si non cessaret, induceret malam administrationem, et relinqueret subditos sine remedio in casu extremae necessitatis quod est contra caritatem, et bonum regimen reipublicae. . . .

“ Et licet hic non cesset finis legis in communi, sed in particulari, cum tamen cessat finis legis in contrarium, lex etiam cessat. . . . (Apud Pignatell. Consult. 33, n. 3).

Roncaglia is even still more explicit in favor of this opinion. In answer to the question, what should the Parochus do if a diriment impediment be detected only after the parties have come to the church for the purpose of getting married, and the impediment cannot be made known, nor the marriage postponed, without the greatest inconvenience? he replies:—

“ putarem parochum procedere posse ad matrimonium celebrandum. . . . Omnes igitur concedunt per epieikeiam bene affirmari cessare legem Ecclesiae, quoties in aliquo casu particulari ejus observantia sit difficillima, et multo magis, si perniciosa; dum ita ergo evadat lex ecclesiastica de aliquo impedimento, nec episcopus adiri possit, poterit parochus judicare pro tali casu cessare illius obligationem; quamvis etenim dicamus non posse in ea dispensare, potest tamen doctrinaliter interpretari an obliget nec ne in aliquo casu particulari. . . . Quae hucusque dixi innuuntur etiam in quadam Instructione pro novis confessariis edita primo Paviae, et postea Lucae ac eodem tempore iterum Romae.” (De Mat. q. 5, c. i.)

St. Alphonsus, as we have already seen, is very frequently cited in support of the same opinion. He certainly mentions it without any mark of disapproval. Nay, more, he indicates that if there be no other escape from the difficulty, in a particular case, this opinion might be acted on.

Thus, in the "Homo Apostolicus," Tr. 16, n. 114, he says:—

"Imo dicunt *et quidem non sine fundamento* Roncaglia et Instructor, etc., praefatu, cum auctoritate Pignat. quod cum in hoc casu lex impedimenti reddatur nociva, posset parochus, aut alter confessarius prudens declarare talem legem non obligare."

In the Treatise *De Poenitentia*, in his Moral Theology, (n. 613) he says:—

"Unde dicit Roncaglia p. 172, q. 2 (cujus opinionem ait auctor Instruct. pro novis confess. p. 2, n. 32, ex Jordano et Pignatell. ut supra, non esse rejiciendam tanquam improbabilem et non tutam in praxi) quod si aliquando nec etiam ad Episcopum aditus pateret et nullomodo aliter vitari posset gravissimum periculum infamiae aut scandali, posset parochus vel alius confessarius declarare, quod lex impedimenti eo casu non obligat, quia eadem ratio (ut supra) tunc urget, nempe quod cessat lex quando potius est nociva, quam utilis."

He repeats the same substantially in the *Praxis Confessarii*, n. 8.

Nevertheless it is obvious that in the many references he makes to this opinion,¹ St. Alphonsus does not formally adopt it as his own, and hence we find him quoted with equal confidence in favor of the second of the intermediate opinions which we shall presently proceed to explain.

"Propria S. Alphonsi opinio," says Feije (*De Imped. Mat.* n. 643), "potius videtur esse ea, ut consentiat quidem cessationi legis quoad prohibitionem ponendi actum celebrationis matrimonii, licet invalidi, non vero quoad nullitatem actus."

But Gury, on the other hand, (*De Mat.* n. 771) cites, without any hesitation, the authority of St. Alphonsus in favor of the total cessation of the impediment.

"Juxta S. Lig. et alios posset Confessarius, seu Parochus, declarare legem Ecclesiae de impedimentis non obligare in tantis angustiis, et ad matrimonii celebrationem procedere."

We now come to the fourth and last opinion, which is the second of the intermediate opinions.

According to this the impediment ceases, not however in as far as it is a *diriment*, but only in as far as it is a *prohibent* impediment. Accordingly, the marriage ceremony can be

¹ In support of this opinion are also quoted Cardinal Gousset (n. 850), Caillaud (T. 2, n. 317), Kenrick (Tr. 18, n. 220), Van de Burgt (n. 99), Mechlin, *Tract. de Mat.* (n. 101), and many other eminent theologians.

licitly gone through, though the marriage itself will remain invalid till either a simple dispensation is obtained and the consent of the parties is privately renewed, or a dispensation *in radice*, which renders the renewal of the consent unnecessary, is procured.

The fundamental principle on which this opinion rests is one commonly laid down in the Treatise on Laws, namely, that no amount of *private* inconvenience will get rid of a *lex irritans*.

Hence, though the necessity of the case justifies the celebration of the marriage in *facie Ecclesiæ*, still the marriage will remain invalid until the impediment is removed by a dispensation.

Its supporters do not deny that there are many and obvious difficulties in the application of this opinion to practical cases.

There is, for instance, first of all, the apparent *simulatio Sacramenti*, which it recommends. Then there is the inconvenience of allowing the parties to live together, though they cannot become man and wife until a dispensation is procured.

To obviate the first inconvenience a *conditional* consent is suggested. Thus if the existence of the impediment is known to both of the parties, they may contract conditionally, *i.e.*, on condition of afterwards obtaining a dispensation. In such a conditional contract of marriage (which is justified by extreme necessity) there is no appearance of any *simulatio Sacramenti*.

To meet the second difficulty a promise or vow of observing chastity until a dispensation is obtained, may be insisted on where the impediment is known to both parties or only to the *sponsus*.

There would be much more difficulty in case the impediment is known to the *sponsa*, and cannot be conveniently revealed to the *sponsus*.

This is the opinion adopted by Feije, n. 644, and in favor of which he quotes Kutschker, T. 3, p. 515, and the "Mélanges Théologiques," ser. 1, ed. 2, p. 1; ser. 2, p. 451; Ser. 6, p. 356.

Still, after giving the principal arguments against the total cessation of the impediment founded on the general effect of an irritating law, and on the logical necessity of extending the opinion, if once adopted, to *public* as well as to *occult* impediments, he adds: "*Nihilominus non affirmaverim nunquam posse in casu desperato inservire quod S. Alphonsus scribit non sine fundamento dici.*"

From this admission of a decided opponent of the opinion which holds that the impediment ceases, as well as from the direct arguments in its favor, we may safely conclude—

1. That if the impediment be unknown to both parties, and that no good result is foreseen as likely to arise from its revelation, while much spiritual and temporal evil may ensue, it will be more prudent—no matter which opinion may be held speculatively—to allow the marriage ceremony to proceed, and to obtain a dispensation as soon as possible afterwards.

2. If the impediment can be made known without any imminent risk of the knowledge leading to formal sin, it should be made known to the parties, and they should be warned, if the marriage cannot be postponed, to live as unmarried persons till a dispensation can be obtained.

3. If the impediment be known to the *sponsus* only, he should contract conditionally, and resolve not to consummate the marriage till a dispensation is obtained.

4. If the impediment be known to the *sponsa* only, and cannot be communicated to the *sponsus*, then, unless the dispensation can be obtained the same day, there seems no other resource but to act on the opinion which teaches that the impediment ceases totally to exist, and to announce to the *sponsa* that the marriage may be lawfully contracted and consummated.

5. Even when this opinion is acted on, a dispensation *ad cautelam* should be procured, and applied as soon as possible after the marriage.

6. If the application of a *simple* dispensation would be attended by very great difficulty or inconvenience, as may be the case if the impediment be known to only one of the parties, then the Parochus, or confessor, should apply for a dispensation *in radice*.

7. Finally, as prevention is better than the best cure, the practice recommended by the Council of Trent, of getting persons about to contract marriage to go to confession some days before the intended celebration of the marriage, will serve to prevent those difficulties from arising, with the solution of which we have been hitherto concerned.

ED. I. E. R.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

WE have much pleasure in publishing the following contribution towards the solution of a very practical question, which we have lately received from an occasional correspondent.

Should Alleluia be added to the Versicle "Ora pro nobis, S. De Genitrix," in Paschal time?

Some priests are accustomed to add, during Paschal time, an Alleluia to the versicle and response "Ora pro nobis, Sancta Dei Genitrix," etc., at the end of the Litany, when sung at Benediction, or other devotional exercise. In justification of this practice they allege, first, that it is the general rule to add an Alleluia to all versicles during Paschal time; and, secondly, that, as the versicle "Panem de caelo," etc., before the prayer of the Blessed Sacrament has, during Paschal time, an Alleluia at Benediction, it is fitting that the versicle and response before the prayer of the Blessed Virgin should have it also.

Now, I believe that the alleged grounds for this practice are not solid, and that the practice itself is incorrect.

I.

In the first place, it is not a general rule to add an Alleluia to all versicles and responses in Paschal time. The very rubric in the Breviary (tit. xxiv. n. 4) exempts from the operation of this rule a number of versicles, even in the Divine Office itself. Moreover, the Parvum Officium of the Blessed Virgin is *wholly* withdrawn from this regulation. Its special rubric,¹ which is interpreted and confirmed by a decision of the Congregation of Rites,² says, that in Paschal time, Alleluia is not to be added to its antiphons, versicles, or responses.

Again, the several rubrics ordering the addition of Alleluia to certain versicles are found in the Breviary and Missal. Now, the Breviary rubric regards only the Divine Office, and, at most, antiphons and versicles taken from the Office. The Missal rubric regards the Mass only. If Alleluia is to be added to versicles which are not taken from the Office, this must be the result of special legislation applying to these versicles in particular.

¹ Officium Parvum B. Mariæ, *in fine*. ² S. R. C. 26 Aug., 1752 (4227).

Now, the versicle "Ora pro nobis" is either taken from the Parvum Officium of the Blessed Virgin, where it is found at Compline, or, as I believe, is not taken from the Office at all, in the sense of the rubricists.

If taken from the Parvum Officium, it should not have the Alleluia, because, as we have seen, this Office, when said in Paschal time, is not to have Alleluia added to any of its antiphons or versicles. If it is not taken from the Office, the rule regarding the addition of Alleluia does not apply to it at all.

Special legislation cannot be appealed to. Quite the contrary. It is ordered that Alleluia is not to be added to the versicles in the Litany of the Saints, *tempore paschali*, as on Rogation days, or even on the occasion of the Quarante Ore in Paschal time. Now, no proof is adduced why we should deal differently with the Litany of Loretto.

With regard to versicles, etc., outside the Office and Mass, I can find the sanction of special legislation for only the following changes:—1° The last strophe of the "Veni Creator" is changed in Paschal time; 2° the versicle and response "Ostende nobis, Domine," said at the aspersion of Holy Water and in the blessing of houses, has the Alleluia; 3° the Office of the Blessed Sacrament, during the Octave of Corpus Christi, takes the Alleluia, as though it occurred in Paschal time; 4° it is ordered in the "Instructio Clementina" that Alleluia is to be added to the versicle "Panem de caelo," etc., when sung at the Quarante Ore, or other exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, in Paschal time; and the Roman Ritual also prescribes the addition of Alleluia to the "Panem de caelo," etc., in Paschal time, when said after the administration of Holy Communion.

II.

There is little or no force in the second argument advanced in support of this practice of adding Alleluia to the versicle "Ora pro nobis." The argument is, that there is a *fitness* in adding Alleluia to the "Ora pro nobis," because the "Panem de caelo" must have it. Now, if this was a valid reason, we should add the Alleluia to the "Ora pro nobis," etc., during the Octave of Corpus Christi, a practice which no one thinks of, because plainly incorrect. Again, the same *fitness* would require the Alleluia after the versicles in the Litany of the Saints, but this is expressly forbidden *tempore paschali*.

Whatever authority drew up the "Ritus Servandus

for England, and also every Rite for Benediction I have seen in Ireland or elsewhere, did not venture to go beyond the General Rubrics of the Church in this matter, and has prescribed the Alleluia to be added, *tempore paschali*, at Benediction only after "Panem de caelo," etc. In the "Ritus Servandus" the only other Alleluia noted is after "Ostende nobis, Domine," at the aspersion of the Holy Water.

What is fitting is, that Alleluia should be added to a versicle, if, by order or permission of a superior, a prayer in honour of a saint, etc., with the Vesper versicle, is to be sung at Benediction, or other devotional exercise, *tempore paschali*. Because, without the Alleluia, it would not be the Paschal versicle in its integrity; just as the office of any saint, if transferred to Paschal time, must be recited *modo paschali*. It will, however, be kept in memory, that the Parvum Officium, where the "Ora pro nobis," etc., is found, is specially excepted.

Consequently, until then a definite answer comes from the Sacred Congregation, prescribing or permitting the addition of the Alleluia, I can see no solid reason for its lawful use, but every reason against it. C.

In support of the opinion so well and clearly explained by our respected correspondent, namely, that the rubric in the Breviary requiring the addition of Alleluia to certain antiphons, versicles, and responses in Paschal time, refers to the Divine Office only, we beg to add the few following points:—

First: the Authority of Rubricists. De Carpo writes:

"Quae regula (non addendi Alleluia paschali etiam tempore communis quoque est hymnis, responsoriis, antiphonis, aliisque precibus, quae extra Divinum Officium recitantur. Haec enim omnia recitari oportet eadem prorsus ratione ac infra annum, non vero juxta leges quos sequi opus foret, si illa in Officio locum haberent. Excipitur V. Panem de caelo et R. Omne delectamentum: quibus in expositione et repositione SS. Sacramenti, nec non post administratam fidelibus SS. Euchristiam, Alleluia subditur toto tempore paschali, ac subditur etiam in casu illo expositionis et repositionis per totam octavam Corporis Christi (Rub. pecul.) Excipitur quoque hymnus Veni Creator Spiritus, qui concludendus est juxta temporum diversitatem, nimirum, paschali tempore, Deo Patri sit gloria, et Filio qui a mortuis."

¹ *Kalendarium Perpetuum*, p. 273.

De Herdt also says expressly that the Alleluia is not to be added to versicles belonging to *preces imperatae* and the like:—

“Versibus in precibus imperatis et similibus, quae tempore paschali recitantur *Alleluia* non adjungitur, sicut juxta rubricas generales Breviarii (tit. xxiv. 4) nec versibus precum in Prima et Completoris, nec in Litanis rogationum additur.”¹

The learned writer of the articles on Liturgy in the *Nouvelle Revue Theologique* declares that there can be no doubt that the Alleluia should not be added:—

“Il ne faut pas non plus l'ajouter au verset detaché “Ora pro nobis” que l'on chante quelquefois à la suite des litanies de la Sainte Vierge. Ces prières sont en dehors de l'office, et ne se ressentent pas des changements qui affectent les offices du Breviaire. Ce point nous le regardons comme certain.”

Secondly: we have a decision of the Sacred Congregation formally approving a rubric in the Franciscan Breviary, which tells those who use it not to add Alleluia, in Paschal time, to antiphons said “extra officium de praecepto,” for instance, to the antiphon “Tota pulchra es, Maria,” which the Franciscans are wont to sing after the Litany on Saturday. This decree seems to indicate clearly enough what would be the answer of the Congregation, if consulted on the case considered by our occasional contributor. The text of the decree is this:—

“Tempore paschali non additur *Alleluia* antiphonis et aliis extra officium de praecepto, v.g. in antiphonis *Tota pulchra es, Maria*, quae in sabbato, in nostra Religione cantatur post Litanias, nec ad Officium Parvum B.M.V.”²

It will be remarked that the authors quoted require that the Alleluia be confined to versicles, etc., said in the Office. They do not extend the rule even as far as our respected contributor does, that is, to a versicle, found indeed in the Office, but inserted in a devotional exercise, no other part of which exercise is taken from the Divine Office. The most liberal author we have read on this question requires at least a substantial part of the Office, such as a hymn, antiphon versicle, and response, or at least an antiphon and its versicle.

R. B.

¹ Tom. iii. pars. v., n. 70.

² Tom. iv., p. 436, 1872.

³ 13 Feb., 1666,

CORRESPONDENCE.

QUESTIONS REGARDING THE JUBILEE.

I.

May a commutation of the prescribed works be made out of Confession?

A reply, in an early number of the RECORD, to the following practical query, will no doubt prove interesting to many of your readers.

Is it necessary, that a commutation of the prescribed works for gaining the Jubilee be given *in confession*? Father Gury, relying on the Bull of Ben. 14^o, "*Inter Praeteritos*," requires that the commuting powers be exercised "*in actu Sacramentalis Confessionis*."

But, Father Ballerini, in his annotations, is of opinion, that then only, is a commutation necessarily to be given in confession, when such a condition is expressly stated by the Pope, in granting the Jubilee faculties. His argument, which is at once terse and forcible, can be seen at the "*note*" to Quaer, 16^o No. 1056, (Gury by Ballerini).

I shall merely call attention to the fact, that during the Jubilee of 1865, Pius the Ninth declared that a commutation could be given, "*Extra actum Sacramentalis confessionis*."

In the event, Rev. Sir, of your answer being confirmatory of Father Gury's, your correspondent further inquires:

What is the priest to do who, *bona fide*, commuted the prescribed works outside confession? Can he presume that the Pope supplied jurisdiction, as in the case of a confessor who, through mistake, but *bona fide*, and having used ordinary diligence, has commuted, in confession, one of the prescribed works, in a case where the difficulty of performing it was not such as to justify a commutation.

J. H., C.C.

The conclusion to which a long train of reasoning would lead us, if we had room for its development, would be, (1) that as in the matter of indulgences it is particularly dangerous to depend on merely probable opinions, we should, in regard to both the questions proposed by our correspondent, adopt the safer side.

(2) We are inclined therefore to adopt the following instruction given by Father Konings in interpreting the conditions to be observed for gaining the present Jubilee:

"*Commutationes, quemadmodum et dispensationes ac absolute tiones de quibus infra, extra actum confessionis exerceri nequeunt.*"

If without notable inconvenience, it were possible for a confessor who had not followed this rule, subsequently to conform to it by repeating the commutation in the tribunal of penance, it seems to us that he would best consult for the spiritual good of his penitent by doing so.—ED. I. E. R.

II.

The Alms to be given.

In the May number of the RECORD (p. 311), in reply to an esteemed correspondent, we stated that in our opinion alms given to the poor, privately, would suffice for fulfilling the following condition laid down by the Sovereign Pontiff in granting the present Jubilee: . . . "*atque eleemosynae nomine in pium aliquod opus quidquam conferant.*" The words used were: "We believe that such alms constitute a *pium opus*; and we know that in former Jubilees such alms were either expressly stated, or held by common consent, to be sufficient. We cannot hold, therefore, in the absence of some official declaration, that the manner of fulfilling this condition has been substantially altered."

The following Declaration of the Sacred Penitentiary, which appears in the last number of the *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, fully bears out the opinion we then put forward:—

DECLARATIO S. POENITENTIARIAE APOSTOLICAE SUPER CONDITIONIBUS PRAESENTIS JUBILAEI.

Die 2 Aprilis vertentis anni 1881 Sacra Poenitentia circa eleemosynam praescriptam in Litteris Apostolicis "*Militans Jesu Christi*" die 12 Martii ejusdem anni, sequens dedit responsum: "*Inter opera pia, a Litteris Apostolicis significata, comprehendendi etiam sublevationem pauperum.*"

[By some oversight the name of the Very Rev. Michael Connolly, P.P., V.F., Beagh, Gort, was not mentioned in our last number in connection with his learned paper on "The Development of Dogmatic Teaching regarding the Old Law in the Lifetime of the Apostles."—ED. I. E. R.]

DOCUMENTS.

WE publish two Papal Documents of the highest importance. The first contains the earnest protest of the Supreme Pontiff against the inhuman indignity offered to the remains of Pius IX. on the night of the 12th of July, on the occasion of their removal to their last resting place in the Basilica of St. Laurence.

The second is the Encyclical in which the source of civil authority, and the duty of civil obedience, are clearly and forcibly set forth. We give also the Special Lessons for the Office of St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise.

I.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPEA XIII. ALLOCVTIO HABITA DIE IV. AVGVSTI
MDCCCLXXXI. AD S. R. E. CARDINALES IN AEDIBVS
VATICANIS.

VENERABILES FRATRES

Convocare ad Nos maturavimus amplissimum Collegium Vestrum, ut de creandis Episcopis acturi oblata opportunitate uteremur ad significandum Vobis animum Nostrium doloremque impertiendum haud multis ante diebus susceptum ob res atrociter nefarieque in Urbe actas, cum Pii IX f. r. Decessoris Nostri cineres efferrentur. De quo quidem facto inopinato et indigno, dilectum Filium Nostrium Cardinalem a negotiis publicis ad Europae principes referre imperavimus, re recenti. Nihilominus allata magno Decessori Nostro injuria et pontificia violata dignitas Nos hodierna die vocem promere omnino iubent, ut animi Nostri sensa a Nobismetipsis publice confirmentur, intelligentque catholicae gentes, omni, qua possumus, ratione et memoriam viri sanctissimi vindicatam, et majestatem Pontificis maximi per Nos esse defensam.

Pius IX, ut probe nostis, Venerabiles Fratres, corpus suum in Basilica Laurentiana extra pomerium condi jussit. Itaque cum supremam ejus voluntatem hac in re perfici oporteret, monitis iis qui securitatem publicam tueri debent, constitutum fuerat, ut ex Basilica Vaticana corpus aveheretur silentio noctis, eoque tempore quod esse solet maxime quietum. Item ducendum funus esse placuit, non eo apparatu qui pontificiae dignitati Ecclesiaeque institutis conveniret, sed quem praesens romanae urbis conditio sineret. Verum ejus rei vulgatur repente fama Urbe tota: quare populus romanus beneficiorum ac virtutum tanti Pontificis memor, sponte demonstrat, velle se parenti publico obsequium pietatemque supremam testificari. Quod quidem grati et amantis

animi testimonium plane futurum erat populi romani gravitate et religione dignum, cum nihil aliud esset propositum quam aut funus decenter proseguire, aut, qua incederet, frequentes ac venerabundos adesse.

Ad constitutam diem horamque pompa funebris e templo Vaticano processit, ingenti multitudine ex omni civium ordine per compita perque vias circumfusa. Magnus piorum hominum numerus circa feretrum, major pone comitabatur, incessu pacato et gravi. Ab his quidem aptas temporis preces fundentibus nec vox nec significatio ulla extitit, quae lacessere quemquam, aut turbas quoquo modo cedere posse videretur. Sed ecce vel a principio non ignota flagitiosorum manus incompertis clamoribus lugubre officium perturbare. Mox aucto numero et audacia, ingeminare terrores ac tumultus, rebus sanctissimis maledicere, spectatissimos viros sibilis conviciisque accipere: vultuque et voce et ira minaces circumvenire hostiliter lugubrem comitatum, et verberibus saxis que certatim petere. Immo, quod nulla barbaria tentavisset, ne reliquis quidem Pontificis sanctissimi pepercerunt. Non modo enim nomen Pii IX. contumeliose appellatum, sed in currum quadrigarum, quo reliquiae vehebantur, coniecti lapides, pluriesque inelamatum, proiciendos inhumatos cineres. Continuatumque longo viarum tractu, duarum horarum spatio, turpe spectaculum. Quod si non ad extrema ventum est, moderationi eorum tribuatur, qui quamvis omni vi petulantiaque lacessiti injurias patienter ferre maluerunt, quam ullo modo sinere ut inter illud pietatis officium funestiora contingerent.

Haec facta nota omnibus et publicis confirmata monumentis dissimulare aut denegare ii, quorum interest, nequicquam conantur, eadem, quocumque fama nuntiavit, non modo catholicarum gentium animos moerore compleverunt, sed liberrimam indignationem cunctorum hominum moverunt, apud quos valet humanitatis nomen. Undique commeant ad Nos quotidie litterae labem dedecoris et immanitatem sceleris execrantium

Sed maximam sollicitudinem animique angorem Nobis ante alios attulit casus nefarius et gravis. Quoniam autem officio impellimur, ut majestatem Pontificatus romani verendamque Decessorum Nostrorum memoriam tueamur, idcirco teterrimum facinus in conspectu Vestro, Venerabiles Fratres, conquerimur et deploramus, illatamque expostulamus injuriam, cujus ad eos culpa pertinet, qui nec jura religionis nec civium libertatem adversus impiorum hominum furorem defenderunt. Atque ex hoc ipso perspiciat catholicus orbis quanta Nobis in Urbe securitas relinquatur.—Cognitum perspectumque erat, coactos Nos esse ad asperam multisque de causis non ferendam conditionem: hanc tamen recens eventus, de quo loquimur, magis patefecit atque illustravit, simulque ostendit, si acerbus Nobis est rerum praesentium status, acerbiorum esse expectationem reliquarum.... Quod si evectos per Urbem Pii IX. cineres indiglossissimae perturbationes maximique

tumultus consecuti sunt, quis praestare queat, non eandem improborum futuram audaciam, si Nos incedere convenienter dignitati Nostrae per Urbem spectarent? Praesertim si datam sibi causam putarent, quod Nos officium coegisset aut latas in Urbe leges non justas damnare, aut quicquam aliud publice non jure gestum reprehendere. Quapropter magis magisque intelligitur, non alio modo Nos Romae nunc posse consistere quam in aedibus Vaticanis captivos. Immo si quis attente certa indicia consideret, quae passim erumpunt, simulque cogitet, aperte conjuravisse sectas in excidium catholici nominis, non sine caussa affirmari potest, adversus Ecclesiam Christi et Pontificem maximum, fidemque avitam Italorum perniciosiora consilia maturari.

Nos quidem ad istos ingravescentis certaminis gradus diligenter, uti debemus, attendimus: eodemque tempore quid Nobis ad defensionem maxime expediat ponderamus. Spe omni in Deo posita, dimicare summa contentione certum est pro incolumitate Ecclesiae, pro libertate Pontificis pro juribus et majestate Sedis Apostolicae: in eoque certamine nec labores fugere, nec difficultates reformidare. Neque propugnaturi soli sumus, quoniam virtuti constantiaeque Vestrae, Venerabiles Fratres, plurimum in omnes partes confidimus. Ac non levi etiam vel solatio vel adjumento est voluntas et religio Romanorum, qui multis insidiis circumventi atque omnibus artibus sollicitati, tamen in obsequio Ecclesiae, in fide Pontificis maximi singulari fortitudine preseverant, nullumque locum praeterrunt demonstrandi quam alte eas virtutes insculptas animo retineant. . . .

II.

SANCTISSIMI DOMINI NOSTRI LEONIS DIVINA PROVIDENTIA
PAPAE XIII. EPISTOLA ENCYCLICA AD PATRIARCHAS,
PRIMATES ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS UNIVERSOS
CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM
APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTES.

VENERABILIBUS FRATRIBUS PATRIARCHIS PRIMATIBUS ARCHIEPISCOPIS ET EPISCOPIBVS UNIVERSIS CATHOLICI ORBIS GRATIAM ET COMMUNIONEM CUM APOSTOLICA SEDE HABENTIBUS.

LEO PP. XIII.

VENERABILES FRATRES SALUTEM ET APOSTOLICAM BENEDICTIONEM.

Diuturnum illud teterrimumque bellum, adversus divinam Ecclesiae auctoritatem susceptum, illuc, quo proclive erat, evasit; videlicet in commune periculum societatis humanae, ac nominatim civilis principatus, in quo salus publica maxime nititur. Quod hac potissimum aetate nostra factum esse apparet. Cupiditates enim

populares quamlibet imperii vim audacius hodie recusant quam antea: et tanta est passim licentia, tam crebrae seditiones ac turbae, ut iis qui res publicas gerunt, non solum denegata saepe obtemperatio, sed ne satis quidem tutum incolumitatis praesidium relictum esse videatur. Diu quidem data est opera, ut illi in contemptum atque odium venirent multitudini, conceptaeque flammis invidiae jam erumpentibus, satis exiguo intervallo summorum principum vitae pluries est aut occultis insidiis aut apertis latrociniiis ad internecionem expetita. Cohorruit tota nuper Europa ad potentissimi Imperatoris infandam necem: attonitisque adhuc prae sceleris magnitudine animis, non verentur perditii homines in caeteros Europae principes minas, terroresque vulgo jactare.

Haec, quae sunt ante oculos, communium rerum discrimina, gravi Nos sollicitudine afficiunt, cum securitatem principum et tranquillitatem imperiorum, una cum populorum salute, propemodum in singulas horas periclitantem intueamur. Atqui tamen religionis christiane divina virtus stabilitatis atque ordinis egregia firmamenta reipublicae peperit, simul ac in mores et instituta civitatum penetravit. Cujus virtutis non exiguus neque postremus fructus est aequa et sapiens in principibus et populis temperatione jurium atque officiorum. Nam in Christi Domini praeceptis atque exemplis mira vis est ad continendos tam qui parent, quam qui imperant, in officio, tuendamque inter ipsos eam, quae maxime secundum naturam est, conspiracy et quasi concentum voluntatum, unde gigaitur tranquillus atque omni perturbatione carens rerum publicarum cursus. Quapropter cum regendae Ecclesiae catholicae, doctrinarum Christi custodi et interpreti, Dei beneficio praepositi simus, auctoritatis Nostrae esse judicamus, Venerabiles Fratres, publice commemorare quid a quoquam in hoc genere officii catholica veritas exigit: unde illud etiam emerget, qua via et qua ratione sit in tam formidoloso rerum statu saluti publicae consulendum.

Etsi homo arrogantia quadam et contumacia incitatus, frenos imperii depellere saepe contendit, numquam tamen assequi potuit ut nemini pareret. Praeesse aliquos in omni consociatione hominum et communitate cogit ipsa necessitas; ne principio vel capite, a quo regatur, destituta societas dilabatur et finem consequi prohibeatur, cujus gratia nata et constituta est. Verum si fieri non potuit, ut e mediis civitatibus politica potestas tolleretur, certe libuit omnes artes adhibere ad vim ejus elevandam, maiestatemque minuendam; idque maxime saeculo XVI., cum infesta opinionum novitas complures infatuavit. Post illud tempus non solum ministrari sibi libertatem largius quam par esset multitudo contendit; sed etiam originem constitutionemque civilis hominum societatis visum est pro arbitrio confingere. Immo recentiores perplures, eorum vestigiis ingredientiens qui sibi superiore saeculo philosophorum nomen inscripserunt, omnem inquirunt potestatem a populo esse; quare qui eam in civitate gerunt, ab iis non uti

suam geri, sed ut a populo sibi mandatam, et hac quidem lege, ut populi ipsius voluntate, a quo mandata est, revocari possit. Ab his vero dissentiunt catholici homines, qui jus imperandi a Deo repetunt, velut a naturali necessarioque principio.

Interest autem attendere hoc loco, eos, qui reipublicae prae-futuri sint, posse in quibusdam causis voluntate iudicioque deligii multitudinis, non adversante neque repugnante doctrina catholica. Quo sane delectu designatur princeps, non conferuntur jura principatus; neque mandatur imperium, sed statuitur a quo sit gerendum. Neque hic quaeritur de rerum publicarum modis; nihil enim est cur non Ecclesiae probetur aut unius aut plurium principatus, si modo justus sit et in communem utilitatem intentus. Quamobrem, salva justitia, non prohibentur populi illud sibi genus comparare reipublicae, quod aut ipsorum ingenio, aut majorum institutis moribusque magis apte conveniat.

Ceterum ad politicum imperium quod attinet, illud a Deo proficisci recte docet Ecclesia; id enim ipsa reperit sacris Litteris et monumentis christianae vetustatis aperte testatum; neque praeterea ulla potest doctrina cogitari, quae sit magis aut rationi conveniens, aut principum et populorum saluti consentanea.

Revera humani potentatus in Deo esse fontem, libri Veteris Testamenti pluribus locis praeclare confirmant. *Per me reges regnant, ... per me principes imperant, et potentes decernunt justitiam.*¹ Atque alibi: *Praebete aures, vos qui continetis nationes, ... quoniam data est a Deo potestas vobis, et virtus ab Altissimo.*² Quod libro Ecclesiastici idem continetur: *In unamquamque gentem Deus praeposuit rectorem.*³ Ista tamen, quae Deo auctore didicerant, paulatim homines ab ethnica superstitione dedocti sunt; quae sicut veras rerum species et notiones complures, ita etiam principatus germanam formam pulcritudinemque corrumpit. Postmodo, ubi Evangelium christianum affulsit, veritati vanitas cessit, rursumque illud dilucere coepit, unde omnis auctoritas manat, nobilissimum divinumque principium. Prae se ferenti atque ostendenti Praesidi romano absolvendi, condemnandi potestatem, Christus Dominus, *non haberes*, respondit, *potestatem adversum me ullam, nisi tibi datum esset desuper.*⁴ Quem locum S. Augustinus explanans, *Discamus*, inquit, *quod dixit, quod et per Apostolum docuit, quia non est potestas nisi a Deo.*⁵ Doctrinae enim praeceptisque Jesu Christi Apostolorum incorrupta vox resonavit tamquam imago. Ad Romanos, principum ethnicorum imperio subjectos, Pauli est excelsa et plena gravitatis sententia: *Non est potestas nisi a Deo*; ex quo tamquam ex causa illud concludit; *Princeps Dei minister est.*⁶

Ecclesiae Patres hanc ipsam, ad quam fuerant instituti, doctrinam profiteri ac propagare diligenter studuerunt. *Non tribuamus S. Augustinus ait, dandi regni et imperii potestatem nisi vero Deo.*⁷

¹ Prov. viii., 15-16.

² Sap. vi., 3, 4.

³ Eccl. xvii., 14.

⁴ Joan. xix., 11.

⁵ Tract. cxvi. in Joan. n. 5.

⁶ Ad Rom. xiii., 1, 4.

⁷ De Civ. Dei, lib. v., cap. 21.

In eandem sententiam S. Joannes Chrysostomus, *Quod principatus sint inquit, et quod alii imperent, alii subjecti sint, neque omnia casus et temere ferantur...divinae esse sapientiae dico.*¹ Id ipsum S. Gregorius Magnus testatus est, inquiens: *Potestatem imperatoribus ac regibus caelitus datam fatemur.*² Immo sancti Doctores eadem praecepta etiam naturali rationis lumine illustranda susceperunt, ut vel iis, qui rationem solam ducem sequuntur, omnino videri recta et vera debeant. Et sane homines in civili societate vivere natura jubet, seu verius auctor naturae Deus: quos perspicue demonstrant et maxima societatis consiliatrix loquendi facultas et innatae appetitiones animi per plures, et res necessariae multae ac magni momenti, quas solitarii assequi homines non possunt, juncti et consociati cum alteris assequuntur. Nunc vero, neque existere neque intelligi societas potest, in qua non aliquis temperet singulorum voluntates ut velut unum fiat ex pluribus, easque ad commune bonum recte atque ordine impellat: voluit igitur Deus ut in civili societate essent, qui multitudini imperarent. Atque illud etiam magnopere valet, quod ii, quorum auctoritate respublica administratur, debent cives ita posse cogere ad parendum, ut his plane peccatum sit non parere. Nemo autem hominum habet in se aut ex se, unde possit hujusmodi imperii vinculis liberam ceterorum voluntatem constringere. Unice rerum omnium procreatori et legislatori Deo ea potestas est: quam qui exercent, tamquam a Deo secum communicatam necesse est. *Unus est legislator et iudex, qui potest perdere et liberare.*³ Quod perspicitur idem in omni genere potestatis. Eam, quae in sacerdotibus est, proficisci a Deo tam est cognitum, ut ii apud omnes populos ministri et habeantur et appellentur Dei. Similiter potestas patrumfamilias expressam retinet quamdam effigiem ac formam auctoritatis quae est in Deo, *a quo omnis paternitas in caelis et in terra nominatur.*⁴ Isto autem modo diversa genera potestatis miras inter se habent similitudines, cum quidquid uspiam est imperii et auctoritatis, ejus ab uno eodemque mundi opifice et domino, qui Deus est, origo ducatur.

Qui civilem societatem a libero hominum consensu natam volant, ipsius imperii ortum ex eodem fonte petentes, de jure suo inquirunt aliquid unumquemque cessisse et voluntate singulos in ejus se contulisse potestatem, ad quem summa illorum jurium pervenisset. Sed magnus est error non videre, id quod manifestum est, homines, cum non sint solivagum genus, citra liberam ipsorum voluntatem ad naturalem communitatem esse natos: ac praeterea pactum, quod praedicant, est aperte commentitium et fictum, neque ad impertiendum valet politicae potestati tantum virium, dignitatis firmitudinis, quantum tutela reipublicae et communes civium utilitates requirunt. Ea autem decora et praesidia universa tunc solum est habiturus principatus, si a Deo augusto sanctissimoque fonte manare intelligatur.

¹ In epist. ad Rom. homil. xxiii., n. 1.

² Jacob. iv., 12.

³ Epist. lib. ii., epist. 61.

⁴ Ad Ephes. iii., 15.

Qua sententia non modo verior, sed ne utilior quidem reperiri nulla potest. Etenim potestas rectorum civitatis, si quaedam est divinae potestatis communicatio, ob hanc ipsam causam continuo adipiscitur dignitatem humana majorem : non illam quidem impiam et perabsurdam, imperatoribus ethnicis divinos honores affectantibus aliquando expetitam, sed veram et solidam, eamque dono quodam acceptam beneficioque divino. Ex quo subesse cives et dicto audientes esse principibus, uti Deo, oportebit non tam poenarum formidine, quam verecundia majestatis, neque assentationis causa, sed conscientia officii. Qua re stabit in suo gradu longe firmitus collocatum imperium. Etenim istius vim officii sentientes cives, fugiant necesse est improbitatem et contumaciam, quia sibi persuasum esse debet, qui politicae potestati resistunt, hos divinae voluntati resistere ; qui honorem recusant principibus, ipsi Deo recusare.

Ad hanc disciplinam Paulus Apostolus Romanos nominatim erudit ; ad quos de adhibenda summis principibus reverentia scripsit tanta cum auctoritate et pondere, ut nihil gravius praecipi posse videatur. *Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit : non est enim potestas nisi a Deo : quae autem sunt, a Deo ordinatae sunt. Itaque qui resistit potestati, Dei ordinationi resistit. Qui autem resistunt, ipsi sibi damnationem acquirunt... Ideo necessitate subditi estote, non solum propter iram, sed etiam propter conscientiam.*¹ Et consentiens est Principis Apostolorum Petri in eodem genere praecleara sententia : *Subjecti estote omni humanae creaturae propter Deum, sive regi quasi praecellenti, sive ducibus tamquam a Deo missis ad vindictam malefactorum, laudem vero bonorum, quia sic est voluntas Dei.*²

Una illa hominibus causa est non parendi, si quid ab iis postuletur quod cum naturali aut divino jure aperte repugnet ; omnia enim in quibus naturae lex vel Dei voluntas violatur aequae nefas est imperare et facere. Si cui igitur usuveniat, ut alterutrum malle cogatur, scilicet aut Dei aut principum jussa negligere, Jesu Christo parendum est reddere jubenti *quos sunt Caesaris Caesari, quos sunt Dei Deo*³ atque ad exemplum Apostolorum animose respondendum : *Obedire oportet Deo magis quam hominibus.*⁴ Neque tamen est, cur abiecisce obedientiam, qui ita se gerant, arguantur ; etenim si principum voluntas cum Dei pugnat voluntate et legibus, ipsi potestatis suae modum excedunt, justitiamque pervertunt : neque eorum tunc valere potest auctoritas, quae, ubi justitia non est, nulla est.

Ut autem justitia retineatur in imperio, illud magnopere interest eos qui civitates administrant intelligere, non privati cujusquam commodo politicam potestatem esse natam : procuracionemque reipublicae ad utilitatem eorum qui commissa est, geri oportere. Principes a Deo optimo maximo, unde sibi auctoritas

¹ Ad Rom. xiii., 1, 2, 5.

² 1 Petr. ii., 13, 15.

³ Matt. xxii., 21,

⁴ Actor. v., 29,

data, exempla sumant: ejusque imaginem sibi in administranda republica proponentes, populo praesint cum aequitate et fide, et ad eam, quae necessaria est, severitatem paternam charitatem adhibeant. Hujus rei causa sacrarum Litterarum oraculis monentur, sibimetipsis Regi regnum et Domino dominantium aliquando rationem esse reddendam; si officium deseruerint, fieri non posse ut Dei severitatem ulla ratione effugiant. *Altissimus interrogabit opera vestra, et cogitationes scrutabitur. Quoniam cum essetis ministri regni illius, non recte judicastis, . . . horrende et cito apparebit vobis, quoniam judicium durissimum his qui praesunt fiet . . . Non enim subtrahet personam cujusquam Deus, nec verebitur magnitudinem cujusquam, quoniam pusillum et magnum ipse fecit, et aequaliter cura est illi de omnibus. Fortioribus autem fortior instat cruciatio.*¹

Quibus praeceptis rempublicam tuentibus; omnis seditionum vel causa vel libido tollitur; in tuto futura sunt honos et securitas principum, quies et salus civitatum. Dignitati quoque civium optime consulitur: quibus in obedientia ipsa concessum est decus illud retinere, quod est hominis excellentiae consentaneum. Intelligunt enim, Dei judicio non esse servum neque liberum; unum esse Dominum omnium, divitem in omnes qui invocant illum² se autem idcirco subsesse et obtemperare principibus, quod imaginem quodammodo referant Dei, cui servire regnare est.

Hoc vero semper egit Ecclesia, ut christiana ista civilis potestatis forma non mentibus solum inhaeresceret, sed etiam publica populorum vita moribusque exprimeretur. Quamdiu ad gubernacula reipublicae imperatores ethnici sederunt, qui assurgere ad eam imperii formam, quam adumbravimus, superstitione prohibeantur, instillare illam studuit mentibus populorum, qui simul ac christiana instituta susciperent, ad haec ipsa exigere vitam suam velle debebant. Itaque pastores animarum, exempla Pauli Apostoli renovantes, cura et diligentia summa populis praecipere consueverunt, *principibus et potestatibus subditos esse, dicto obedire.*³ item orare Deum pro cunctis hominibus, sed nominatim *pro regibus, et omnibus qui in sublimitate sunt: hoc enim acceptum est coram Salvatore nostro Deo.*⁴ Atque ad hanc rem omnino praeclara documenta christiani veteres reliquerunt: qui cum ab imperatoribus ethnicis injustissime et crudelissime vexarentur, numquam tamen praetermiserunt gerere se obedientes et submisce, plane ut illi crudelitate, isti obsequio certare viderentur. Tanta autem modestia, tam certa parendi voluntas plus erat cognita, quam ut obscurari per calumniam malitiamque inimicorum posset. Quamobrem qui pro christiana nomine essent apud imperatores publice causam dicturi, ii hoc potissimum argumento iniuriam esse convincebant in christianos animadvertere legibus, quod in oculis omnium convenienter legibus in exemplum viverent. Marcum Aurelium Antoninum et Lucium Aurelium Commodum filium ejus

¹ Sap. vi., 4, 5, 6, 8.

² Ad Rom. x. 12.

³ Ad Tit. iii., 1.

⁴ 1 Timoth. ii., 1-3.

sic Athenagoras confidenter alloquebatur: *Sinitis nos, qui nihil mali patramus, immo omnium. . . . piissime justissimeque cum erga Deum, tum erga imperium vestrum nos gerimus exagitari, rapi, fugari.*¹ Pari modo Tertullianus laudj christianis aperte dabat, quod amici essent Imperio optimi et certissimi ex omnibus: *Christianus nullius est hostis, nedum Imperatoris, quem sciens a Deo suo constitui, necesse est ut ipsum diligit et revereatur et honoret et saluum velit cum toto romano imperio.*² Neque dubitabat affirmare, in imperii finibus tanto magis numerum minui inimicorum consuevisse, quanto cresceret christianorum. *Nunc pauciores hostes habetis prae multitudine christianorum, pene omnium cives christianos habendo.*³ Praeclarum est quoque de eadem re testimonium in *Epistola ad Diognetum*, quae confirmat solitos eo tempore christianos fuisse, non solum inservire legibus, sed in omni officio plus etiam ac perfectius sua sponte facere, quam cogerentur facere legibus. *Christiani obsequuntur legibus quae sancitae sunt, et suae vitae genere leges superant.*

Alia sane tum caussa erat, cum a fide christiani, aut quoquo modo ab officio deficere Imperatorum edictis ac Praetorum minis juberentur: quibus temporibus profecto displicere hominibus quam Deo maluerunt. Sed in iis ipsis rerum adjunctis tantum aberat, ut quicquam seditiose facerent majestatemve imperatoriam contemnerent, ut hoc unum sibi sumerent, sese profiteri, et christianos esse et nolle mutare fidem ullo modo. Ceterum nihil de resistendo cogitabant; sed placide atque hilare sic ibant ad tortoris equuleum, ut magnitudini animi cruciatuum magnitudo concederet. Neque absimili ratione per eadem tempora christianorum vis institutorum spectata est in militia. Erat enim militis christiani summam fortitudinem cum summo studio conjungere disciplinae militaris: animique excelsitatem immobili erga principem fide cumulare. Quod si aliquid rogaretur quod non esset honestum, uti Dei jura violare, aut in insontes Christi discipulos ferrum convertere, tunc quidem imperata facere recusabat, ita tamen ut discedere ab armis atque emori pro religione mallet, quam per seditionem et turbas auctoritati publicae repugnare.

Postea vero quam respublicae principes christianos habuerunt, multo magis Ecclesia testificari ac praedicere institit, quantum in auctoritate imperantium inesset sanctitatis: ex quo futurum erat, ut populis, cum de principatu cogitarent, sacra cujusdam majestatis species occurreret, qua ad majorem principum cum verecundiam tum amorem impelleret. Atque hujus re caussa, sapienter providit, ut reges sacrorum solemnibus initiarentur quod erat in Testamento Veteri Deo auctoritate constitutum. Quo autem tempore civilis hominum societas, tamquam e ruinis excitata imperii romani, in spem christianae magnitudinis revixit, Pontifices Romani, instituto *imperio sacro*, politicam potestatem singulari ratione consecraverunt. Maxima quidem ea fuit nobilitatis ad principatum accessio: neque dubitandum quin magnopere illud institutum et religiosae et civili

¹ Legat. pro Christiania.² Apolog. n. 35.³ Apolog. n. 37.

societati semper spectavissent. Et sane quietae res et satis prosperae permanserunt quamdiu inter utramque potestatem concors amicitia permansit. Si quid tumultuando peccarent populi, praesto erat conciliatrix tranquillitatis Ecclesia, quae singulos ad officium vocaret, vehementioresque cupiditates partim lenitate, partim auctoritate compesceret. Similiter, si quid in gubernando peccarent principes, tum ipsa ad principes adire, et populorum jura, necessitates, recta desideria commemorando, aequitatem, clementiam, benignitatem suadere. Qua ratione pluries est impetratum, ut tumultuum et bellorum civilium pericula prohiberentur.

Contra inventae a recentioribus de potestate politica doctrinae magnas jam acerbitates hominibus attulerunt. metuendumque ne extrema malorum afferant in posterum. Etenim jus imperandi nolle ad Deum referre auctorem, nihil est aliud quam politicae potestates et pulcherrimum splendorem velle deletum et nervos incisos. Quod autem inquit ex arbitrio illam pendere multitudinis, primum opinione falluntur; deinde nimium levi ac flexibili fundamento statuunt principatum. His enim opinionibus quasi stimulis incitatae populares cupiditates sese efferent insolentius, magnaque cum pernicie reipublicae ad coecos motus, ad apertas seditiones proclivi cursu et facile delabentur. Revera illam quam *Reformationem* vocant, cujus adjuutores et duces sacram civilemque potestatem novis doctrinis funditus oppugnaverunt, repentini tumultus et audacissimae rebelliones praesertim in Germania consecutae sunt: idque tanta cum domestici deflagratione belli et caede, ut nullus pene locus expers turbarum et cruoris videretur. Ex illa haeresi ortum duxit saeculo superiore falsi nominis philosophia, et jus quod appellant *novum*, et imperium populare, et modum nesciens licentia, quam plurimi solam libertatem putant. Ex his ad finitimas pestes ventum est, scilicet ad *Communismum*, ad *Socialismum*, ad *Nihilismum*, civilis hominum societatis teterrima portenta ac pene funera. Atqui tamen tantorum malorum vim nimis multa dilatare conantur, ac per speciem juvandae multitudinis non exigua jam miseriarum incendia excitaverunt. Quae hic modo recordamur, ea nec ignota sunt nec valde longinqua.

Hoc vero est etiam gravius, quod non habent principes in tantis periculis remedia ad restituendam publicam disciplinam pacandosque animos satis idonea. Instruunt se auctoritate legum. eosque, qui rempublicam commovent, severitate poenarum coercendos putant. Recte quidem; sed tamen serio considerandum est, vim nullam poenarum futuram tantam, quae conservare respublicas sola possit. Metus enim, ut praeclare docet sanctus Thomas, *est debile fundamentum*; nam qui timore subduntur, si occurrat occasio qua possint impunitatem sperare, contra praesidentes insurgunt eo ardentius, quo magis contra voluntatem ex solo timore colibeantur. Ac praeterea, ex nimio timore plerique in desperationem incidunt: *desperatio autem audacter ad quaelibet attentanda praecipitat*.¹ Quae quam vera sint,

¹ De Regim. Princip. l. 1, cap 10.

satis experiendo perspeximus. Itaque obediendi altiore et efficaciori causam adhibere necesse est, atque omnino statuere, nec legum esse posse fructuosam severitatem, nisi homines impellantur officio, salutarique metu Dei permoveantur. Id autem impetrare ab iis maxime religione potest, quae sua vi in animos influit, ipsasque hominum flectit voluntates, ut eis a quibus ipsi reguntur, non obsequio solum, sed etiam benevolentia et caritate adhaerescant, quae est in omni hominum coetu optima custos incolumitatis.

Quamobrem egregie Pontifices Romani communi utilitati servisse judicandi sunt, quod *Novatorum* frangendos semper curaverunt tumidos inquietosque spiritus, ac persaepe monuerunt quantum ii sint civili etiam societati periculosi. Ad hanc rem digna, quae commemoretur. Clementis VII. sententia est ad Ferdinandum Bohemiae et Hungariae regem: *In hac fidei caussa tua etiam et ceterorum principum dignitas et utilitas inclusa est, cum non possit illa convelli quin vestrarum etiam rerum labefactionem secum trahat; quod clarissime in locis istis aliquot perspectum sit.* Atque in eodem genere summa providentia et fortitudo enituit, Decessorum Nostrorum, praesertim autem Clementis XII., Benedicti XIV., Leonis XII., qui cum consequentibus temporibus pravaram doctrinarum pestis latius serperet, *sectarumque* audacia invalesceret, oppositu auctoritatis suae aditum illis intercludere conati sunt. Nos ipsi pluries denunciavimus quam gravia pericula impendeant, simulque indicavimus quae sit eorum propulsandorum ratio optima. Principibus ceterisque rerum publicarum moderatoribus praesidium religionis obtulimus, populosque hortati sumus ut summorum bonorum copia, quam Ecclesia supplet, maxime uterentur. Id nunc agimus, ut ipsum illud praesidium, quo nihil est validius, sibi rursus oblatum principes intelligant: eosque, vehementer in Domino hortamur, ut religionem tueantur, et, quod interest etiam reipublicae, ea Ecclesiam libertate frui posse sinant qua sine injuria et communi perniciem privari non potest. Profecto Ecclesia Christi neque principibus potest esse suspecta, neque populis invisa. Principes quidem ipsa monet sequi iustitiam, nullaque in re ab officio declinare: at simul eorum roborat multisque rationibus adjuvat auctoritatem. Quae in genere rerum civilium versantur, ea in potestateque supremoque imperio eorum esse agnoscit et declarat: in iis quorum iudicium, diversam licet ob causam, ad sacram civilemque pertinet potestatem, vult existere inter utramque concordiam, cujus beneficio funestae utrique contentiones devitantur. Ad populos quod spectat, est Ecclesia saluti cunctorum hominum nata, eosque semper dilexit uti parens. Ea quippe est, quae caritate praeunte mansuetudinem animis impertiit, humanitatem moribus, aequitatem legibus: atque honestae libertati nusquam inimica tyrannicum dominatum semper detestari consuevit. Hunc, quae insita in Ecclesia est, bene merendi consuetudinem paucis praeclare expressit sanctus Augustinus: *Docet (Ecclesia) reges prospicere populis, omnes populos se subdere regibus:*

*ostendens quemadmodum et non omnibus omnia, et omnibus caritas, et nulli debetur injuria.*¹

His de causis opera vestra, Venerabiles Fratres, valde utilis ac plane salutaris futura est, si industriam atque opes omnes, quae Dei munere in vestra sunt potestate, ad deprecanda societatis humanae vel pericula vel incommoda Nobiscum contuleritis. Curate ac providete, ut quae de imperio deque obediendi officio ab Ecclesia catholica praecipuntur, ea homines et plane perspecta habeant, et ad vitam agendam diligenter utantur. Vobis auctoribus et magistris, saepe populi moneantur fugere vetitas sectas, a conjurationibus abhorrrere, nihil seditiose agere: iidemque intelligant, qui Dei causa parent imperantibus, eorum esse *rationabile obsequium*, generosam obedientiam. Quoniam vero Deus est, *qui dat salutem regibus*,² et concedit populis *conquiescere in pulchritudine pacis et in tabernaculis fiduciae et in requis opulenta*.³ Ipsum necesse est orare atque obsecrare, ut omnium mentes ad honestatem veritatemque flectat, iras compescat, optatam diu pacem tranquillitatemque orbi terrarum restituat.

Quo autem spes firmior sit impetrandi, deprecatores defensoresque salutis adhibeamus, Mariam Virginem, magnam Dei parentem, auxilium christianorum, tutelam generis humani: S. Josephum castissimum sponsum ejus, cujus patrocinio plurimum universa Ecclesia confidit: Petrum et Paulum Principes Apostolorum custodes et vindices nominis christiani.

Interea divinorum munerum auspicem Vobis omnibus, Venerabiles Fratres, Clero et populo fidei vestrae commisso Apostolicam Benedictionem peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum die XXIX. Junii A. MDCCCLXXXI., Pontificatus Nostri Anno Quarto.

LEO PP. XIII.

III.

SPECIAL LESSONS FOR THE OFFICE OF ST. KIERAN OF CLONMACNOISE.

DIE 9 SEPTEMBRIS,

IN FESTO S. KIERANI ABBATIS,

Omnia de Communi Abbatum, praeter Sequentia.

IN I. NOCTURNO.

Lectiones de Scriptura Occurrente.

IN II. NOCTURNO.—LECTIO IV.

Kieranus, qui et Queranus in Martyrologio Romano sub hac die nuncupatur, ex Ultoniae principibus oriundus, in regione Mediae natus perhibetur. Adolescens sub disciplina Sancti Finiani Abbatis eruditus est in Monasterio Clonardiae, quod in

¹ De morib. Eccl. lib. i. cap. 30.

² Psal. cxiij., II.

³ Isai xxxii., 18.

confiniis Lageniae et Midiae situm est. Ibi enim, veluti sol in medio coeli, radios virtutum et salutaris doctrinae atque miraculorum, illustrando mundum, Finnianus emisit, multosque viros illustres, partim ad Scripturam Sacram addiscendam, partim ad ecclesiasticam disciplinam percipiendam, attraxit, inter quos duo Kierani, sanctus scilicet Kieranus Episcopus Ossoriensis, et Sanctus noster Kieranus Cluanensis.

LECTIO V.

Post aliquod vero temporis, accepta Finniani licentia, properavit ad Sanctum Ninnidium, et postea ad Sanctum Endeum, Aranensem Abbatem, a quo benigne exceptus plures annos sub ejus sanctissima disciplina commoratus est. Tandem, monente Sancto Endeo, profectus est ad insulam Inis-Oenghin, quae nunc insula Sanctorum nuncupatur, in Lacu Regio, intra fines Dioecesis Ardacadensis sitam, ibique magnum monasterium aedificavit. Quodam autem die ad Sanctum Senanum visendum iter agenti obviam factus fuit nudus mendicus, summis et importunis obsecrationibus eleemosynam postulans, cui vir piissimus, cum aliud non haberet, ipsam vestem suam elargitus est.

LECTIO VI.

Ceterum praecipuum Sancti Kierani Monasterium Clonmacnoisense, seu Cluanense, dictum, in ipso quasi Hiberniae meditullio, anno Domini quingentesimo quadragesimo octavo, fundatum est. Huic Monasterio Kieranus annum tantum praefuit Abbas, ibique peste correptus, quae per Hiberniam universam grassabatur, die quinto Idus Septembris, anno post Christum quingentesimo quadragesimo nono, mortuus est. Corpus Sanctissimi viri reconditum est in Ecclesia Cluanensi a se fundata, quae comparisone majoris Cathedralis parva appellatur, in qua et innumerae aliae Sanctorum Reliquiae asservantur.

IN III. NOCTURNO.

Lectiones de Homilia in Evang.: "Ecce nos reliquimus omnia," &c., de eodem Communi.

ARDAGADEN.

Sanctissimus Dominus noster Leo Papa XIII., referente, subscripto Sacrorum Kituum Congregationis Secretario, ad enixas preces Rmi Domini Bartholomaei Woodlock, Episcopi Ardagaden. suprascriptas lectiones historicas in honorem Sancti Kierani Abbatis Dioeceseos Ardagaden. patroni ab eadem Sacra Congregatione antea revisas approbavit, concessitque ut amodo a Clero praefatae Dioeceseos substitui valeant illis de Communi Abbatum quae hucusque fuerunt adhibitae. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque.

D. CARDINALIS BARTOLINIUS.

Die 2 Junii, 1881.

Locus ✠ Sigilli.

PLAC. RALLI, S. R. C. Secretarius.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

Programmes of Sermons and Instructions, comprising (according to the course laid down by the Catechism of the Council of Trent, The Apostles' Creed; The Commandments of God, and Precepts of the Church; Prayer; and The Sacraments; as also An Exposition of Christian Doctrine, grounded on Butler's Third Size Catechism. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

This work supplies a great want, and supplies it well. Skeleton sermons, as they are not inappropriately called, have been long known elsewhere; but until the appearance of these useful volumes, no book of that description was within reach of the Irish priesthood. In preparing instructions for the people, the priests of Ireland, whose time is occupied by many distracting duties, were forced to have recourse to published discourses. We are not disposed to speak in the usual disparaging tone of formal sermons, or to imply, that while the study of the masterpieces in other departments is recognised as essential to mental training, the masterpieces of pulpit oratory may be disregarded. But the best models were, as a rule, addressed to highly intellectual audiences: and, when imitated too closely, lead to consequences forcibly pointed out by the Bishop of Raphoe in giving his warm approval to the "Programmes." "The use of such sermons," says Dr. Logue, "either as models or sources of matter, is often destructive of originality, simplicity, earnestness, and that complete sympathy of the speaker with the feelings and wants of his audience, without which, even a carefully prepared discourse is more likely to weary than to interest and impress." This conviction it was that induced the President of the Irish College, Paris, to publish these "Programmes," originally prepared for the students of that institution. In mentioning Dr. M'Namara's name, we are taking a liberty not justified by the title page, but fully sanctioned by the boldness with which more than one learned prelate, in recommending the work, disregards the literary disguise.

The "Programmes" are arranged "in a consecutive series, and extend over the entire matter of preaching, according to the divisions in the Catechism of the Council of Trent, into what we are to believe, or the Apostle's Creed; what we are to do and avoid, or the Commandments of God and the Precepts of the Church; what we are to ask of God, or Prayer; and finally, what we receive from God, or the Sacraments." "Some of the subjects," adds Dr. M'Namara, "are treated in a sermon style, some in simple *didactic* style;" the divisions being "very simple, consisting of a short introduction, with a statement of the subject; the body of the discourse with its component parts, and the conclusion, all arranged so as to combine distinctness of detail with unity of design." These passages contain a sufficiently full statement of Dr. M'Namara's plan, with this addition, that he gives at the close of each leading point, references to authors who may be

consulted in detail. The principle upon which he proceeds is to give assistance, but to give it in such a way, as to leave very much to the taste and skill of each preacher. In every case he provides, and in some instances limits himself, to an abstract of the discourse that might be delivered upon each subject. But, as an abstract, however brief, might easily connote more matter than it would be well to introduce into a single discourse, we think Dr. M'Namara has acted wisely in so extending the number of sermons, according to the nature and breadth of the doctrine, as never to offer a perplexing and crowded selection. On the Eighth Commandment, for instance, he gives three analyses of sermons, the first of which, omitting a short introduction, we quote as a fair specimen of the shorter discourses:—

BODY OF THE SUBJECT.

1. *Considerations.* 1st. Charity violated. *Show how.*

2ndly. Justice violated. *Show how.*

3rdly. Scripture texts bearing on the subject.

See Bishop Hay's "Devout Christian," vol. 2, chap. xviii.

2. *Various ways of injuring the character of our neighbour:* 1st, calumny; 2nd, detraction; 3rd, listening to either; 4th, tale-bearing; 5th, false or rash judgments.

Define each: adding a word of condemnation from Scripture See "Challoner's Meditations," and "Devout Christian," vol. 2, chap. xviii. sec. 2.

3. *How to remedy injuries done to our neighbour in his character, and how to prevent this evil.*

1st. To take occasion of speaking well of those we have spoken ill of.

2ndly. Not to say in one's absence, what we would not say before his face.

3rdly. When we have heard anything bad of any one, to let it die within us (*Eccli.* xix. 10-14). To prevent detraction in others, as far as possible, by charitable admonitions, by changing the conversation, by austere looks (*Prov.* xxv. 23).

CONCLUSION.

Sum up the considerations, and exhort to caution and circumspection, quoting St. James: "If any man think himself to be religious, not bridling his tongue, but deceiving his own heart, this man's religion is vain." (James, i. 25.)

Consult as above; as also Theology on the Decalogue.

Here, after a few opening remarks, we have simply a statement of the subject and its natural divisions, yet every word is deeply suggestive. In the greater number of the "Discourses" however—generally, indeed—where the subject seems to invite it, Dr. M'Namara adds reflections and explanations, sometimes theological, sometimes moral, occasionally historical, always, no doubt, of such definite value that no one would wish them away. But without proposing any change in a work which, in its present form,

ought to take a permanent place in the literature of the Irish Church, we think that a small companion volume, containing the abstracts alone, would be found most useful by missionary priests.

To the Programmes of Sermons and Instructions Dr. M'Namara has appended an admirable Exposition of the Christian Doctrine, "in the form," to use his own words, "of a running commentary on Butler's Third Size Catechism." We believe that some of his readers who have felt how difficult it is to give catechetical lectures, and many more who have known how interesting they can be made, will think this scarcely less valuable than the body of his work.

The priests who studied in Maynooth in the time of the late Dr. Whitehead recall, among their pleasantest memories, his lectures on the Catechism, set off, as they were, by rare gifts of elocution and a finished style. The regret so generally expressed, that the modesty of that accomplished scholar prevented him from giving them to the public, sprung from the feeling that a short work of the kind would be of great practical use. Dr. M'Namara's Exposition leaves little to be desired; it is really what he intended it to be, a clear, instructive, and searching commentary on the text of Butler's Catechism.

We would be fully justified in speaking more strongly of Dr. M'Namara's Programmes, but we feel that it would be almost an impertinence in us to recommend a work which has already received a sanction beyond any favourable notice in the *THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD*. As it is, we have only feebly re-echoed. In a cold critical spirit, the fervid approval of those who, both by position and personal weight, can speak with the highest authority.

J.E.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

From Messrs. GILL & SON, Dublin—

A Mass in the Mountains, By S. M.

The Pursuit of Diarmaid and Gríanne. Part II.

Our Primates. A Sermon preached in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda. By RIGHT REV. PATRICK F. MORAN, Bishop of Ossory.

Religion and Mental Culture in Women. From the French of Mgr. LAUDRIOT, Archbishop of Rheims. With an Introductory Letter by the MOST REV. DR. MACCABE, Archbishop of Dublin.

From Messrs. BURNS & OATES, London—

The Workings of the Divine Will. Gleanings from Pere Caussade, S.J. Revised by a FATHER OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS.

First Communicants Manual. By FATHER F. X. SCHOUPPE, S.J.

From Mr. ELLIOT STOCK—

On Consumption of the Lungs; or, Decline and Its Successful Treatment. By GEORGE THOMAS CONGREVE.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

THIRD SERIES.—VOL. II., No. 10. - - - OCTOBER, 1881.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

OCTOBER, 1881.

SUNDAY SCHOOLS—THEIR NECESSITY AND ADVANTAGES.

TO many it may appear that six days of the week spent in educational employment, are amply sufficient for that purpose, and that an additional hour devoted to literary instruction on Sundays is both an unnecessary occupation, and an irreverent encroachment on the sacred observance of the day. The vast and complex machinery which works the educational systems of the country is so powerful in its construction, and so comprehensive in its action, that nothing more, it would seem, remains to be done in the matter. Every town and every village is supplied with one or more schools, in many cases costly and imposing edifices; upwards of 11,000 teachers are engaged as principals or assistants in dispensing education under the National Board; more than 6,000 literary apprentices are learning the science and art of teaching; £800,000 were contributed by the State, during the past year, for the support of primary education alone, and local contributions increased this subsidy by £131,000 more. Yet with all these varied appliances and all these immense resources, the state of primary education is not at all satisfactory. It may be safely asserted that in many rural districts it is in a worse condition even than it had been fifty years ago. For, at that time, hedge-schools were so numerous distributed over the country that in the most secluded quarters education was accessible to all. No definite number of pupils in daily attendance was then requisite to keep those homely and changing seats of learning in operation. The prying eye of an inspector

never lighted on the rude furniture of the schoolroom to criticise and report on it, and no dread overhung the tranquil philomath that a reprimand would ever reach him from the Education Office. He was solely dependent on the voluntary system for his support, and when the fees of the pupils were inadequate for this purpose he usually quartered himself on the hospitality of those who were under his tuition. Whilst the simple habits of former times thus continued, it did not require a large income to maintain a teacher, nor was there needed a very spacious or well-furnished apartment for the business of a school, and hence the multitudinous number of them established and carrying on their useful work all over the country. Nevertheless, the essential branches of learning, reading, writing, and arithmetic, were well taught in those primitive schools; and persons now living, who were educated in them, would favourably compare with the pupils of the National Schools. Nor was the teaching of the hedge-schools confined to mere elementary instruction; the Latin and Greek classics were also taught in many of them, and with a success not surpassed perhaps by the seminaries and intermediate schools of the present day. Those useful schools, which kept alive the lamp of learning for so long and trying a period, have disappeared from the land, and it may yet be far in the future before others which have succeeded them, impart primary and intermediate education as universally as they did. The establishment and spread of the national system, which provided liberal salaries to the teachers and supplied gratuitous apparatus to the schools, led to the extinction of the hedge-schools, which enjoyed no such advantages. The great famine of '47 also contributed to their ruin, for the poor self-supporting schoolmaster, like so many others, found his employment gone whilst the starving people were struggling for the mere necessities of life. One cannot help regretting the disappearance of the system that has vanished, in view of the good which it accomplished, and especially when, as in many instances, that which superseded it only imperfectly supplies its place.

It may be assumed for all purposes of argument, that the National Board has now the exclusive control over the primary education of Ireland. If we except the schools conducted by the Christian Brothers, a few by Monastic Orders, together with an occasional private school met with in towns, all the youth of the kingdom are now taught

in National Schools, till at least they have passed through the elementary stages. Even Nuns of the various Orders, no matter what the distinctive duties of their institute, have, in most cases, their schools in connection with the National Board. And yet, notwithstanding this immense net-work of schools, spread over town and country, how do matters stand in regard to primary education? From statistics recently published we learn that the estimated number of children within the limits of school-going age—from five to thirteen years—is 1,003,297. If the school-going period were extended, so as to begin at four years in towns and to end at fourteen years in country places, it would probably be a more correct basis of calculation, and in such case the number who should be attending school would be much larger than that quoted. However, for this million and more of children within school-going age, school accommodation has been provided for only 648,949. These figures alone would suffice to show that there are still hundreds of thousands not attending school at all, or at most only putting in an occasional appearance there, for the simplest and best of reasons, that if all children simultaneously attended, one-third of them would be without accommodation. It is not so much an insufficient attendance at the existing schools, as an insufficient number of schools for existing pupils, that constitutes the grievance here disclosed. Allowing 100 children as a moderate average for each school, it would still require 3,543 schools more, in order that all children of school-going age might be provided with proper accommodation. Although emigration, voluntary and forced, has considerably diminished the population of this country within the last decade of years, it is evident nevertheless that much remains to be done before the education of the rising generation is adequately provided for. But if the number of primary schools be so disproportionate to the wants of the youthful population, the number of children actually attending school bears almost the same disproportion to the accommodation provided for them. The average attendance during the past year was 468,557. The number who qualified themselves for Results' Examination by making at least 100 attendances at school was 485,199, the number who presented themselves for inspection was 461,574, and of the number examined only 340,871 passed in essential subjects. From these figures we learn that neither the

average attendance for the year, nor the number of children who attended school on 100 days or more, represents half the number of children of school-going age in Ireland. And of those who were examined and passed, the number is not much more than one-third of all the children who should be frequenting school. Such as failed at examination did not generally learn very much, while those who did not attend on 100 days at school must have learned still less. In a word, we have more than one half of the children, within school-going age, throughout Ireland, either totally absent from school, or attending it for so short a time, that their attendance brings them no practical benefit, and their case differs little from total absentees. A child who has not continued so long at school as to have learned to read his prayer-book, and to write so legibly as to be able to communicate his thoughts in a letter, might as well, almost, never have been at school at all.

In Ulster the number of schools is on the whole nearly what is required. The competition awakened between the rival denominations urges each to provide a supply for its own adherents, and hence we find that all of them, even Catholics, who are the poorest, have a tolerably good number under their management. Some of the more favoured counties in Leinster are not in this respect so well circumstanced. Thus we find that bleak and mountainous Donegal, with its periodic visitations of famine and its simple and Gaelic-speaking peasantry, has within its area a larger number of schools than four Catholic counties, in a more fertile province, have in the aggregate. Carlow county has only 71 National schools, Louth has 92, Wicklow 101, and Kildare also 101. The total population of these four counties according to the recent Census was 288,466, and that of Donegal 213,037, or 75,429 less than the total of the others. The total number of schools in the four counties above mentioned is 365, while the one county of Donegal, with a much smaller and poorer population, has the magnificent number of 392 or 27 in excess of the four others taken collectively. It is obvious, that where a county extending over a wide area, has but a scanty supply of schools, the distance between them must be considerable, and the journey to school being thus inconveniently long, children will not attempt making it.

But the figures above quoted do not reveal all the bad features of the case. The Commissioners of National Education count their schools by the number of distinct

apartments having Roll numbers and not by distinct school-houses. Now, as two apartments, one for boys and the other for girls, are commonly found under the same roof, separated by a partition wall or lofted flooring, and are reckoned as two schools by the Commissioners, though in reality forming but one school-house, hence it follows that where the list of schools is small, the list of school-houses is still smaller. If we take, for instance, the county of Louth, we shall find that the school-houses provided for Catholic children usually correspond with the number of chapels, and are situated in the vicinity of them. The county contains 20 parishes and 92 schools. From this latter we must deduct 5 schools which are attended exclusively by Protestants, and 4 others where the attendance is mixed, the teachers Protestants, and consequently where no Catholic religious instruction can be expected. These deductions bring the number down to 83, and as a great many of these schools are only separate apartments for male or female children under the same roof, we may conclude that 50 school-houses, besides those in charge of the Christian Brothers, would probably be the entire number for the Catholic children of the whole county.

An examination of the actual state of things would perhaps reveal the same tale for other counties likewise. This paucity of schools in many districts of the country debars vast multitudes of children from the blessing of a sound and useful education. Extensive tracts of intellectual waste, covering an area of several square miles, are therefore too easily met with; and if a sufficient number of schools were studded over them, and the process of educational culture carried on, a more profitable enterprise would be undertaken than the reclamation of moors and mountains and the drainage of lakes and quagmires. The multiplication of schools in localities where they are few and far apart would no doubt be a partial remedy for the want that is felt. The practice, which so generally prevails, of limiting the number of school-houses so as to correspond with the number of churches, is one most objectionable. The congregations which fill our churches are, for the most part, composed of adult persons, for whom a journey of two or three miles on Sunday morning would be a pleasure rather than a toil, whereas children, who are young, and often ill-fed as well as ill-clad, would find a similar journey on several consecutive days to be, to them, a moral

impossibility. Wherever one hundred families are scattered over an extensive district and have no school in their midst, the necessity for such exists there, and the required number of children to keep it in working order would be within its reach. For it is an ascertained fact, that the number of children within school-going age, and the number of families in any given locality, pretty closely correspond. If, therefore, there be one hundred families unprovided with a school, it may be fairly assumed that in such case there are 100 children to be entered on the Roll, that the school would command an average of 50, and this number would be more than sufficient to draw government aid. It is hardly credible that where the necessity for a school exists, the circumstances of the place would be such as to preclude the erection of one by local contributions or otherwise, if the attempt were only made.

Compulsory education, already introduced in England and Scotland, could also be introduced in Ireland with great advantage. So far as factories under government inspection are concerned, compulsory education, is, for the juvenile employes under a certain age, the law even at present for Ireland. But if its application were generalized, this country would derive from such a system all the advantages accruing from it in Great Britain, and experience none of its drawbacks. School Boards do not exist here at present, nor would they be required to give effect to a compulsory education Act. The National System as at present administered has become practically denominational, and enjoys the confidence, and can be adapted to the wants, of every religious section that strives to utilize its advantages. Only let it be made imperative on every parent or guardian to send his child to a national school for a determinate period, and presently what an immense multitude of children, whom no other influence could bring together for instruction, would be receiving a religious and secular education. The danger of proselytism, arising from enforced attendance at a school where the teacher and many of the pupils may be non-Catholic, appears to be the chief ground for misgivings in this case, but the stringent regulations, framed by the National Board against such a contingency, render attempts at perversion all but impossible. In places sparsely inhabited by Catholics, and where their numbers and means would not support a distinct school for themselves, it seems

better to take advantage of the secular education imparted in the nearest national school, fenced round as it is with every safeguard against religious tampering, than allow children to grow up in total ignorance.

It must be admitted, however, that there exists a strong prejudice against compulsory education, and such a feeling amongst Irish Catholics is quite intelligible. Undoubtedly, compulsory education is surrounded with hateful associations, which time and the experience of its benefits, were it in force, only could remove. The history of our country tells us that enforced attendance at schools, where the poison of religious error was mingled with the draught of useful knowledge, was one of the many means employed by the Penal Code to rob our forefathers of the Faith. And when the ruling powers, finding this means ineffectual to attain the desired end, no longer coerced Catholic children to attend proselytizing schools, other agencies assumed the function which the State relinquished. It is yet fresh in the memory of the living, how despotic landlords, backed up by the clergy of the Protestant church, built schools on their estates, ostensibly perhaps, for the spread of education, but in reality for the spread of heresy, and how, under threat of all the dread penalties then at their command, they obliged the children of their Catholic tenantry to attend these schools, that were openly or covertly designed for their perversion. This Herod-like massacre, ruthlessly carried out against the precious souls of Catholic innocents, now happily ranks with the events of the past. The tyrannous sway which landlords exercised over the souls and bodies of their wretched serfs has at length been wrested from them, and were compulsory education the law of the land to-morrow, there appears no danger that it could, in the hands of any individual, be turned to the proselytizing purposes of former days. The improved tone of public opinion and the radical changes which the laws have undergone in latter years, warrant the conviction that if education were rendered compulsory parental rights would not thereby be infringed, while by such legislation parental duties would be laudably enforced. Whilst pleading for the creation of additional schools to meet the requirements of education, and for legal pressure to be brought on parents to educate their children, we would not indulge the hope that if these demands were granted to the fullest extent, the light of knowledge would necessarily shine in every home, and the darkness of ignorance vanish

before it. No; something more than this must be done, and that something must be the general establishment of Sunday Schools. So much space has already been covered, pointing out the wide field that is open for Sunday school teaching, that we reserve for a future paper a detail of what that teaching should be, and how it could be successfully imparted.

L. B.

HORAE DIURNAE.

BY THE AUTHOR OF "MADONNA."

Begging God your day to bless,
 Promptly rise and quickly dress,
 Murmuring some pious rhyme.¹
 Soon begin your prayers with Prime,
 Offering up the coming day,
 All you do, and think, and say.

Then in meditation steep
 All your soul new-born from sleep,
 Bracing well its freshened powers
 For the work of waking hours.
 Patient, in fit time and place,
 Wait the whisperings of grace.
 Let your thoughts to practice tend;
 Treat with God, like friend with friend,
 Or like child at father's knee—
 Reverent, yet fond and free.
 Howsœ'er distractions may
 Lure your sluggish mind away,
 Force yourself to end with care,
 Promising with humble prayer
 You this day will strive to do
 All that Jesus asks from you.

¹ Such as the following :—

Another day begins for me.
 What day shall be my last?
 Grant, Lord, that each new day may see
 My heart more pure, more dear to Thee—
 And oh ! forgive the past.

Next, let holy Mass enthrall
Heart and mind and senses all.
Thanksgiving may end with Terce ;
And, ere you your soul immerse
In the business of the day,
Sext and None 'twere well to say.

Happy you if daily thus,
After noon's sweet Angelus,
Soon God hears your Vesper song
Breaking through the prayerless throng ;
And, before the light has fled,^a
Compline, crowning all, is said.

With your Guardian Angel nigh,
Live all day beneath God's eye.
Faintest sigh can reach His heart—
Now and then from yours must dart,
Arrow-like, some tiny prayer
'Mid your toils and everywhere.

Ere your toils to sleep give way,
Matins for the morrow say.
Last, look back and strive to win
Pardon for each fault and sin
That perhaps may spoil your best.
Then, please God, a good night's rest ;
And may He, till death's last sleep,
Soul and body stainless keep !

Thus o'er all your "daily hours"
Pour, O Priest ! prayer's freshening showers.

The foregoing verses, although in their form hardly adapted to these grave pages, are by their theme and scope rendered unsuitable for any but an ecclesiastical periodical. They purpose to impress on the mind of some neomystes or young soggarth aroon the expediency of reciting the different portions of the Divine Office at almost the earliest moment assigned to each portion. This object will be secured to a considerable extent by the habit of saying Prime formally and pointedly as part of our morning prayer. The hymn of Prime and the two prayers, *Domine Deus*

^a The Compline hymn begins with *Te lucis ante terminum*, as the hymn at Prime began with *Jam lucis orto sidere*; and so the voice of praise is lifted up from dawn to dark. Of the Divine Office thus recited daily as a solemn duty, by the priesthood of the Catholic Church and by many more of her children, nineteen-twentieths are taken from Holy Scripture. Yet Heresy dares to accuse the Church of hiding the Word of God, and a famous Protestant painting represents Luther, in mature age, discovering the Bible ! Poor dupes—or vile knaves !

omnipotens and *Dirigere et sanctificare*, lose a good deal of their force, when not employed for this specific purpose of consecrating all the actions of the coming day to God.

In the *Ritus Servandus in Celebratione Missae*, in the beginning of the Missal, the Priest who is about to celebrate Mass is supposed to have finished *at least* Matins and Lauds—"saltem Matutino cum Laudibus absoluto." The "saltem" insinuates the propriety of reciting before Mass even more of the Divine Office than Matins and Lauds. This adverb of the rubric is verified by those who make Prime a direct and personal morning prayer.

The "nunc" with which the hymn of Terce begins, and also its "os, lingua, mens, sensus, vigor," have a very special force of meaning when appended immediately to the thanksgiving after Mass.

People ought, among other forms of unselfishness, to try and appreciate the wants of others so far as to approve of things as good and useful, though they themselves may not need them. The foregoing hints, to which much might be added, will be considered as worse than useless by many whose habits and character render them quite independent of all such aids to the timely recitation of the *Horae Diurnae*. But all are not alike: and, no matter what easy contrivances may be devised, the persevering discharge of this duty and all our duties, in proper order and manner, day by day, will be to the end quite a sufficient test for the virtue and piety of some of us.

GERALD BARRY AND HIS LATE EDITORS.—V.—

THE PROCEEDINGS BEFORE INNOCENT III.: THE EPISCOPAL INDEPENDENCE COMMISSION; THE CAMERARIUS.

AS soon as Gerald saw what it was that the Pope was really going to do—as soon as Gerald discovered that the case of his election was to be quite regularly tried—he began naturally to desire that the case of the claim of independence for the See of St. David's, should be tried at the same time. And as a commission to examine witnesses in England was a great advantage for the trial of such cases, Gerald formally demanded that a commission, similar to that which was proposed with reference to the election, should be named to deal with the claim of independence.

Here the archdeacon met with a rebuff. His memorial had been a mere unsupported statement. There was as yet nothing official to show that the claim put forward had not been satisfactorily extinguished, at any rate, by long prescription. Even though the papal register was not clearly and positively against it, the Canterbury prelates seemed, as the Pope had said at the famous interview, safe by prescription; and Innocent refused to have the question opened up in England, and evidence solemnly called for against the existing order of church-government, without a better *prima-facie* case than Gerald had made out. The Pontiff showed clearly by this refusal how far he was from issuing commissions either to keep Gerald on his hands, or to remind the great primate of England of his subjection to the Apostolic See. Gerald saw that if he was to have a commission on the question of episcopal independence, he must earn it by making out a more plausible case. He girded himself to the work at once; he had thoroughly understood the difficulty on the Pope's side, which indeed he very neatly and honestly explains. He says that he himself—

“Commissioni super electione sua sibi oblatae commissionem quoque super causa status ecclesiae suae, propter quam principaliter et praecipue laborem hunc assumpsit, adjungi postulavit. Papa vero super hoc habito cum fratribus consilio, quod de tam ardua causa sicut de archiepiscopatu et pallio petendo, cum privilegia nulla praetenderentur, nec in registris suis quicquam inde reperirent, vel causam antea motam audirent, commissionem dari non posse respondit.” * 546.

Archdeacon Giraldus now applied for leave to search the register of a former Pope, in order to try if he could not discover a record that should show his claim was not wholly new or already obsolete, that should prove that it had been lately entertained, and should confirm the hitherto wholly unsupported memorial. This permission the Pope did not refuse. Gerald was allowed to search the register of the pontificate of Eugenius III., in presence of a cleric, who, sitting beside him, watched closely his proceedings. He was fortunate enough to find at once the object of his search, a letter from Pope Eugenius to a former Archbishop of Canterbury, giving notice that he intended to hear pleadings in favour of the independence of St. David's. Barry, as he says himself, on reading this was “*nec mediocriter exultans*.” The plea of hitherto undisturbed long prescription was plainly at an end for ever. The jubilant

archdeacon at once applied to the superior official, the Camerlengo (*camerarius*), to whom the cleric who was watching him (*clericus camerarii*) was subject, and obtained permission to have the precious document duly copied. This was regularly done, and Gerald laid the confirmatory evidence in the evening before the Pope. The Pope's difficulty was now removed, and his Holiness's conduct immediately proved his straightforward, manly earnestness, his contempt for all purely formal red-tape delay, his freedom from human respect of every kind and magnificent celerity of action when the right was clear. That same night Innocent directed a cardinal to have the mandate for a commission made out at once according to the desire of the Welsh archdeacon, empowering the court to receive legal evidence against all claims of the See of Canterbury on Wales.

We shall discuss fully a little later the precise nature of the commission issued. How complete, however, was the independence of Canterbury claimed by Barry for the Welsh Church will be understood from his claiming for it, in his memorial, the same independence of the English Primatial See, as was enjoyed by the Scotch Church.¹

¹ "Walensica vero ecclesia nunquam, sicut nec Scotica, Cantuariensi, praesertim post Augustini tempora, quemadmodum nec Beda testatur, subjecta fuerat; donec rex Angliae Henricus I., Walliam in manu forti subjugando, apposuit ut ecclesiam quoque Walensicam, quam liberam invenit, ecclesiae regni sui supponeret, sicut et terram regno suo subjecerat.

"Ex scriptis igitur authenticis haec, pater sancte, constat esse collecta. Et praeter haec, etiam senes et valetudinarii extant adhuc in Wallia plurimi, qui Walensicam ecclesiam, sicut et Scoticam, Romanae tantum ecclesiae subjectam immediate viderunt.

"Cum autem tot rationibus pristinum jus ecclesiae nostrae clarescere possit, hic erit effectus causae status si cum effectu processerit: quod in primis magnus erit honor ecclesiae Romanae, si ecclesia Walensica ei immediate subjecta fuerit, sicut est ecclesia Scotica, et sicut ipsa quoque olim fuerat, et esse deberet. . . ." *544.

We have copied the above from Gerald's memorial, as it stands in Mr. Brewer's third volume, merely taking the liberty of omitting in the first sentence a semicolon, which he curiously places after "apposuit." This term, in its present construction with *ut* is very familiar to readers of the Vulgate, as the majority of our subscribers are sure to be. For persons who are not so, we set down, in parallel columns, Gerald's phrase, and the first sentences of the twelfth chapter of the Acts of the Apostles in the Vulgate, a passage well-known indeed to priests, who have to repeat it several times in the office of SS. Peter and Paul:—

Vulgate:

" . . . Misit Herodes rex manus ut affligeret quosdam de Ec-

Cambrensis:

" . . . rex Angliae Henricus I., Walliam in manu forti subjugando,

And now we beg leave to notice that we have hitherto sometimes used the term England improperly for England and Wales, as the latter geographical formula appeared to us unpleasantly cumbersome. Henceforward, in similar cases, we shall use the expression South Britain. North Britain is a received term for all that portion of Great Britain which is neither England nor Wales. South Britain appears to us therefore a very appropriate, as well as convenient, designation for the remainder, embracing both Wales and England; and of some such designation we sadly feel the need.² We beg to notice further, what indeed we ought earlier to have remarked, that, in quoting from the *De Jure* of Giraldus, we quote, not the numbers of Mr. Brewer's own pages, but the marginal numbers accompanied by an asterisk, which he carefully supplies, and which, we take it, correspond exactly to Wharton's pages. And here, instead of returning to our subject, we beg to call attention away from the commissions for some time, and fix it, in the first place, on the superior official, the Camerarius, in whose keeping was the register that had such charms for our Archdeacon Barry; and we invite our readers to bear us patiently company in a somewhat long, but, we trust, not unwarrantable digression.

We fear in fact our lay-readers at least may easily form

Vulgate:

clesia. Occidit autem Jacobum, fratrem Joannis gladio. Videns autem quia placeret Judaeis, apposit ut apprehenderet et Petrum."

Cambrensis:

apposuit ut ecclesiam quoque Walensicam, quam liberam invenit, ecclesiae regni sui supponeret. . . ."

This reminds us of Maitland's well-known statement and warning, towards the close of his "Dark Ages."—(Third Ed., p. 470.)

" . . . The writings of the dark ages are, if I may use the expression, *made of the Scriptures*. I do not merely mean that the writers constantly quoted the Scriptures, . . . but I mean that they thought and spoke and wrote the thoughts and *words and phrases* of the Bible, . . . they did it, too, not exclusively in theological or ecclesiastical matters, but in *histories, biographies*, familiar letters, legal instruments and documents of every description. . . .

"Their ideas seem to have fallen so naturally into the words of Scripture, that they were constantly referring to them in a way of passing allusion, which is now very puzzling to those who are unacquainted with the *phraseology of the Vulgate*, and forms one of the greatest impediments in the way of many who wish to read their works."

All the italics, except "*made of the Scriptures*," are our own.

² This very useful term is happily making way. In Mr. Shaw's "History of English Literature," edited as a *Student's Manual*, by Dr. William Smith, we are told that Burns "could use with perfect facility the style and diction of the great classical authors of South Britain."

Mr. Shaw was not a Scotchman, but a Londoner.

such a notion of the *Camerarius* as would do little credit to the dignity, and what in our eyes is far more important, to the business-like habits of the mediæval Court of Rome. We fear, in other words, that some will imagine that *Camerarius* here means an ordinary chamberlain, that the register Gerald asked for, instead of being a collection of State documents in State keeping, was a kind of valuable old memorandum book, treasured up by the Pope in his own room, much as a venerable housekeeper may be supposed to treasure up culinary receipts; and that when the Pope allowed it to be looked at, it was as a matter of course his private chamberlain that should take measures to secure its safety. We must, however, request our layman-readers not to suppose anything whatever of the sort. We have to assure them that the *Camerlengo*, the *Camerarius Apostolicus*, must not by any means be taken for a *Cameriere*. His office should be looked on rather as that of a Lord High Treasurer, than as that of the Lord Chamberlain, at least as the latter word is nowadays commonly understood. Yet even amongst ourselves, the distinction kept up¹ between the Lord Great Chamberlain and the Lord Chamberlain of the Household, might well lead us to suspect that "chamberlain" once meant much more than commonly appears. We trust all our readers will have patience with us while we attempt to show how the Latin title ought to be explained, and why it so sadly needs explanation amongst us.

Du Cange translates the word *Camerarius*, even in the first place, as signifying the dignity of a Royal Treasurer.

¹ This distinction is not only found in dictionaries, it is preserved in our almanacs, and it is immortalized in our literature. We may read in Thom's Directories, year after year, what is the precedence granted to the Great Chamberlain, and how it differs from that of the Chamberlain of the Household.

Elsewhere we find a memorial of the two chamberlains, which no revolution in precedence or abolition of offices can destroy. It consists in the passage we are about to quote from the thirty-sixth letter of Swift's Journal to Stella; and the almost grotesque though painful scene drily depicted by the stern anxious humourist in so few words, the discomfiture of the accomplished and sensitive Shrewsbury, the stolid rudeness of Queen Anne, would surely not easily be forgotten, even if related in a far less valuable historical memoir.

"Yesterday when the Queen was going from the house, where she sat to hear the debate, the Duke of Shrewsbury, Lord Chamberlain, asked her, 'whether he or the Great Chamberlain Lindsay ought to lead her out,' she answered short, 'neither of you;' and gave her hand to the Duke of Somerset, who was louder than any in the house for the clause against the peace."

His expressions are, "*Camerarius Dignitas in palatiis regum cui Cameræ Regiæ, id est Thesauri seu Cimeliorum Regis, cura incumbbat.*" With regard to Rome he explains most positively that the *Camerarius Apostolicus* was the Treasurer of the Roman Church. The *Camerarius Apostolicus* was, he says, "*Qui pecuniarum et thesauri Ecclesiæ Romanæ curam gerit.*" As to the precise circumstances of the transfer of the treasury from the Archdeacon of Rome to the *Camerarius*, the matter may be less simple than it is represented in Du Cange, where we read: "*Id officii institutum tempore Gregorii VII. P.P., Archidiaconi extincto nomine, tradit Onuphrius Panvinus.*" One would scarcely be prepared from this to find it stated in Moroni that the office of Archdeacon was abolished by a later pope, much less to see Panvinio himself continue to give in his list of Cardinals the title of Archdeacon of the Holy Roman Church down even to his own time! Whatever peculiarity it may be in the latter learned writer to persist in calling the chief Cardinal Deacon, from whom the pope received the papal insignia at coronation, Archdeacon; and whatever rights of jurisdiction may have been supposed to need abolition after the measures of Gregory VII., there is no doubt that the Cardinal Camerarius was properly the Treasurer, and Gerald's having to obtain the register from him, and being watched by a cleric in his service, shows that the grave documents, far from being in the pope's private keeping, were committed to the care of a great dignitary, with a more or less numerous subordinate official staff.

We need not pause to expatiate on the grandeurs of the *Camerarius Apostolicus*, the Cardinal Camerlengo of the Holy Roman Church, whose office De Luca, speaking of the offices which are temporal rather than spiritual at the Roman Court, calls with the Italian idiom that sometimes breaks out in him, *unum omnium majus*. We need not say how the Cardinal Camerlengo of Holy Church, (not the Cardinal Camerlengo of the Cardinals,) when the Papal Chair was vacant, had the privilege of having his own armorial bearings stamped on the money coined. It will be more to our purpose to mention who the personage was who when Gerald was at Rome filled the office of *Camerarius*. It was Cardinal Cencio Savelli, later Pope Honorius III., and successor of our Innocent himself. Panvinio speaks of him as follows:—

"*Hic adhuc juvenis cubicularius fuit Jacinthi Bubonis Cardinalis S. Mariæ in Cosmedia et S. R. E. Archidiaconi, postea P.P.*

Cœlestini III. appellati, a quo jam in Pont. assumpto statim Diac. Card. S. R. E. in Diaconia S. Luciae in Orphea creatus est, inde mortuo Magistro Meliore Cardinali et Camerario, in ejus locum S. R. E. Camerarius¹ suffectus est."

The reader will notice here a marked distinction between *Cubicularius* and *Camerarius*. It was manifest at Rome, and indeed appears to have been clear enough elsewhere too. Spelman it is true gives under *Cambellanus* *Camerarius Cubicularius* together, observing later on, "Dicuntur etiam haec omnia pro Quaestore seu Thesaurario uti et camera pro loco in quem inferuntur mulctae et thesaurus Principis, ut in lexicis videas Juris Civilis." But though no doubt the one word *Camera* had to stand both for the more private apartment, and for the treasury, the two words *Cubicularius* and *Camerarius* appear to have been rather carefully distinguished.

Camerarius in preference to *Cubicularius* was applied to a treasurer. In fact the word *Cubiculum* does not seem to have commonly done such double service as *Camera*,² it was not usually employed, as far as we can make out, for *treasury*, and the word *Cubicularius*, as a natural consequence, was not ordinarily taken to mean a treasurer as well as

¹ Hence it is a mistake of F. Alexandre's (Natalis Alexander) to describe in his Ecclesiastical History this illustrious acquaintance of Gerald's as the Camerarius of the Sacred College.

"Die ab Innocentii Tertii obitu altera, Cencius Sacri Collegii Camerarius, Titulo Sanctae Luciae in Silice Diaconus primum Cardinalis, tum vero SS. Joannis et Pauli Presbyter, electus est Pontifex nomenque sibi sumpsit, Honorius Tertius." (Nat. Alex. Hist. Eccl. Saec. xiii. et xiv., Cap. i. art. ii.)

The title should have run Camerarius, of the Holy Roman Church, not of the Sacred College. As mentioned in the text, the Camerlengo of the Cardinals is not the same personage as the Camerlengo of Holy Church, no more than the Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster is the same as the Lord High Chancellor.

² In technical usage the word Kammer (from Camera) preserves in German this sense of Treasury. In Mr. Bedford's charming paper on Ischl in our June number of last year, he tells us that that romantically situated town is the capital of the Salzkammergut, and as that "big compound word does not at once convey a definite idea to an ungermanic mind," he mercifully translates it twice, first "freely into 'The Chancellor of the Exchequer's Salt Estate,'" and secondly, "more accurately, as 'the privy-purse-salt-property.'" It is evident enough to English readers, even of an ungermanic mind, that it is Salz that stands for Salt, and Gut for Estate and Property of a somewhat more solid and immovable nature than our manifold plural Goods. Kammer therefore represents the Exchequer, or the Privy Purse, in short some Treasury. We may add that Kaemmerer is used like Camerarius for a revenue receiver.

as what we now call a chamberlain. It is very true that we find in Du Cange, as a secondary meaning of the word, "*Cubiculum* idem quod Camera, Aerarium, Thesaurus Principisseu locus ubi reconditur :—" But the proofs brought forward after these words, to sustain this meaning, are such as to satisfy us that it was extremely rare. We give them here exactly as they follow the above quotation :

"Κοιτὼν Annae Commenae lib. 2, Alexiad. pag. 56. Ita usurpat non semel Senator lib. 4, Epist. 51 : lib. 5, Epist. 14, 39, 44 ; lib. 11, Epist. 15. Inde *Cubicularius*, Regii aerarii custos "

The manner in which so many examples, all from one quarter alone, are eagerly put forward, and the very expressions "*usurpat non semel*," are for us satisfactory proof that the very erudite writer in the dictionary felt he was dealing here with a real literary novelty. We may say pretty much the same about *Cubicularius*. The chief example given for *Cubicularius* as "*Regii aerarii custos*," is one which seems to us very strong, not for *Cubicularius*, but for *Camerarius* in preference in that sense. We quote now from Du Cange.

"Ita apud Ealredum in vita S. Edwardi Confessoris cap. 2, num. 9. *Camerarius accessit ad thecam in qua aes regium servabatur. Et mox Hoc enim cubicularii nomen erat, etc.*"

This means that at a time when the Chamberlain was Treasurer he was called *Camerarius*, exactly what we wish to show was commonly the case. Indeed our old Penny Cyclopædia gives under "*Chamberlain*," "*Cubicularius*," adding as a sort of vague reminiscence, that "in Anglo-Saxon times the Chamberlain appears to have had the name of *Camerarius*, and had the keeping of the king's treasure (Ealred vit. S. Edw. Confess. c. ii, p. 9), by which name this officer also occurs in the Domesday Survey." The Penny Cyclopædia does not however seem to connect otherwise than by a mere synchronism the keeping of the king's treasure with the name of *Camerarius*. The truth appears to be that the one depended directly on the other.

Du Cange however supplies one text against *Camerarius* as meaning Treasurer, and here our insular studies enable us to propose an important rectification for the justly highly prized Du Cange, even as the venerable writer with all his commentators appears in the Firmin-Didot edition, whose publication began in 1840 at Paris. Du Cange represents the *Camerarius* of the old kingdom of Scotland as not a Treasurer. Of course we know he *was*, and this

very instance, which like *Cubiculum* and *Cubicularius* appears against us in Du Cange, is in reality a striking example of the steadiness of mediæval usage in employing this term to mark a Treasurer. In this case however we must go beyond Du Cange to explain away erroneous impressions; he supplies himself no antidote. We read in his great work: "*Camerarii dignitas in Regno Scotiae eadem fere est qua justitiarum itinerantis in Regno Angliæ.*"

But we find something very different in our British authorities. Among the Scotch Record Publications we find the "Accounts of the Lord High Treasurer of Scotland," the *Compota Thesaurariorum Regum Scotorum*, and there the Preface, published in 1877, begins as follows:

"From a very early period the management of the revenues of the kings of Scotland was entrusted to one high officer of the Crown, the Great Chamberlain—so called because he presided in the king's camera or exchequer. Besides this there was committed to the Chamberlain a special jurisdiction over the burghs, in which he held a yearly circuit court for taking cognizance of all matters pertaining to their good government," &c.

One can easily from this understand the error in Du Cange. There this "special jurisdiction" is taken to be the whole office of the Chamberlain, and accordingly that office is described as resembling the post of an English Justice in Eyre, a functionary who was by no means a Treasurer, while the Scottish Great Chamberlain was. There is no doubt that this Scotch Great Chamberlain is the *Camerarius* in *regno Scotiae* of Du Cange. As a matter of fact this Scotch Great Chamberlain was properly known in his own country precisely by the title of "*Camerarius*."

Turning to another Record Publication, one that followed in a year's time on the one just quoted, turning to "*The Exchequer Rolls of Scotland*," a goodly volume that appeared in 1878 bearing as its red-letter title *Rotuli Scaccarii Regum Scotorum*, we find the preface there beginning as follows:—

"There can be little doubt that the Camera or Royal Treasure-chamber, presided over by the *Camerarius* or Great Chamberlain, was one of the institutions for which Scotland was indebted to David I."

And further on, at page 10, we read

"*Computum Willelmi comitis de Mar Camerarii, factum apud Sconam die Jovis,*" &c.

"*De receptis et expensis suis factis in officio camerarii.*"

In an earlier work, "Documents illustrative of the History of Scotland, selected and arranged by the Rev. Joseph Stevenson, 1870;" we have at page 50 of the First Volume a letter addressed to a well-known name. The greeting is from great personages, " . . . Custodes Regni Scotiae de communi consilio constituti, Alexandro de Balliolo camerario Scotiae salutem." This letter marked 28, as well as letters 30, 32, 34, and in the judgment of the editor 35, as also undoubtedly letters 36, 37, 42, and others, are all addressed by the same Custodes Regni to the same Alexander Balliol as "Camerarius," directing him to disburse various sums. Letter 36 is formally to him or to his substitute. And these letters have receipts interspersed among them for sums received from the Camerarius. In Scotland as at Rome, and as among the Anglo-Saxons, the State Chamberlain, who was a Treasurer, was called a *Camerarius*.

. On this interesting point both Wharton and Mr. Brewer leave the chance reader without assistance. Mr. Brewer unfortunately does more. On a point very like this he unwittingly lays a trap to prevent readers from going right either there or here. He says nothing indeed in this place about the meaning of *Camerarius*. But in another part of Gerald's works, where it is applied, not to a papal official but to an attendant of the archdeacon himself, Mr. Brewer translates it without scruple, and translates it wrongly. In the first volume of Barry's works, published by him, we read in the 21st chapter of the author's autobiography, "De Rebus a se Gestis," p. 81, how at Richard the First's accession our hero was sent by him from France, to exert influence in Wales for the new king, and how when on the journey almost all his attendants fell sick, Gerald left his heavier baggage with the only one of them that still served him, and hired a stranger to be his *camerarius*.

"Puero quodam, qui solus illi de suis sanus et superstes extiterat, cum saginario clitellisq[ue] apud Depam relicto, de quodam extraneo quem nunquam antea viderat camerarium suum fecit."

Unfortunately, this new attendant disappeared for a time in the course of the journey with the more precious part of Gerald's luggage; Gerald describes the trouble thus caused, and Mr. Brewer writes a marginal note on the subject, "Misses his chamberlain, with his money, plate, maps, and

clothes." This word "chamberlain" is here, under the circumstances, a false translation. If, indeed, Mr. Brewer had been writing for persons fully acquainted with old Scotch ways, the translation might pass as excellent. As things were, it was utterly misleading. The "chamberlain" of a traveller like Gerald is certainly a rather puzzling expression. But it will generally convey the notion of some sort of valet-de-chambre, and such an idea is here quite out of place.

We shall easily come upon the true meaning if we pay a little attention to the old usage of Scotland, the land of the official *Camerarius*, the portion of the island of Great Britain where Latin exerted the greatest influence. Swift in his odd "Memoirs of Captain John Creighton," makes the hero say in reference to Balfour of Burley, and the unfortunate Protestant Archbishop of St. Andrews, Sharp, "Balfour, who had been the Archbishop's chamberlain (for so in Scotland we call a great man's steward)." "Chamberlain" in fact was for the Scotch the translation of "*Camerarius*," and "*Camerarius*" meant a treasurer. Amongst the Southrons "*Camerarius*" ceased earlier to be used in that sense, and its translation "Chamberlain" retained it only here and there in some technical titles. But in North Britain "*Camerarius*" and its translation flourished like "Treasurer" in England. And somewhat as the great name Treasurer has come to be the ordinary title of fund-keepers in every charitable association of private individuals, and did not remain limited to the dignitary who held the office now in commission of Lord High Treasurer; so in Scotland "Chamberlain" passed from the royal palace to the manor-house, and signified, as we have seen, "a great man's steward," at least so late as the period of the Union. Now that all the educated have abandoned broad Scotch, we find Chamberlain in the sense of "Treasurer" restricted to public offices, even in Scotch dictionaries. Chambers's Etymological English Dictionary "edited by James Donald," gives as the last meaning of the word, and the only one unconnected with the idea of *chambers* or rooms, "Treasurer" of a corporation.¹

¹ Surely such dictionaries ought to notice the old Scotch usage of *Chamberlain* to designate the treasurer or steward of an individual. Even in this century that usage has been respected and preserved in English. Mr. Thomas Stephen of "King's College" (Aberdeen we

The idea of Chamberlain as Treasurer of a private individual appears now wholly lost, but this sense, which was in vogue about the time of Swift, is surely the sense Giraldus must have had in view in the passage last quoted. "de quodam extraneo quem nunquam antea viderat camerarium suum fecit." *Camerarius* could be extended in the Middle Ages, like "Chamberlain" and "Treasurer" in more modern times, from public to private concerns, and this appears clearly shown by the words that immediately follow in the text of Giraldus after the short passage quoted above. Mr. Brewer separates them from it by a semicolon; we think a mere comma would be more appropriate. The latter phrase seems to point out perfectly the nature of the office of *Camerarius*, which is mentioned in the preceding one, and the latter phrase runs thus:—"eique rerum suarum quas cariores habebat, et quas secum tunc ferebat custodiam dedit." These "res cariores" were, according to Mr. Brewer's own marginal notes, as we have seen, the arch-deacon's "money, plate, maps, and clothes." Without admitting this inventory to be exact, we can bear testimony to its not being very far from the truth. Barry's new servant was clearly a custodian, *not* a "Chamberlain," in any but the old Scotch sense; and Barry says of himself, not without a touch of humour, that he had made of this unknown individual his Treasurer, "*Camerarium suum fecit.*"

This passage is surely a signal confirmation of the views concerning "*Camerarius*" we have put forward, and Mr. Brewer's idea of here translating the word by "Chamberlain" for modern readers was, to say the least of it, unfortunate. We do not deny that the word was used sometimes in that sense, and was so employed even by

suppose, rather than the Southron establishment with which Mr. Brewer was later so closely connected;) in his "Life and Times of Archbishop Sharp (of St. Andrew's)," published in 1839, used quietly the word "Chamberlain" in the Scotch sense as a matter of course. Balfour is spoken of by him as having been the archbishop's chamberlain (p. 601); Haxton as having been arrested in 1678 by the then chamberlain of the archbishop (pp. 580 and 581). We must confess, however, that we entertain considerable doubt as to whether Mr. Stephen really knew the meaning of the term he was so glibly using. Possibly he merely picked it up from his authorities. He used it for the first time in a long passage copied from Wodrow (p. 31). But, unlike Dean Swift, he never offers any explanation of its meaning, though he kindly interprets Scotch terms in other cases.

Giraldus¹ himself. We merely point out how in certain cases it has clearly the special meaning of Treasurer, and how attention should have been paid to this by any one who edited Giraldus. Indeed our poor Giraldus Cambrensis needs sadly to be edited anew, after what Wharton and Mr. Brewer have done for him, or rather to him.

Wharton's idea of his duty, as editor of Cambrensis seems to have chiefly been that he was bound occasionally to protest against rather than to elucidate his author. Mr. Brewer was indeed willing to do more. His chief success, however, seems to consist in verifying quotations from Ovid. He makes a dash at patristic verifications, too, especially in the early part of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica* of Giraldus. But as we read on and see how much he neglects to notice, it seems almost a piece of unaccountable

¹ We read in this very treatise *De-Jure, etc.*, *582 . . . primo camerarios et consiliarios, deinde papam et cardinales aeris nitebantur immensitate corrumpere.

It is clear that the Camerarii are not the one Camerlengo of singular dignity. They appear plainly enough, from being united to consiliarii of a lower grade than Cardinals, to be personages with special private access to the Pope, as Chamberlains.

On the other hand, a little before, *576-77, we have the really great Camerarius of singular dignity, holding court

• Omni fere die mane coram papa in consistorio, vespere vero coram Camerario vexabatur. . . . Constitutis coram Camerario partibus . . . Quod et dominus Camerarius perpendere poterit. . . . Unus servientium Camerarii dixit. . . .

Possibly a curious reader may wish to see how far the account given by Giraldus of this "Dominus Camerarius" tallies with what we know of the character of the gentle Honorius III., whom Döllinger calls (in Cox's translation *Hist. of Church* vol. iv., p. 36), the all-enduring. Allowing for Gerald's ill-humour at being, as he says, harassed every evening before the Camerlengo, his account of him, so far as it goes, suits Honorius very well. Gerald evidently regarded him as an honest, good-hearted man, who thought no evil; he writes shortly before our last quotations, *576, ". . . ad pedes Camerarii, qui vir simplex erat et juris ignarus, puta cui nihil trutannicum cognitum erat aut expertum, se cotidie coram omnibus cum fletibus magnis et singultibus provolvebat. Adeo ut vir ille fatuus et idiota, motus ad haec et credulus nimis effectus, etc. . . ."

The portrait is unfavourable, but it is still a likeness of Honorius III. Honorius was an author, no doubt, but his works were rather of history than law, and painfully tormented pleaders like Gerald might venture to call him "idiot" as well as "fatuus." His early career, as epitomized above by Panvinio, "Hic adhuc juvenis cubicularius . . . statim Diac. Card. S.R.E.," is a contrast to the labours of painstaking canonists like Innocent and Giraldus. It seems to us unquestionable that the Camerarius alluded to by Gerald in the passage we are considering, was Cardinal Cencio Savelli himself, the Camerlengo Apostolic of the day, the Sovereign Pontiff that was to be.

eccentricity that he should notice what he does. Even in dealing with the classics he is not happy. In what he looks on as true quotations from Ovid, he does not escape very sad blundering, and with regard to Cicero he is still more terribly unlucky.¹ Giralduſ (or perhaps the transcriber of

¹ We paſſ over other inſtances of unſcholarlike negligence with regard to Mr. Brewer's favourite Ovidian quotations. But one caſe at leaſt we think calls for ſome remark.

He prints (in Vol. ii. at p. 263), as a poetical quotation, in the twentieth chapter of the ſecond "diſtinction" or ſection of the *Gemma Eccleſiaſtica*, the following diſtich,

"Cernis ut ignavum corrupant otia corpus

Et capiunt vitium cum moveantur aquæ,"

and refers it in a note to Ovid, 1 Epist. ex Ponto v. 5. Surely a very alight attention indeed would have ſhown that the ſenſe here abſolutely requires "ni" inſtead of "cum" with "moveantur." The ſubject is aluggiſhneſs. Yet Mr. Brewer, in his matter-of-course way, fathers the glaring abſurdity on Ovid, quoting numbers againſt the unlucky Roman with Chineſe ſeriousneſs and exactitude.

The reading in Walker's "Corpus Poetarum Latinorum" is ſimply the following :—

"Cernis ut ignavum corrupant otia corpus :

Ut capiant vitium ni moveantur aquæ."

With regard to Cicero, it is noticed in the text that Mr. Brewer does not claim for him a famous Ciceronian paſſage which is found aſcribed in Giralduſ to Seneca. One is half tempted to imagine that Mr. Brewer had ſome ill-will to the great Latin orator ; even where Barry gives him his due, Mr. Brewer does not do ſo. We find our editor contemptuouſly rejecting a rather valuable Ciceronian quotation of Gerald's ; and very oddly, Seneca is mixed up with this buſineſs too ! At the end of the preface to the *Symbolum Electorum*, Archdeacon Barry wrote :—

"Poſtquam in illud Ciceronis incideram ; ſi mihi etiam duplicaretur ætas nunquam lyrica legerem," etc.

And the modern editor appended the following note :—

"Ciceronis—Incerti cujuſdam. Various paſſages, profeſſing to be derived from Cicero, are not to be found in his acknowledged works ; ſo far at leaſt as I have been able to diſcover."

It is tolerably well known that the intereſting paſſage in queſtion is quoted in the third perſon by Seneca, in his forty-ninth epiſtle, as follows :—"Negat Cicero ſi duplicetur ſibi ætas habiturum ſe tempus quo legat lyricos, eodem modo dialecticos."

Between Seneca and Cicero. Mr. Brewer has certainly been the reverse of fortunate. Cardinal Mai, if we miſtake not, refers this paſſage of Mr. Brewer's "Incerti cujuſdam," to the ninth chapter of the fourth book of the *De Republica*. Mr. Brewer probably ſearched for it in ſome old edition of Cicero, not containing that lately reſtored work. It is pretty plain he let Seneca alone. But he had clearly no right to reject ſo haughtily poor Barry's "Ciceronis," and put inſtead of it, as a piece of ſuperior accuracy, "Incerti cujuſdam." It may be a queſtion for the learned whether Gerald's direct reading ought not henceforward to take the place of the indirect one from Seneca, in editions of the *De Republica* of Cicero.

What we have ſaid may help to render leſs wonderful what an

Giraldus?) in the epistle "*De Scriptis Suis*," is able to palm on him as a bit of Seneca, the famous description of History put into the mouth of Catulus by Cicero in the *De Oratore* IX. 36. Mr. Brewer has not even a note to say the passage does not belong to Seneca, much less to tell the reader where it is to be found in Cicero. Except one brilliant correction of a false view of Wharton's, which shall be duly noticed, Mr. Brewer does little indeed as a commentator beyond supplying references occasionally; and even if he were as fit for looking up quotations, especially classical ones, as he fain would be, still that must appear but a ridiculous security for useful notes on a mediæval author like Giraldus! Our word Camerarius has been a case in point, and leaving it we fain would be allowed to make some further observations which circumstances appear to us to call for.

Our ordinary university education, with all its various branches, does not make any attempt to form even a small nucleus of mediæval scholars. To take the word "university" literally, and suppose that everything is to be taught in an institution bearing that great name, is of course absurd. We may well be satisfied in Western Europe with a university that does not teach Chinese. But universities that make the Latin tongue the basis of their literary studies, and stop short at the Silver Age, that are above opening to those whose tastes may lie in that direction the vast treasures of the world of mediæval men, preserved, embalmed as we may say that strange world is, in a Latin which never falls wholly into decay,—universities that will teach their students to write occasionally in imitation of the very defects of Tacitus, and yet begrudge them one course and one professor who might make the grand transition period of European history become an easy study

admiring critic in the *Times* of June the 8th, 1881, finds very extraordinary with regard to "the late Rev. J. S. Brewer;" namely, that, "with all his academical attainments, he achieved no academical rank or emoluments; he was never a Fellow, except an honorary one; he was never a university examiner" [The "Rev. Prof. Brewer, M.A." most certainly figures in the London University Calendars for several years as an examiner, for instance, in 1876]. "In the classical staff of King's College he never occupied more than a secondary place," etc.

If the last statement is correct, it seems that King's College knew what it was about a great deal better than the critic in the *Times*. Attempts in this way to make too much of poor Mr. Brewer, are for every reason to be deprecated. They must unfortunately be met by refutation.

in its own quaint dialects of somewhat Gothic Latin, such institutions in their arbitrary way remind us, that amidst the many developments of modern civilization, pedantry no less than fashion has produced a race of fops, and they have established an elaborate system of foppery. Assuredly, if we were allowed to have a true, a fully developed Catholic University, though the foundation of literary studies would be of course still the Ciceronian and Augustan tongue, aided by the fresh and early but naturally artistic wisdom of the Greeks, and though the crowning and completion of those studies would be the full command of our own vernacular language and the scholarly appreciation of modern literature, nevertheless at the same time the chasm of the Middle Ages between the two civilizations would be bridged over for the mind, and the work and writings of that long and eventful period would not continue to be a strange chaos for the thoughts, not only of boyhood, but even of eager and curious youth. We should have courses in which that many-sided development of intellect, of which Latin was for centuries the organ, would be set forth, as it were by eyewitnesses of the past, with a native accuracy and a vivid circumstance. The law and the philosophy, the theology and the daily mundane aims and struggles of our old European Christendom in its first manhood, would meet with enlightened and honest exposition, and while young men would still go forth skilled in recognizing Cicero as well as Ovid, others would learn to find themselves at home in the wondrous historic polity of the Barons and the Monks. The late Member of Parliament for the University of London, that singularly able man, Lord Sherbrook, who in so many ways is a representative of a high but rare form of modern cultivated thought, has, it is well known, in spite of a novice-like enthusiasm for science, cast a longing glance on the scheme of Latin development in Catholic courses of study. While upholding scientific studies he declared before an Education Commission that he would fain have Englishmen able to speak Latin like the Catholic priests they met abroad. But it seems, indeed, that few share his sentiments, and that no approach to true development of Latin Studies is likely.

Unfortunately the mass of ordinary men, who lay down law for us in matters of education, are very far from being able to grasp ideas like Lord Sherbrook, who, whatever

may be his ignorance with regard to science, is an original and philosophic and enlightened authority on language. He has, however, always been not only an independent but an isolated and not popular thinker. On the other hand we have classical fops and scientific naturalistic fanatics in rife abundance; and these two classes of sciolists appear to see nothing but their own two meagre ideals to cultivate the mind. A somewhat pedantic and very superficial Humanism, that dabbles in Antiquities and stops short of History, is the education offered by the first. The others present us bold and illogical Empyricism, continually erecting theory on slight induction, and rushing into the domain of the Transcendental. And the great helpless public, that can form no ideas for itself, is convinced that apart from special studies, such as medicine or mathematics, we must follow the classical fops or the naturalistic fanatics, if we would complete an education. They are the two great parties, the Whigs and Tories, the Conservatives and Reformers of the education of the time. To the guidance of one or other of them the public conceives it must commit the training of these who are to be instructed; it has no strength to call upon these parties to revise their views and programmes. The grand Catholic studies, the study of the History of Civilization, not merely in its two ends, but in its whole development and course, the study of the Transcendental,—Pure Philosophy and that one great Theology which History forces Philosophy to meet—these are for the vulgar public something that may be tolerated but that must no longer find support. The new generations are against them. The vast crowd looks down upon such things, much as it often does unwittingly on some ancient work of art by a great master, preferring immensely thereto modern transparencies and panoramas. Institutions, where the traditional Catholic studies we have mentioned might be indulged in, are by people and by governments held to be behind the age, and they are consequently destined to receive no encouragement whatever, no matter how worthy they may prove themselves to be, even in the very arts which the public itself is willing to applaud.

We see what is in store for us, and we had best look it fully in the face. We shall go on forming university men and college professors like Mr. Brewer, to edit manuscripts to the satisfaction of the Lords of her Majesty's Treasury. And we shall be told that what we want in Ireland is the

formation of more and more such scholars, that the Catholic Clergy is wholly unfit to set up any plan of higher instruction for the nation, that we must adopt the English Protestant system of University Education to form really thorough men, and that our ambition, for some generations at least, must be to approach gradually to that standard of enlightenment.

To be told all this by our governors is not agreeable. But it is a somewhat harder trial to find a class of nominally-educated Catholics unaware, we do not say of the one-sidedness of reasoning, but of the one-sidedness of knowledge among our typical Protestant educated men. The truth is, history was enslaved in Protestant England with its two Protestant universities, until Germany with its many universities gave the signal for abandoning one-sided Protestant history. We have seen Mr. Brewer himself acknowledging that "popular impressions of Church history are scarcely more correct after five centuries" than they were in Gerald's days, that "modern prejudices are just as vulgar and equally ill-founded" as those of mediæval times; and unfortunately we have seen too that Mr. Brewer was no great improvement on his predecessors, distinguished as was on the whole the place he held in the Protestant educational institutes of England. As for Ireland, matters used to be here among Protestants still worse.

That splendidly endowed institution, which was so long known as the Silent Sister, has been in one-sidedness of knowledge sadly in the rear. Even at the beginning of the past year, before the new Catalogues of Trinity College Library had attained their present development, and when in the College Reading Room a copy of the Bodleian Catalogue was used with special marks annexed to the titles of such books as were happily to be found in the great Dublin, no less than in the great Oxford Library, it used to be almost amusing to turn to the name of Oates, and notice that while the Bodleian possessed both works in favour of and against Titus's story of "The Popish Plot," on the other hand, those which were marked as belonging to Trinity College, seemed, with the exception of one small Dutch pamphlet, which was bound up with other things, to have been every one of them written on the Protestant impostor's side. Even yet, later, when the Bodleian Catalogue for O was gone, it was still, to be had for R, and people could still compare the long list there

printed, under the title "Roman Catholics," with the happy selections from it marked as having fortunately found a place in the Dublin Library. The list began "De Persecutione Anglicana," a heading soon followed by "Ad Persecutores Anglos pro Catholicis domi forisque persecutionem sufferentibus." Indeed, all the first eleven works had rather a Papist look, and they were none of them marked as Trinity College's. About the twelfth there could be no difficulty. It was "The Supplication of Certaine Masse Priests falsely called Catholikes." There the sign of Trinity College property suddenly appeared, and it continued to show itself from time to time, affixed in an apparently similarly thoughtful manner, suggestive to Orangemen of selection of the fittest.

To speak of works more easily obtained and more generally important, of standard books rather than of historical curiosities, Trinity College Library showed certainly, not long ago, a one-sidedness that a Catholic University would repair. Not to wander far beyond our own immediate subject, according to the College catalogues, we note that it was even lately without Moroni's great ecclesiastical dictionary.

No doubt, however, in spite of all short-comings, the Trinity College Library is a real treasury, and a treasury that is nobly opened. No matter how far the administration of the College may and must fail in really gathering round the chairs of its professors the aspirants to higher education throughout the land, it is at any rate from no want of kindly intentions that it is to a great extent unfortunate, and even where its education is refused, it places its library at least at the service of anxious scholars with generous good-will. Whatever antagonism may exist, one who has experienced the willingness of the Fellows to oblige, the true urbanity with which the Provost¹ confers his official sanction, the friendly attention with which the immediate authorities of the reading-room render every service, will find it always impossible, in the heat of any contest, to be unmindful of the good hours spent amidst the wealth of Trinity College Library, or of the kindness that from first to last set those riches at his disposal.

But good-will is unfortunately not quite enough in

¹ Though this passage is only now printed, it was written before the death of the late lamented Provost of Trinity College, Doctor Humphrey Lloyd.

order to treat men fairly. Of this Mr. Brewer was surely a conspicuous example. We cannot but recognize his wish to cast off all prejudice—his determination to praise Catholics where he considered it their due—his honourable contempt for a thousand petty insinuations for which it would have been easy to find room. In addition to good-will, however, competent knowledge is required, and though the universities of these kingdoms foster, as regards Latin, a far higher scholarship than Mr. Brewer's, yet with regard even to Latin in its full development, in that development which we especially need for history, we believe these institutions are marked by a one-sidedness from which any complete and thorough Catholic University would be free. For such a cultivation of letters as would embrace the true history of our modern civilization as a grand many-sided development—for an institution where the language and the times of Jerome and Augustine, of Bonaventure and Aquinas, would be familiar as those of Tacitus or of Tully, where scholastic interest would be aroused alike about archons and archdeacons, and the influence on our modern world of Athanasius and Cyril would be no less studied than that of Homer and Aristotle;—for such a great centre of intimately connected knowledge and instruction we must look to a real Catholic University, and to a real Catholic University alone. There, and only there, where alongside of a great Faculty of Letters there would be a splendid Faculty of Catholic Theology—the language and the thoughts of the Fathers and the Schoolmen, of the Hagio-graphers and the Canonists, would not be, like Chinese or Coptic, the province of a lonely professor, whom scarcely anyone ever listens to, whom no one would or could set right if he went wrong; they would be the study of overflowing class-rooms, and they would be taught by eminent men, living in the midst of colleagues so trained as to be themselves familiar with the subjects discussed, and tenacious of their own opinions and even views in their regard. A true centre of Catholic studies cannot break off from the Augustan age to pick up the world's history and literature in modern times again. It must have its courses of Ecclesiastical History and Canon Law, of Scholastic Theology and Patristic teaching; for what to others are curious questions of antiquity, are to us the history of our Descent, the title-deeds, the securities, and the ornaments of our Inheritance.

“The history of the Catholic Church,” as Lord

Macaulay said, and it alone, "joins together the two great ages of human civilization; no other institution is left standing which carries the mind back to the times when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon, and when camelopards and tigers bounded in the Flavian amphitheatre." The whole long period from those distant days till now is something which a great centre of Catholic education is called on, not only to know, but at a thousand points where it is really admirable—where it is really Catholic—to glorify and to defend. The proceedings of councils, the characters of saints, the legislation of church authority, the influence of Christian civilization, are things to which, even though the point may involve no article of our creed, a true centre of Catholic learning cannot tamely see injustice done. And therefore a true Catholic University means a thorough study of that Past, which Cardinal Newman has pointed out as most intimately that of literature, which the Protestant historian just quoted calls the two great ages of civilization and "the unchangeable Church" which joined them, and is still there.

Unfortunately, a true Catholic University in all the fullness of the term we are not for the present actually to enjoy. A generation has passed since that splendid conception was put forward at Thurles, and great as have been the efforts made, the magnificent idea has not been realized. But we do not, we cannot despair. The cause of an Irish Catholic University appears to us to have the practical mark of a great cause; as time passes on, the yearning is not for less but more. A charter was the first petition; an endowment, the next: the want not merely of safe but of wide and high and fully developed Catholic teaching begins, we think, to make itself felt now. The triumph may not be at hand, but we believe that it is sure to come. Already we see redoubled efforts throughout the country for the spread of Catholic enlightenment. This very periodical is surely, in its degree, an indication how far and wide there is an aim at something above mere routine studies, an aim which cannot for ever be deprived of a splendid realization in our land. The greatest conflagrations are not always produced by one sudden blast. They often arise from many smouldering fires, which after creeping along obscurely for some time, unite at last to rise into a powerful and enduring flame. The many-sided really Catholic efforts of Ireland for superior education, for higher studies, are now separated

indeed, but not isolated, they must spread and develop and gather strength, and they will certainly sooner or later find for themselves a magnificent concentration.

For the present, things must smoulder on. Catholics must be for the most part content to labour for enlightenment in narrowly limited and humble spheres. Giants, indeed, amongst us, may yet do astonishing work and hasten the consummation. A dwarf must be satisfied to wrangle over prefaces to books which the Lords of the Treasury publish, and to write a digression on the title *Camerarius*.
J. J. O'C.

INTERNATIONAL EXHIBITION OF ELECTRICITY AT PARIS.

“SO the Exhibition is not ready yet!” Such was the exclamation that greeted our ears about the middle of last August as we were rolling under a fresh breeze and over a chopping sea in one of those buoyant cockleshells which make the passage between Newhaven and Dieppe. We were ill-fitted at the moment for any depressing information; musing indeed upon the instability of things in general and of small steamboats in particular, though, it is to be feared, that such philosophical thoughts did not inspire corresponding temper.

It may be that the impression thus produced influenced our mind in the first visit we made to the Exhibition, for we looked around us with severe eyes and came away dissatisfied.

The Palace of Industry, as the iron and glass structure is somewhat pompously called, is a well-known building in the Champs Élysées, standing a little off that magnificent avenue which leads from the Place de la Concorde to the Arc de l'Étoile. It has that dingy look which seems almost an essential characteristic of glass-houses which are any thing else but conservatories, and perpetuates the folly of which the Duke of Devonshire's head gardener (Sir Joseph Paxton) was guilty, when he brought his horticultural ideas to bear upon quite a different subject. It is, in fact, a long rectangular glass-house with a waggon-headed semi-circular roof.

The doors are open we suppose, or why would these sellers of guide-plans pester the few people in the neighbourhood ; and so we pass in, duly armed with the printed guide, to find ourselves in the midst of carpenters and packing cases and the grim skeletons of future departments. There in the centre stands a model lighthouse in a circular piece of water, with a very stagey bridge of rocks connecting the tiny island with the mainland. An electrical boat is moored to the bridge, and awaits, like everything else, completion.

The Roman Department, for it inscribes itself "Roma," is at present a veiled mystery ; it looms through canvas a kind of temple, but is as unformed and indefinable as the United Italy it is intended to represent. The English Department is a desert, save that some of Sir William Thomson's well-known inventions notably his Galvanometers, are waiting to be placed, and seem blinking in the light as just unpacked from their cases. And so we go on until we come to Japan, which having but little to do, has nobly done it, and here it is. It classifies its work as (1) Production of Electricity, and (2) Transmission of Electricity, and the "Minister of Public Works and Administration of Telegraphs" (as the catalogue takes care to inform us), sends a few porous cells to represent the former, and half a dozen porcelain insulators for telegraph poles to do duty for the latter. That is all, and that at least is ready. France has taken one half of the ground floor to herself, and has left the other half to the rest of the world ; and truth to say, there appears to be space enough for all. Perhaps the crowding will come in due time, but just now there seems no danger of anything of the kind. Along one side of the vast area are ranged the steam engines which are to work the different kinds of generators. Some of these are already puffing and toiling, while others are undergoing those various repairs and alterations which seem chronic to such machines ; and which bode ill for the steadiness of the Electric Lights which depend upon the regularity of their motion.

Occasionally a light blazes up, just to show that such things are in time to be ; but there being as yet no evening exhibition, the few stragglers have to content themselves with viewing the more familiar sights of telegraphs in the varied forms which necessity has contrived for the service alike of peace and war. So we go grumbling through the unfinished departments and resolve to visit

the Palace of Industry no more until industry has made it more worthy of its high-sounding title.

After an interval of eight days we once more returned and found a great change for the better, and still more satisfactory is the result when we visit it in the evening of the first public exhibition.

The Palace is now a blaze of light; the glass roof and sides are resplendent with brilliancy; while two powerful lamps, high overhead, pour out streams of lambent light, one illuminating the Place de la Concorde and the other bringing out the grand features of the Arc de l'Étoile with brilliant effect. There is no need for the veryest stranger to ask his way: the Electric Exhibition says unmistakably enough, "here I am."

The Electric Light is evidently, in every sense, the great feature of this Exhibition of Electricity. Other applications have their place herein, and win a passing notice. There are specialities for specialists, but what every body wants to know is whether electric lighting is a success, can it be used in our streets and factories, and, above all, can we domesticate it to the superseding of wax, oil, and gas, in our houses?

The ground-floor is no longer a confusion and a desolation; jealous coverings have disappeared, and Rome herself has emerged from obscurity and shows to no small advantage in the world's electric contest, and notably with her medical and chemical electricity. Spain, too, which somehow we have come to judge as out of the progressing world, though we cannot forget that she has her Progressadas, has her modern instruments and inventions of her own; telegraphs, telephones, microphones, and electric lights.

But through all these attractions and distractions we work our way towards the staircase which is to conduct us to the upper regions where light is tested in all imaginable ways. Much taste and skill have been exercised in the arrangement and utilization of the various spaces into which the vast galleries, which run round the whole building, are divided: not only are separate rooms assigned to different electrical companies and inventors, but these rooms themselves are fitted up by celebrated French upholsterers as saloons, dining-rooms, with a picture-gallery and library, and all the different portions of a private and stately mansion. So the electric light is brought to bear upon every domestic use, and tested

amid the realities of life to which it is intended to be applied.

Below, and in the open galleries which overlook the ground-floor, we have what we are now growing accustomed to, namely, the strong, not to say fierce, light, with its blue spectral glare; but in these various saloons, we have the soft yellow light which Swan and Edison have invented for home use. Clusters or festoons of tiny globes around the walls glitter with a bright light that is not only not painful, but absolutely pleasant to the eyes. The picture-gallery is as bright as sunlight could make it; but the flood of light falls equally on all sides, and like the sun itself, brings out every hue in its own proper colour, without falsifying the tints by the medium which intensifies their brilliancy.

The lamp which Swan has invented is becoming pretty extensively known; many of our readers may have seen it lately, when Dr. Molloy illustrated his lectures with it; that of Edison of New York hardly differs from it, indeed one might be easily mistaken for the other.

In each invention there is a small glass globe, from which the air has been pumped out until the vacuum is almost perfect (thanks to the improvements which have been wrought in the Sprengel pump), in this is mounted a small curved piece of carbon—in Swan's instrument it is made of Bristol board, in Edison's of bamboo cane—and this is connected with the wire conveying the electric current. The small quantity of air which remains in the globe does not contain oxygen enough to consume the carbon, so there is no need of its renewal, as in the ordinary open lamps; and thus, while the current of electricity is steady, the flame burns steadily also, and there is none of that unpleasant flickering which is so objectionable. The turning of a knob admits or cuts off the supply, and so kindles or extinguishes the lamp, the intensity of whose light is ordinarily equal to that of forty candles. The Buffet which Swan lights contains four pictures which represent the use of his lamp on board ship, in a railway carriage, in the depths of the sea, and in a coal mine. These are not mere promises for the future, but representations of what has been already achieved. Our iron man-of-war, "The Inflexible," has these lamps in use, as have the new vessels of the Inman, Cunard, and White Star lines. Here in the room itself we have a lamp under water, with gold fish swimming around it under the pleasurable excitement which bright light seems ever to have for such

scaly investigators; and as for the use of the Swan lamp in mines, we have a formal report of experiments made last August in the Earnock Colliery near Hamilton, Lanarkshire.

As we go down stairs, we pause before the great steam engine which worked the generators for the supply of Swan's hundreds of lamps. It is silent, motionless! In the morning we had seen it toiling away, and whirling round the Siemens instruments, whose motion did the required work; and, to say the truth, we wondered that nothing seem to come of it, for no Swan light was burning—and now the generator is still, and the lamps are in full blaze! How is this?

Here are two row of cells, a vast galvanic battery it seems, and to them the attendant points:—"These are the Accumulators," said he, and so the mystery is cleared up, but only by the facing of another seemingly greater. It is now not many weeks since Sir William Thomson wrote his enthusiastic letters to the *Times*, which told of the wonders of Faure's accumulator, and what it could do. "A little battery of seven of these boxes suffices to give the incandescence in Swan or Edison lights, to the extent of one hundred candles for six hours without any perceptible diminution of brilliancy." These rows of cells, then, are doing the work in the night which the steam engine stored up in them during the early hours of the day.

But an impatient reader may say: why not let the generators do their work directly when they are wanted, and not indirectly through the means of these accumulators? True, while both are on the premises, and the light has to be used there. But what if we wish to burn our Swan lights at home, where we have no steam engine; or to light them far away in the country, and at another time? What if we can have our electricity packed in boxes for home consumption, and brought into use when and how we please? It is all the difference between ordering our food to be sent home, or eating the different articles at the shops where we buy them; with this additional advantage, that the cases in which the electricity comes can be re-charged at a comparatively trifling cost, and so the real outlay is in the purchase of the box in which the electric goods are brought home.

Perhaps a few words, in way of explanation, may not be altogether unacceptable to those of our readers who have not time to follow up these investigations for themselves. Faure's *Accumulator* is not an invention, but only an improvement, an advance upon what has long been known;

but being an adaptation to a pressing want of what hitherto had been little more than a scientific toy, it has all the advantage of an original invention, turning as it were a trifle to such great account.

Every tyro in electricity knows that when a current is sent from a galvanic battery to platinum plates which are immersed in acidulated water, a decomposition of the water takes place; the two gases of which it is composed being accumulated on the plates, the oxygen on one, and the hydrogen on the other. These gases pass off through the water, and fresh supplies are accumulated as long as the action is continued by the flow of electricity from the battery with which it is connected. When the action is stopped by the disconnection, a portion of the gas remains upon each plate; and if these plates, still remaining in the water, are now connected with a galvanometer, the motion of the needle in that instrument will show that a current of electricity is flowing from the plates themselves, though it is no longer in connection with the battery—a new current will flow, but in an opposite direction to the original one. This is called a secondary current, and its existence is explained thus. The two gases accumulated on the platinum plates respectively, act upon the water and decompose it, each attracting to itself the opposite gas, and drawing it out of chemical combination; and, therefore, the current may be said to flow in the opposite direction to that of the original current. Sir W. Grove, in 1843, turned this discovery to account, and upon it constructed his gas battery. Upon the same principle, Planté, in 1859, constructed one that is the foundation upon which Faure has built his accumulator. Two concentric cylinders of sheet lead, which are kept apart by canvas placed between them, are immersed in dilute acid. They are connected, each cylinder with one pole of an ordinary battery, and after being thereby charged, they are detached from it, and the secondary current thus developed can be turned to account.

Different metals were tried, and at last Planté found that lead produced the best result; that is to say, absorbed most of the two kinds of gas. The cell thus formed improved by use. The liberated gas attacked each its own sheet of lead, which gradually became of a spongy texture, while the surface of the sheet at which oxygen gas was liberated, became covered with a film of brown peroxide of lead. By charging the cell backwards and forwards at intervals of some days, it became what we should now call an accumulator; which has been fairly compared to a

Leyden Jar, only with this important difference, that whereas in the latter the charge must be discharged in an instant, in the improved cell it may be used from time to time, and flows steadily and continuously.

Many improvements have been made from time to time, the last and most successful being that of Camille Faure, which is now attracting so much attention

Instead of charging his lead plates backwards and forwards as Planté did, until the film of peroxide of lead is produced, Faure begins by coating his plates with a film of red lead or minium, which is a lower oxide than the dark brown peroxide. Two sheets are rolled together with a sheet of felt between to prevent contact. The battery of whatever kind—and now it is of course a Siemen or Gramme magneto-electrical machine—is used to charge the accumulator, and then it is ready with its store to supply our wants whenever we may think fit to carry it. The lead plates pour out steadily their electric current until their charge is exhausted, and by so doing have returned to their original condition, and are thus ready to receive another charge, which of course may be renewed from time to time at a very small expense from any powerful generator. What they will do with this charge, Sir W. Thomson has already told us, and how successful is their action the Paris Exhibition shows.

But not only for the storage of Electricity is this accumulator useful; it is also a perfect regulator of the discharge, and upon this regularity we know depends the steadiness of the Electric Light. A gas engine is apt to be uncertain in its action, and a steam engine may work with varying speed when it has to direct generators. Now if the discharge be worked through an accumulator it will be unvarying in its action, any irregularity in its charge having no influence upon its discharge. There is no need to dwell upon the many obvious advantages of such an invention. It will send the vessels charged with electricity to our houses where we shall be able to work our own Swan lamps.

The cart that brings us one set of accumulators in the morning will carry back that we used the previous night, to be replenished by the central machine, at a cost of a few pence. Or if we are scientifically disposed we may use any water power in our neighbourhood, or employ at its leisure moments any steam engine near at hand; or, as Sir W. Thomson has suggested, we may set up windmills to do the work when water power is beyond our reach.

We have dwelt so long upon this accumulator and its importance in electric lighting that we have no space to speak generally of the Exhibition; nor do we regret having done so, feeling that it may be more interesting to many readers that a bare catalogue of the instruments collected in the Palace of Industry could be. We must content ourselves with barely mentioning the two interesting rooms in which Edison is perhaps by this time exhibiting his numerous and really wonderful inventions. In truth, there were not many of them in action on the night of our visit. The bright little lamps were burning steadily and pleasantly, and served to show at great advantage their own history and parentage; for there were cases containing the glass globes in every stage of manufacture, as well as the bamboo burners, from the original cane to the finished tiny carbon. The wonders were being got ready, and we hope amuse and enlighten more fortunate visitors.

We must mention another American light, that of Hiram Maxim. Not only does it fill the post of honor in lighting the way to the Exhibition by its flashes up and down the Champs Élysées, but it rivals those of Swan and Edison in producing a beautiful incandescent flame in a bright, tiny globe. Like the other two it has its paper carbon enclosed in a globe, but unlike them, it has the vapour of gazoline admitted into the vacuum which Sprengel's pump has produced, and this strengthens and preserves the carbon, making at the same time its action more uniform in this manner.

When the electric current is admitted, the carbon fibre gradually grows hot, and "when it reaches a sufficient intensity it begins to decompose the hydrocarbon, of which the gazoline is composed, and if there are any weak spots in the fibre, the freed carbon is deposited there and strengthens the filament. A current of increasing intensity is thus carried through the carbonized fibre, which constantly grows at the expense of the gazoline vapour, and finally becomes of a uniform power of resistance throughout its whole length. The gazoline vapour is then pumped out of the globe, and the lamp is ready for use." Maxim has also invented a generator in which the supply of electricity is automatically regulated by the demand, so that when more lamps are used more electricity will be generated to feed them, and when any are put out the supply will diminish in proportion. H. B.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

“Does the Impediment of ‘Public Honesty’ arise from a civil marriage?”

We have reduced our correspondent's question to the shortest and simplest form. We suppose that by a civil marriage he understands a ceremony gone through in presence of a civil officer, for the purpose of complying with those formalities which the laws of the land declare to be either necessary, or sufficient, for giving a legal sanction to the marriage. In some countries, such as in France, no marriage will be regarded as having a legal sanction, unless the consent of the parties is expressed before the civil magistrate. In other countries such as our own, the law declares this formality not *essential*, but *sufficient* to constitute a valid marriage.

Secondly, we suppose that there is question of those countries in which the decree regarding clandestine marriages has been promulgated, and of contracting parties, both of whom are bound by that decree. In these circumstances it is obvious that the civil marriage is *per se* an invalid marriage as far as the laws of the church are concerned; seeing that it has not been celebrated before the Parish Priest and two witnesses as the decree *Tametsi* requires.

The question then arises does such a marriage produce any canonical impediment, or does it leave the parties precisely as they were before the civil marriage was celebrated?

It is a question which has given rise to much controversy and led to much divergence of opinion amongst theologians. On the one hand, some, with Gury, Bouvier, Craisson, Carriere, and many others held that in all cases a civil marriage—no matter what the intention of the contracting parties might be—produced the impediment of ‘Public Honesty.’ They argued thus: Either the parties intend to contract marriage at a future time as required by the Council of Trent, or they do not. If they have this intention then the civil marriage is equivalent to *sponsalia* and consequently induces the impediment *ad primum gradum*.

If the parties do not intend to contract marriage afterwards, as required by the Council of Trent, but through ignorance or contempt of the ecclesiastical law, intend to

contract marriage before the civil magistrate, then such a marriage should be regarded as an invalid clandestine marriage, from which the impediment of 'Public Honesty' arises and extends *ad quartum gradum*.

Some others made the decision depend on the intention of the contracting parties. Thus, if they intended subsequently to contract marriage *in facie ecclesiae*, and therefore in repeating the form before the civil official, merely to comply with a legal formality, no impediment would be contracted. If, on the other hand, they intended a present marriage when repeating the form before the civil official, then they contracted a clandestine marriage and the impediment of 'Public Honesty,' which according to this opinion springs from even an invalid clandestine marriage.

Others finally maintained that in no case could the impediment arise from a civil marriage. First, not if the parties intended subsequently to contract marriage as required by the Council of Trent; as then the civil marriage should be regarded as a purely civil ceremony, from which no ecclesiastical impediment could spring. Nor, if they intended to contract marriage before the civil official, either because, as Sanches holds, an invalid clandestine marriage does not in any case produce the impediment of 'Public Honesty,' or as Fr. Ballerini maintains, admitting that an invalid clandestine marriage is in ordinary circumstances sufficient to produce the impediment, a civil marriage will not have that effect . . . "neque in gestis coram magistratu juxta solidiorem opinionem habes invalidum matrimonium ejusmodi, quod publicae honestatis impedimentum inferat." Ball. Gury, De Mat. n. 819, note (d).

Thus the question stood when a few years ago it was referred to the Congregation of the Council.

The Council decided as will be seen by the following Decree, that a civil marriage does *not* produce the impediment of 'Public Honesty.' The Council moreover asked the Sovereign Pontiff to confirm the decision authoritatively. The Holy Father complied with the request, and declared that no matter what the intention of the parties might be, no impediment of 'Public Honesty' is contracted on the occasion of a civil marriage.

We give some of the important Documents connected with the case as they are found in the Acta S. Sedis, Tom. xii., p. 147.

DUBIUM SUPER IMPEDIMENTUM MATRIMONII.

13 Martii 1879.

“COMPENDIUM FACTI. In praesenti rerum politicarum perturbatione, quae universam fere Europam commovit atque miscuit, plures latae fuerunt leges, quae Ecclesiae Catholicae libertatem haud parum coarctant atque ejus instituta et leges vel funditus convellunt, vel saltem in aestimatione fidelium in discrimen adducunt. Quas inter non ultimum ea tenet locum, quae omnes subditos cogit coram laico magistratu matrimonium inire, si propriam prolem, quoad civiles effectus, legitimitatis honore et juribus potiri velint. Ex hoc factum est, ut inter catholicos diu et varie disputatum sit de natura et effectibus illius actus, quem vocant *matrimonium civile* ac praesertim an in sensu Ecclesiae vim haberet sponsalium, vel considerari posset uti matrimonium clandestinum nullum, iis in locis in quibus Concilii Tridentini lex viget; atque ideo, an et usque ad quem gradum induceret impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis. Cum theologi et canonistae in diversas abirent sententias, nec quid, prouti certum, tenendum satis constaret, dubium Apostolicae Sedi propositum fuit, cujus resolutio demandata est S. Congregationi Concilii. Res gravissimi momenti proponebatur, ideoque caute erat procedendum. Ea propter, ut res ad ejusmodi evidendae fastigium, quod omne prorsus excluderet dubium, perduceretur, trium consultorum vota exquisita fuerunt; hisce accessit discursus Rmi. P. D. Secretarii, atque omnibus cribratis diligenterque perpensis, in plenariis S. Congregationis comitiis, quaestio proposita fuit sub dubii formula, quae in calce hujus relationis exscribitur.”

“DUBIUM. An actus qui vulgo audit matrimonium civile, pariat impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis?

RESOLUTIO. S. Congregatio Concilii die 13 Martii 1879 respondit: *Negative* et consulendum SSmo, ut id declarare ac statuere dignetur.

Facta autem de praemissis relatione SSmo, Dno Nostro per R. P. D. Secretarium S. C. C. in audientia diei 17 ejusdem mensis, Sanctitas Sua resolutionem approbare ac confirmare dignata est ac jussit fieri decretum.”

DECRETUM. Quo SSmus Pater Leo XII. declarat ac statuit matrimonium, quod aiunt civile, impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis non producere.

Postquam laici legumlatores praeter civiles ac politicos matrimonii effectus, impio ausu ipsum pervadere ac moderari praesumpsero matrimoniale foedus, quod a Deo auctore naturae, ante omnem civilis societatis existentiam primitus institutum, ac ad ineffabilem Sacramenti dignitatem deinde a Christo Redemptore evectum, quamlibet politicam et civilem iurisdictionem penitus excedit, pluries Episcopi alique animarum pastores ab Apostolica Sede anxii postularunt: an ex actu civili, qui honorandum usurpat matrimonii nomen, impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis, oriatur. Quae, postulationes cum iteratae postremis hisce temporibus fuissent

Summus Pontifex mandavit, ut huiusmodi negotium a S. Congregatione Emorum. ac Rmorum. S. R. E. Cardinalium Concilii Tridentini interpretum rite ac sedulo expenderetur. Sacra autem Congregatio exquisitis virorum in theologicis et canonicis disciplinis peritorum consultationibus, ac re mature discussa in generali comitio diei 12 martii 1879 propositae dubii formulae—*An actus, qui vulgo audit matrimonium civile, pariat impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis*—rescripsit—*Negative; et consulendum SSmus, ut id declarare ac statuere dignetur*—Quapropter SSmus Dominus noster Leo Papa XIII audita universa rei relatione, in audientia diei 17 eiusdem mensis voto S. C. concedens, per praesens decretum declarat, ac statuit, praememoratum actum, uti vulgo dicitur matrimonium civile in locis ubi promulgatum est decretum Concilii Tridentini (*Sess. XIII cap. 31 De Reform. Matrim.*) sive fideles actum ipsum explentes intendunt, uti par est (matrimonio ecclesiastico iam rite celebrato, vel cum animo illud quantocius celebrandi) meram caeremoniam civilem peragere, sive intendat sponsalia de futuro inire, sive tandem ex ignorantia, aut in spretum ecclesiasticarum legum intendant matrimonium de praesenti contrahere, impedimentum iustitiae publicae honestatis non producere, Atque, ita, etc

From this Decree it is manifest, that whether the contracting parties intend afterwards to contract marriage *in facie ecclesiae*, or intend through ignorance, or contempt of the law of the Church, to contract marriage in presence of the civil official, no impediment of 'Public Honesty' arises from the ceremony which is usually designated a civil marriage—ED. I. E. R.

LITURGY.

The "A cunctis" in the Mass; and the "Suffragia Sanctorum" in the Divine Office.

REV. SIR,—Be pleased to solve the following difficulties, viz. :—

1. In the prayer *A cunctis*, &c., in the Missal, what Saint's name should be inserted at the letter *N*? Is it the name of the Saint to whom the church in which the Mass is celebrated is dedicated, or the patron saint of the diocese?

2. If it be the Saint of the Church, what is to be done when the Mass is said in a private Oratory, or where the patron Saint of the Church is not known?

II.

1. When the suffrages of the Saints are said at Vespers or Lauds on a semidouble, &c., who is the patron saint of whom commemoration is to be made before the commemoration *pro pace*? Is it the patron of the diocese or of the church?

III.

1. When a priest is visiting or travelling outside his diocese for a short time, what Office and Mass should he say when the Offices differ?

2. What is to be done, if he is travelling outside his diocese for a whole year?

3. What, if he intends to reside for four months in the same place outside his diocese?

We have already answered in former numbers of the **RECORD** similar questions regarding the *A cunctis*. As, however, these questions have been repeated more than once since then, we are led to believe that it would be useful to answer them once again in a connected and more expanded form, especially as they are now for the first time followed by a similar question regarding the *Suffragia* in the Divine Office.

The name to be inserted in the prayer *A cunctis* is not that of the patron of the country or diocese or parish, or cathedral church, or of the founder of the religious Order to which the celebrant, if a regular, belongs; but the name of the patron or Titular of the church in which the Mass is celebrated. In St. Patrick's Church you mention in the *A cunctis* the name of St. Patrick; in St. Brigid's, the name of St. Brigid; in St. Michael's the name of St. Michael; in St. Thomas's, the name of St. Thomas, and so on. The Congregation of Rites has decided this point over and over again. I will quote for the satisfaction of our reverend querist just two decrees:—

S. Jacobus est Patronus universalis Regnorum Hispaniæ, Sancti vero Martyres Hemetrius et Caledonius Fratres sunt Patroni particulares Ecclesiæ Cathedralis, et totius Dioecesis Santanderiensis rite electi et novissime approbati a S.R.C. Quaeritur igitur: Quis ex his Patronis debeat nominari tam in confessione post nomina SS. Apostorum Petri et Pauli, quam in oratione *A cunctis*, quando in Missis hæc oratio dicitur in ecclesia matrice, et in cæteris dioecesis?

RESP.: "In qualibet ecclesia nominandum esse Patronum seu Titularem proprium ejusdem ecclesiæ." 26 Jan., 1793 (4448, n. 15.)

Again:

An Patronus nominandus in Oratione "*A cunctis*" intelligat Patronus principalis loci, et quid, si plures sint principales Patroni?

¹ S. R. C. 16 Ap. 1853 (5183.)

RESP. S. R. C. : "Nominandus est Titularis ecclesiae." 12 Nov., 1831 (4669, n. 31.)

Again :

"Quisnam Sanctus nominandus sit in Oratione *A cunctis* littera N, a sacerdote celebrante ; Patronusne principalis loci, vel dioecesis, aut potius Titularis ecclesiae, Oratorii, &c., in quibus celebrat ?"

RESP. S. R. C. "Titularem tantum nominandum esse : et detur decretum in Santandirien." 19 Jan., 1797 22 Sept., 1837 (4815, x.)

If the church be under the patronage of two or more Saints, who are honoured equally as its patrons (*patroni aequae principales*), all of them must be mentioned in the *A cunctis* ; but if one is regarded as *principal* patron and others are only associated with him as Saints to be specially honoured in this church (*patroni secundarii*), it is only the principal patron who is to be commemorated.¹

It may not be out of place to state that a church which is only blessed according to the form given in the Ritual for this purpose may have a Titular. Consecration is not necessary.

"Reverendissimus D. Eugenius O'Connell, Ep. Vallispraten, a S. Rit. Cong. humiliter exquisit ; An Ecclesiae dioeceseos suae quae sunt solummodo benedictae gaudeant privilegio ecclesiarum quae sunt dedicatae in festo Titularis earum."

S. R. C. resp "Affirmative, juxta decretum in una Ordinis Capuccenorum," 21 Mar. 1711, ad 1. 2 Sept., 1871.

Accordingly, speaking generally, our parish churches and our auxiliary chapels and public oratories² properly so called, have their Titular, and it is his name which should be mentioned by all who say Mass in the church or chapel. On this account we wrote in a former number of the RECORD, "We beg to remind our readers that, as a consequence of the legislation on this point, there ought to be in every sacristy a card having the name of the Titular of the church or chapel plainly printed on it, and placed in a prominent position, where every priest who is preparing to say Mass might see it. For a like reason, this or a similar card should have the Christian name of the Bishop of the diocese and the names of the 'Orationes Imperatae,' if there are any in the diocese."

But what is a priest to do who says the *A cunctis* in a

¹ 12 Nov., 1831, n. 32 (4669.) ² See also S. C. R., 28 Sept., 1872 (5519.)

Mass celebrated in private oratory, which, of course, has no Titular, or in a church where the Titular is unknown?

In these cases the name to be inserted is that of the patron of the place. This is also to be done when the Titular of the church is a mystery which cannot be inserted in the prayer, for example, in the church of the Holy Trinity or of the Holy Cross.¹

“Sacerdos celebrans in Oratorio publico vel privato quod non habet Sanctum Patronum vel Titularem, an debeat in Oratione *A cunctis* ad litteram N. nominare Sanctum Patronum vel Titularem ecclesiae parochialis intra cujus limites sita sunt Oratoria, vel Sanctum Patronum ecclesiae cui adscriptus est, vel potius omnem ulteriorem nominationem omittere.”

S. R. C. resp.; “*Patronum civitatis vel loci nominandum esse.*”
12th Sept. 1840, n. 2 (4897).

But who is meant by the *Patronus loci*? The *Patronus loci* is spoken of in contradistinction to the *Patronus seu Titularis Ecclesiae*. Accordingly, under the designation “*Patronus loci*” are included the patron of the city or town, or of the parish, or diocese, or province, or kingdom—in a word, the patron of a place as distinguished from the patron of a church.² In deciding which of these local patrons is to be selected for the *A cunctis* in the case stated, we are of opinion that we should choose him who is local patron in the most restricted sense. Thus we should insert the name of the patron of the town or parish in preference to the patron of the diocese, and the patron of the diocese rather than the patron of the kingdom. This order is insinuated, it seems to me, in the wording of the answer of the Congregation, which places the *civitatis* before the general word *loci*.³

But here a difficulty suggests itself. To constitute a local patron various formalities are required as essential by the decree of Urban VIII. (23rd March, 1630), which have not been observed in the case of those Saints whom we venerate as local patrons. Thus it is necessary, according to this Constitution, that the local patron should be chosen by the majority of the votes of the people of the district, who use the ballot for this purpose; that the choice of the people be approved by the clergy and bishop of the place; and, finally, that the selection be confirmed by the Congregation of Rites. Now there is no tradition that all this

¹ De Herdt, Tom. i., n. 84.

² Gavantus, Sect. iii., cap. 12: Cavalieri, Tom. i., cap. 3, *De Pat. Loc.*

³ De Herdt, Tom. ii., n. 267. Reg. 3.

formality was observed in selecting our patrons. Have we then no local patrons? Yes, we have, because the decree just quoted deals only with the selection of local patrons for the time to come, that is, from the date of March the 23rd, 1630. The words of the Congregation are "*infra-scripta in posterum servari debere.*" It speaks of the rules as applying to the election, "*novorum Patronorum,*" and it in no wise interferes with those local patrons who were venerated as such before 1630. This is the case in respect to most of our patrons, and notably of our diocesan patrons.¹

As to the place in the prayer *A cunctis*, which the name of the Titular of the Church, or when necessary, of the patron of the place, is to hold, we said in a former RECORD that it is not always indicated by the letter *N*. The same order is to be observed as in the *Litaniae Majores*.² Hence, in a church dedicated to St. Michael, for instance, the prayer *A cunctis* should run thus:—"Intercedente B. . . Maria, cum B. Michael, B. Joseph, beatis Apostolis," &c. So also for any other of the Archangels or Angels.

In a church dedicated to St. John the Baptist it would be:—"Intercedente B. . . Maria, cum B. Joanne Baptista, B. Joseph," &c.

In St. Patrick's Church:—"Intercedente B. . . Maria, cum B. Joseph, beatis Apostoles, Petro et Paulo, atque B. Patricio," &c.

When the patron of the church is one of those saints whose name is already in the prayer *A cunctis*—for instance, the B. Virgin or St. Joseph, or SS. Peter and Paul—no name is to be inserted at the letter *N*. This holds also when the Mass of the day is that of the patron of the church.

"Qui nominandus est ad litteram *N*. si Patronus vel Titularis jam nominatus sit in illa Oratione aut de eo celebrata sit Missa?"

S. R. C. resp., "*Si jam fuerit nominatus, omittenda nova nominatio,*" 12 Nov. 1831 (4669).

¹ The local patron is defined by Guyetus (lib. 1, cap. 7, quest. 1) "*Sanctus qui sive perpetuo usu ac traditione a Majoribus accepta, sive legitima facta electione, uti peculiaris apud Deum intercessor, proprius que suffragator ab universo loci illius clero ac populo colitur et observetur.*" And Cavalieri (Tom. 1, cap. 2, De Pat. Loc. Dec. 3), "*Aperte denotatur prae-fati decreti dispositionem vim solum habere ab eo die, quo ipsum latum est, adeoque quibus in locis certi jampridem ac determinati habentur Patroni, nihil prorsus esse innovandum, quemadmodum fere ubique reipsa nihil innovatum extitit, sed qui habebantur Patroni licet solo usu vel traditione, et non media electione inducti, adhuc ut tales excolantur, ac observentur.*"

II.

The Titular who is to be commemorated in the Suffragia of the Divine Office.

Who is the Patron Saint of whom commemoration is to be made in the Suffragia Sanctorum before the commemoration *pro pace*?

The commemoration to be made in the Suffragia is of the Titular of the church to which the priest is attached (*ecclesiae cui stricte est adscriptus*) or in which he has a benefice.

In dealing with this question we would wish to call attention to the following points, viz.: 1°, of what church we now speak; 2°, in what sense the term Titular is used; and, 3°, what place this commemoration is to hold among the Suffragia.

1. What church is now meant? Is it the church where the priest says Mass, as in the case of the *A cunctis*, or the cathedral church of the district, or of his own diocese? No. The church here spoken of is that to which the priest is attached as parish priest or curate, for this is what is practically meant in this country by being *ecclesiae stricte adscripti*.

De Herdt defines the term thus:

“Stricte adscripti sunt qui alicui ecclesiae adscripti sunt ad sacramenta ministranda, docendum populum, officia ecclesiae celebranda, &c., a legitima et competente auctoritate, cujus est adscribere; qualis auctoritas, juxta disciplinam ecclesiasticam in his regionibus vigentem, regulariter est tantum Ordinarius loci; adeo ut vi adscriptionis ipse adscriptus in illa ecclesia officia injuncta peragere debeat, et ipsi liberum non sit propria voluntate ecclesiam deserere. Tales ergo censendi sunt parochus, viceparochus, deservitor, sacrista seu custos alii que a legitima auctoritate ecclesiae adscripti ut in ea Sacramenta quaedam ministrent aut alias functiones constanter peragunt.” (Vol. II. n. 227. 5.)

2. What is meant by Titular in the present instance? Does it apply to the patron Saint only, as in the case of the *A cunctis*, or is it to include as well the mysteries to which the church may be dedicated? We answer that the term is now taken in its widest signification, and applies to a Divine Person, or a mystery, or a saint, so that, for example, according as the church is dedicated to the Holy Trinity, or our Blessed Saviour, or the Holy Cross, or St. Patrick, the commemoration in the Suffragia will be of the Holy Trinity, or the Saviour, or the Holy Cross, or St.

Patrick. The Titular is to be commemorated no matter what the Titular may be.¹

Of course, if a commemoration of the Titular has been already made in the office, the commemoration will not be repeated in the Suffragia.²

It follows from this rule that a priest attached to the church of the Holy Cross will commemorate the Holy Cross, not only in Ferial Offices, but also as his Titular, whenever he says the Suffragia; a priest of St. Michael's commemorates St. Michael, and so on for the rest³.

But what is one to do who is not attached as parish priest or curate or otherwise to a church that has a Titular, for instance, a chaplain, or a subdeacon in college?

In these and similar cases the commemoration to be made in the Suffragia is of the patron of the diocese or place. This is decided by the following decree:—

“Quodnam Suffragium faciendum sit a Directoribus Seminarii sive majoris sine minoris, quibus nulla Ecclesia Publica est adnexa, a Capellanis Xenodochii et Monialium, a Clericis in sacris et a Sacerdotibus in majori Seminario coadunatis tempore secessus Ecclesiastici?”

S. R. C. resp.: “*Praeter communia tenentur tantum ad Suffragium Patroni dioeceseos vel loci.*”

When speaking of the *A cunctis* we said that if there are two or more principal patrons, all should be mentioned in the prayer. This rule does not apply to the Suffragia; for here we commemorate only one principal patron, unless they are united in the same office, as, for instance, SS. Fabian and Sebastian.⁴

3. What place is the commemoration of the Titular to hold among the Suffragia? Our correspondent supposes in this question that it always takes the penultimate place, that is, immediately before the commemoration *pro pace*. This is not the case. If the Titular be a Saint, the place will be determined by the principle already applied to the prayer *A cunctis*; that is to say, the order of *Litaniae majores* is to be observed. If the Titular be a Divine Person, such as the most Holy Trinity, or our Blessed Redeemer, or if the Titular be a divine mystery, as the Corpus Christi, or

¹ S.R.S. 1 Sept. 1607 (355). 16 Feb. 1781. (4401. n. 22, 23). 10 June, 1690 (3221. n. 3.) De Herdt, Tom. ii., n. 369.

² S.R.S. 3 Mar. 1621 (696). 16 Oct. (4149) ³ De Herdt. *Ibid.*

⁴ S. R. C. 20th November, 1685, (3040). De Herdt. *Ibid.*

the Sacred Heart of Jesus, or the most Holy Name of Jesus, or the Holy Cross, the commemoration, on account of the dignity of the Titular, will be made even before the commemoration of the Blessed Virgin, that is, first in the order of the Suffragia. But in a Ferial office the commemoration *de cruce* always holds the first place, no matter who is the Titular. Hence the commemoration of the Blessed Trinity, if Titular of the church, would hold the first place in the Suffragia, except in the Ferial office, where it is always preceded by the commemoration of the Cross.¹

If the church have for Titular "All the Saints," the commemoration *Omnium Sanctorum* is to be made after that of the Apostles, SS. Peter and Paul,² as is clear from the *Officium parvum* of the Blessed Virgin.

In case a priest says a commemoration of the Titular of the church and of the patron of the place (and this is allowable, and even obligatory if there is a custom of doing so),³ and the saints are of the same order or rank, the precedence in the order of the Suffrages is to be given to the Titular of the church.⁴

We now come to the case of a priest who is "stricte adscriptus" to two churches.

What is he to do? Is he to commemorate in the *Suffragia* the Titulars of both churches, or of one only? and if of one only, is he free to choose either?

We believe that such a priest should commemorate the Titulars of both churches. He is obliged to recite the Office of the Titular of each⁵ as the feasts come round, and the obligations are correlative of celebrating the feast of the Titular, and of making the commemoration in the *Suffragio*.

As to the manner of making the commemoration. All understand that the commemoration consists at Lauds of the antiphon of the Benedictus, the versicle and response of Lauds, and the prayer; and at Vespers, of the antiphon of Magnificat, the versicle and response (both from *second Vespers*) and the prayer. This order might be disturbed owing to the occurrence or concurrence of Feasts. The

¹ De Herdt. Tom. ii., n. 369.

² GREGORIUS. lib. iii., cap. 17. 9, xi,

³ S. R. C. 7 June, 1721, (3947); 12 Sept. 1840, (4797); 27 Feb, 1847 (5078); 21 July, 1855 (5221).

⁴ De Herdt, Tom. ii., n. 257, 369.

⁵ S. R. C. 24th September, 1842 (4949); 2nd September, 1871 (5495); 28th September, 1872 (5519).

antiphons, &c., will be taken from the "Proper," if such are found there; and if not found in the "Proper," they are taken from the "Common."

In the prayer, we should change such words as *nativitatem, natalitia, solemnitatem, &c.*, into *commemorationem*; and also omit such words as *hunc, hodierna, annua dies, &c.*

R. B.

DOCUMENTS.

THE following Document contains important information regarding the causes which may be alleged, and the style which should be observed, in applying for Matrimonial Dispensations.

EX SACRA CONGREGATIONE DE PROP. FIDE. INSTRUCTIO SUPER DISPENSATIONIBUS MATRIMONIALIBUS.

Cum dispensatio sit iuris communis relaxatio cum causae cognitione, ab eo facta, qui habet potestatem, exploratum omnibus est dispensationes ab impedimentis matrimonialibus non esse indulgendas, nisi legitima et gravis causa interveniat. Quin imo facile quisque intelligit, tanto graviorem causam requiri, quanto gravior est impedimentum, quod nuptiis celebrandis opponitur. Verum haud raro ad S. Sedem perveniunt supplices literae pro impetranda aliqua huiusmodi dispensatione, quae nulla canonica ratione fulciuntur. Accidit etiam quandoque, ut in huiusmodi supplicationibus ea omittantur, quae necessario exprimi debent, ne dispensatio nullitatis vitio laboret. Idcirco opportunum visum est in praesenti Instructione paucis perstringere praecipuas illas causas, quae ad matrimoniales dispensationes obtinendas iuxta canonicas sanctiones et prudens ecclesiasticae provisionis arbitrium, pro sufficientibus haberi consueverunt; deinde ea indicare, quae in ipsa dispensatione petenda exprimere oportet.

Atque ut causis dispensationum exordium ducatur, operae pretium erit imprimis animadvertere, unam aliquando causam seorsim acceptam insufficientem esse, sed alteri adiunctam sufficientem existimari; nam quae non prosunt singula, multa iuvant, *arg* 1, 5, *C. de probat.* Huiusmodi autem causae sunt quae sequuntur:

1. *Angustia loci* sive absoluta sive relativa (ratione tantum oratricis), cum scilicet in loco originis, vel etiam domicilii cognatio foeminae ita sit propagata, ut alium paris conditionis, cui nubat, invenire nequeat, nisi consanguineum vel affinem, patriam vero deserere sit ei durum.

2. *Aetas foeminae superadulta*, si scilicet 24^m aetatis annum iam egressa hactenus virum paris conditionis, cui nubere possit,

non invenit. Haec vero causa haud suffragatur viduae, quae ad alias nuptias convolare cupiat.

3. *Deficientia aut incompetentia dotis*, si nempe foemina non habeat actu tantam dotem, ut extraneo aequalis conditionis, qui neque consanguineus neque affinis sit, nubere possit in proprio loco, in quo commoratur. Quae causa magis urget, si mulier penitus indotata existat, et consanguineus vel affinis eam in uxorem ducere, aut etiam convenienter ex integro dotare paratus sit.

4. *Lites super successione bonorum iam vel earumdem grave aut imminens periculum*. Si mulier gravem litem super successione bonorum magni momenti sustineat neque adest alius, qui litem huiusmodi in se suscipiat, propriisque expensis prosequatur, praeter illum qui ipsam in uxorem ducere cupit, dispensatio concedi solet; interest enim Reipublicae, ut lites extinguantur. Huic proxime accedit alia causa, scilicet *Dos litibus involuta*, cum nimirum mulier alio est destituta viro, cuius ope bona sua recuperare valeat. Verum huiusmodi causa nonnisi pro remotioribus gradibus sufficit.

5. *Paupertas viduae*, quae numerosa prole sit onerata, et vir eam alere polliceatur. Sed quandoque remedio dispensationis succurritur viduae ea tantum de causa, quod iunior sit, atque in periculo incontinentiae versetur.

6. *Bonum pacis*, quo nomine veniunt nedum foedera inter regna, et Principes, sed etiam extinctio gravium inimicitarum, rixarum, et odiorum civilium. Haec causa adducitur vel ad extinguendas graves inimicitias, quae inter contrahentium consanguineos vel affines ortae sint, quaeque matrimonii cèlebratione omnino componerentur; vel quando inter contrahentium consanguineos et affines inimicitiae graves viguerint, et, licet pax inter ipsas inita iam sit, celebratio tamen matrimonii ad ipsius pacis confirmationem maxime conduceret.

7. *Nimia, suspecta, periculosa familiaritas, nec non cohabitatio* sub eodem tecto, quae facile impediri non possit.

8. *Copula* cum consanguinea vel affine vel alia persona impedimento laborante praehabita, et *praegnantia ideoque legitimatio prolis*, ut nempe consulatur bono prolis ipsius, et honoris mulieris, quae secus innupta maneret. Haec profecto una est ex urgentioribus causis, ob quam etiam plebeis dari solet dispensatio, dummodo copula patrata non fuerit sub spe facilioris dispensationis: quae circumstantia in supplicatione foret exprimenda.

9. *Infamia mulieris*, ex suspitione orta, quod illa suo consanguineo aut affini nimis familiaris, cognita sit ab eodem, licet suspicio sit falsa, cum nempe nisi matrimonium contrahatur, mulier graviter diffamata, vel innupta remaneret, vel disparis conditionis viro nubere deberet, aut gravia damna orirentur.

10. *Revalidatio matrimonii*, quod bona fide et publice, servata Tridentini forma, contractum est: quia eius dissolutio vix fieri potest sine publico scandalo, et gravi damno, praesertim foeminae

c. 7, *de consanguin.* At si mala fide sponsi nuptias inierunt, gratiam dispensationis minime merentur, sic disponente Conc. Trid. Sess. XXIV. cap. V., *de Reform. matrim.*

11. *Periculum matrimonii mixti, vel coram acatholico ministro celebrandi.* Quando periculum adest, quod volentes matrimonium in aliquo etiam ex maioribus gradibus contrahere, ex denegatione dispensationis ad Ministrum acatholicum accedant pro nuptiis celebrandis sprete Ecclesiae auctoritate, iusta invenitur dispensandi causa, quia adest non modo gravissimum fide lium scandalum, sed etiam timor perversionis, et defectionis a fide taliter agentium, et matrimonii impedimenta contemnendum, maxime in regionibus, ubi haereses impune grassantur. Id docuit haec S. Congregatio in instructione die 17, Apr. 1820, ad Archiepiscopum Quebecensem data. Pariter cum Vicarius Apostolicus Bosniae postulasset, utrum dispensationem elargiri posset iis catholicis, qui nullum aliud praetextunt motivum quam vesanum amorem, et simul praevideatur, dispensatione denegata, eos coram iudice infideli coniugium fore inituros, S. Congregatio S. Officii in Fer. IV., 14, Aug. 1822 decrevit: "respondendum oratori, quod in exposito casu utatur facultatibus sibi in Norm. II., commissis, prout in Domino expedire indicaverit." Tantumdem dicendum de periculo, quod pars catholica cum acatholico Matrimonium celebrare audeat.

12. *Periculum incestuosi concubinatus.* Ex superius memorata instructione an. 1822 elucet, dispensationis remedium, ne quis in concubinato insordescat cum publico scandalo, atque evidenti aeternae salutis discrimine, adhibendum esse.

13. *Periculum matrimonii civilis.* Ex dictis consequitur, probabile periculum quod illi, qui dispensationem petunt, ea non obtenta, matrimonium dumtaxat civile, ut aiunt, celebraturi sint, esse legitimam dispensandi causam.

14. *Remotio gravium scandalorum.*

15. *Cessatio publici concubinatus.*

16. *Excellentia meritorum,* cum aliquis aut contra fidei catholicae hostes dimicatione aut liberalitate erga Ecclesiam, aut doctrinae virtute, aliove modo Religione sit optime meritus.

Haec sunt communiores, potioresque causae, quae ad matrimoniales dispensationes impetrandas adduci solent; de quibus copiose agunt theologi, ac sacrorum canonum interpretes.

Sed iam se convertit Instructio ad ea, quae praeter causas in literis supplicibus pro dispensatione obtinenda, de jure vel consuetudine, ex stylo curiae exprimenda sunt, ita ut si etiam ignoranter taceatur veritas, aut narretur falsitas, dispensatio nulla efficiatur. Haec autem sunt:

1. *Nomen et cognomen* Oratorum, utrumque distincte, ac nitide ac sine ulla literarum abbreviatione scribendum.

2. *Diocesis originis vel actualis domicilii.* Quando oratores habent domicilium extra diocesim originis, possunt, si velint,

petere, ut dispensatio mittatur ad Ordinarium dioecesis, in qua nunc habitant.

3. *Species etiam infima* impedimenti, an sit consanguinitas, vel affinitas, orta ex copula licita vel illicita; publica honestas originem ducens ex sponsalibus, vel matrimonio rato; in impedimento *criminis*, utrum provenierit ex conjugicidio cum promissione matrimonii, aut ex conjugicidio cum adulterio, vel ex solo adulterio cum promissione matrimonii; in cognatione spirituali, utrum sit inter levantem et levatum, vel inter levantem et levati parentem.

4. *Gradus consanguinitatis*, vel *affinitatis*, aut *honestatis* ex matrimonio rato, et an sit simplex, vel mixtus, non tantum remotior, sed etiam propinquior. uti et linea, an sit recta et transversa; item an Oratores sint conjuncti ex duplici vinculo consanguinitatis, tam ex parte patris, quam ex parte matris.

5. *Numerus impedimentorum* e. gr. si adsit duplex aut multiplex consanguinitas vel affinitas, vel si praeter cognationem adsit etiam affinitas, aut aliud quodcumque impedimentum sive dirimens, sive impediens.

6. *Variae circumstantiae*, scilicet an matrimonium sit contrahendum, vel contractum; si jam contractum, aperiri debet, an bona fide, saltem ex parte unius, vel cum scientia impedimenti; item an praemissis denuntiationibus, et juxta formam Tridentini; vel an spe facilius dispensationem obtinendi; demum an sit consummatum, si mala fide, saltem unius partis, seu cum scientia impedimenti.

7. *Copula incestuosa* habita inter sponsores ante dispensationis executionem, sive ante, sive post ejus impetrationem, sive intentione facilius dispensationem obtinendi, sive etiam seclusa tali intentione, et sive copula publice nota sit, sive etiam occulta. Si haec reticeantur, subreptitias esse et nullibi ac nullo modo valere dispensationes super quibuscumque gradibus prohibitis consanguinitatis, affinitatis, cognationis spiritualis, et legalia, nec non et publicae honestatis declaravit S. Congregatio S. Officii fer. IV., 1 Augusti, 1866. In petenda vero dispensationem super impedimento affinitatis primi vel secundi gradus lineae collateralis, si impedimentum nedum ex matrimonio consummato cum defuncto conjugis Oratoris vel Oratricis, sed etiam ex copula antematrimoniali seu fornicaria cum eodem defuncto ante initum cum ipso matrimonium patrata oriatur, necesse non est, ut mentio fiat hujusmodi illicitae copulae, quemadmodum patet ex responso S. Poenitentiariae diei 20 Martii 1842, probante S. M. Greg. XVI. ad Episcopum Namurcensem, quod generale esse, idem Tribunal literis diei 10 Decembris 1874 edixit.

Haec prae oculis habere debent non modo qui ad S. Sedem pro obtinenda aliqua matrimoniali dispensatione recurrunt, sed etiam qui ex pontificia delegatione dispensare per se ipsi valent, ut facultatibus, quibus pollent, rite, ut par est utantur.

Datum ex Aedibus S. C. de Prop. Fide die 9 Maii 1877.

II.

PERMISSION GRANTED TO ALL BISHOPS IN EUROPE TO PRO-
LONG THE TIME AVAILABLE FOR GAINING THE JUBILEE.

[Through the kindness of a Venerable Prelate to whom it was addressed, we are enabled to publish the following Document, which empowers the Bishops of Europe to prolong the time available for gaining the Jubilee to the 8th of December of the current year.—ED. I. E. R.]

Appropinquante termino extraordinarii Iubilaei a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Leone Papa XIII universo Catholico Orbi per Litteras—*Militans Iesu Christi Ecclesia*—die XII superioris Martii indicti, plures locorum in Europa Ordinarii preces eidem Sanctissimo Domino obtulerunt, petentes ipsius Iubilaei prorogationem, eam praecipue ob causam ut sacris Ecclesiae ministris tempus suppeteret varias et inter se dissitas ac plerumque asperas Dioecesium regiones lustrandi, et fideles, praesertim agricolas, ad salutarem gratiam et remissionem consequendam fructumque Iubilaei percipiendum verbi Dei praedicatione atque spiritualibus exercitiis opportune excitandi.

Quas quidem preces Sanctissimus Dominus benigne excipiens, huic Sacrae Poenitentiariae committere dignatus est ut locorum in Europa Ordinariis facultatem faceret prorogandi Iubilaeum usque ad diem octavum inclusive proximi mensis Decembris, Immaculae Deiparae semper Virgini sacrum.

Quare haec Sacra Poenitentiaria de expressa Apostolica auctoritate omnibus et singulis locorum in Europa Ordinariis facultatem concedit, qua praesens Iubilaeum in sua quisque Dioecesi et pro grege sibi commisso prorogare possint ac valeant usque ad diem octavum inclusive mensis Decembris vertentis anni, servata in reliquis omnibus forma ac tenore memoratarum Litterarum—*Militans Iesu Christi Ecclesia*—; contrariis quibuscumque, etiam speciali mentione dignis, non obstantibus.

Datum Romae in S. Poenitentiaria, die VII Septembris MDCCCLXXXI.

ALOISIUS CARD. BILIO, P.M.
HIPPOLYTUS CAN. PALOMBI S.P. Secretarius.

RESOLUTIONS OF THE IRISH BISHOPS ON THE LAND BILL OF 1881, EDUCATION, AND OTHER SUBJECTS (26TH APRIL, 1881; 28TH SEPTEMBER, 1881).

THE following are the Resolutions adopted by the Bishops assembled in Dublin on the 26th of April, and in Maynooth, on the 28th of September, of the present year. It is most desirable that easy access may be had at a future time to these important declarations.

I.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED ON THE 26TH APRIL, 1881.

"We, the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland, having individually and in General Meeting given to the Government Land Bill, now before Parliament, our most careful consideration, deem it our duty to declare that, whilst we recognise in its leading principles an honest and statesmanlike purpose of settling, on a solid and equitable basis, the relations of landlord and tenant in Ireland, we are convinced that to effect a permanent and satisfactory settlement of the land question, the following alterations in the details of the Bill are necessary :—

"1. That perpetuity of tenure should be granted not alone to all 'present tenants,' as in the Bill, but to future tenants also.

"2. That tenants holding under leases made since the passing of the Land Act of 1870, should have the right to submit them for revision to the Court, both as to amount of rent and other conditions.

"3. That the holders of existing leases should, on the expiration of such leases, become entitled to the protection given by the Bill to 'present tenants.'

"We are convinced that without the above amendments the Act will not give tenants that sense of security, which of all conditions is the most necessary, not only for the peace and contentment, but for the agricultural improvement and general prosperity of the country. Without security of tenure, the tenant will give neither labour nor capital to the soil: he will remain poor and discontented. On the other hand, a secure tenure, with the other helps provided in the Bill, will develop industry and enterprise, supply lucrative and healthful employment to the youth of Ireland generally, as well as to the labouring class, and will distribute over the country the population, now so inconveniently crowded in the poorest and most resourceless portions of the island.

"4. That the protection granted by the Bill should not be withheld from tenants now owing arrears of rent—a very numerous

class—but that the Court should be empowered to adjudicate on all such cases of arrears, with a view to their equitable adjustment in accordance with the principles of this Bill; and, further, to stay proceedings in evictions for non-payment of rent on such terms as under the circumstances of each case shall seem proper to the Court.

“ 5. That during the statutory term of a tenancy, the power of a landlord to resume possession, under the authority of the Court, should be strictly limited to cases of public necessity or utility.

“ 6. That whenever the landlord demands an increase of rent, which is refused by the tenant, the burthen of proving that the present rent is not a fair one should be cast upon the landlord.

“ 7. That the right of fining down rent on terms approved of by the court should be granted, if not to all tenants, at least to those holding from corporate bodies or from absentee landlords.

“ 8. That the grounds set forth in the Bill, on which a landlord may refuse to admit as tenant the purchaser of a holding—as well as the right of pre-emption conferred on the landlord—interfere seriously with the tenant's right of free sale.

“ 9. That we consider it to be harsh and inequitable that the mere vesting of a holding in a judgment creditor of the tenant (which may occur without any fault of the tenant beyond the incurring of a debt) should be deemed a breach of the statutory conditions, exposing the tenant to the loss of his holding.

“ 10. That in cases of eviction, from whatever cause, the same time should be allowed the tenant for the sale of his tenancy, as the Bill allows when eviction occurs for non-payment of rent.

“ 11. That tenants of large holdings should have the right, within limits to be approved of by the Court, to sell or transfer part of such holdings, whilst retaining the remainder in their own possession; also to bequeath such holdings in parts to more than one member of their family, or to such others as they may select; and that in cases of intestacy, a sale of the holding shall not be obligatory, if the Court deem it better there should be no sale.

“ We are convinced that the sub-division of extensive holdings within reasonable limits will, instead of impeding, largely promote the permanent improvement of land, and the general industry of the country; and we could not but regard as unjust any provision of the Act which would, without necessity, prevent parents from discharging their natural obligations towards their children.

“ 12. That the advances from the Treasury for purchasing land and fining down perpetuity rents, should be more liberal; and that the period for repayment of such loans should be extended to fifty-two years.

“ 13. That, considering the extensive and increasing demand for labour, which fixity of tenure, fair rents, the sub-division of large farms, and the reclamation of waste lands, are sure to create

in Ireland, we cannot but regard emigration, and every Government scheme, however well intended, that would encourage it, as highly detrimental to Irish interests.

" 14. That advances from the Treasury for the reclamation, drainage and other agricultural improvements of their farms, should be made directly to the tenants themselves.

" 15. That a comprehensive scheme for the purchase, reclamation, and partition of waste lands in Ireland, as well as for arterial drainage, should be added to the Land Bill, and such scheme to be carried out by the Government itself.

" 16. That no settlement of the land question can be deemed satisfactory or complete without an adequate provision being made therein for the improvement of the condition of our agricultural labourers.

" 17. That the final decision of land cases, with all the other powers vested by the Bill in the Land Commission, should not be given to a single Commissioner, much less to an Assistant Commissioner.

" 18. That, with a view to conciliate public confidence in the County Courts, as Land Courts, and to secure the equitable administration of the Act, two Assessors to be chosen by County Electors, should be associated with the County Court Judge, and have co-ordinate jurisdiction with him for the decision of land cases.

" We need not add, that in common with the whole tenant class of Ireland, we believe that the value of the Act, and of the amendments we recommend, will very largely, if not entirely, depend on the selection of the Commissioners, and on the establishment of suitable permanent rules for the discharge of their duties."

II.

RESOLUTIONS ADOPTED ON THE 28TH OF SEPTEMBER, 1881.

" Influenced by the same deep solicitude for the welfare of their flocks, which moved them at their general meeting in April to solicit the Government to amend the Land Bill which was then before Parliament, the Bishops of Ireland consider it their duty to declare at their present meeting that the new Land Act is a great benefit to the tenant class and a large instalment of justice, for which the gratitude of the country is due to Mr. Gladstone and his Government and to all who helped them to carry this measure through Parliament.

" The Bishops earnestly exhort their flocks to avail themselves of the advantages derivable from this Act, believing that, if rightly used, it will bring them present substantial benefit, and help them to obtain the other rights, social and political, which they justly claim.

" The Bishops would also urge the tenant-farmers to use the means provided in the Land Act, and every other means in their power, to improve the condition of the labouring class.

* "The Bishops avail themselves of this opportunity to call on their clergy to guard their flocks against all secret agencies of violence and intimidation, which can only come from the enemies of the people; and appeal to the laity to prove the love they bear their country and faith, by seconding the clergy in the suppression of all anti-social and anti-Catholic abuses, and also in removing, as far as it lies in each one's power, the stigma which our enemies have sought to cast upon the people, that they will not pay their just debts, when they are able to do so.

"The Bishops unite with the people in urging on the Government the release of those who are still imprisoned under the Peace Preservation Act, hoping that such a measure will contribute not a little to the peace of the country.

"The Bishops, informed of the false reports, which appear to be industriously circulated, of an alleged change of relations between the Catholic Clergy of Ireland and the Queen's Colleges, do hereby in the discharge of their sacred office warn their flocks that the Queen's Colleges are still as much as ever intrinsically dangerous to faith and morals, and are still under the ban of the Church; that Catholic parents should not send their sons to these condemned institutions, nor Catholic young men receive instruction in them; and that although Catholics may henceforth be examined and receive degrees in the new Royal University, they are not allowed to study in Queen's Colleges to prepare for those degrees and examinations. For this they have effective means provided for them in the Catholic schools and colleges throughout the country, which has been proved in a remarkable manner in the Intermediate Examinations; and in the Catholic University, Dublin, whose eminent professors and tutors teach every branch of learning, including the curriculum of the Royal University, and will prepare students for all University degrees and prizes.

"The Bishops again appeal to the Government in the name of the Catholics of Ireland to establish equality as to state grants and endowments between Catholic and non-Catholic institutions of higher education, either by disendowing the latter, or by conferring equal endowments on the other. This claim applies chiefly to public endowments still enjoyed by the Queen's Colleges, Trinity College, and the Royal Schools.

"They urgently call for a removal of the grievance so long suffered by Catholics in connection with the National system of education, and claim—

"Firstly—That grants be made by the Treasury for the training of Catholic teachers in denominational training schools.

"Secondly.—That the average attendance in schools, required for the appointment of assistant teachers, be brought back from 70 to 50.

"Thirdly—That grants and fees be henceforth paid to convent

schools, on a scale which will allow for each child educated therein the average amount received by first class female secular teachers for the children of their schools.

“Fourthly—That the rule excluding teachers who are members of religious communities of men from receiving grants from the Board, be rescinded, and that the money grants to their schools be, as in the case of convent schools, equal to those given to secular teachers.

“Fifthly—That loans for the erection of school-houses be given henceforth on conditions similar to those upon which grants are given for the building of teachers’ residences.

“Sixthly—That the district model schools, against which the Bishops and Catholics of Ireland have so often recorded their conscientious objection, and which, as regards education, have been officially declared to be a failure, be discontinued.”

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Sacred Ceremonies of Low Mass, according to the Roman Rite.

From the stereotyped Roman Edition, corrected and enlarged, by a Priest of the Congregation of the Mission. Edited, with additions and notes, and harmonised with the latest Decrees, by a Priest of the same Congregation. Dublin: Browne & Nolan.

It was only last month that attention was called in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD to a work of great intrinsic merit and practical usefulness, just published by a distinguished member of the Congregation of St. Vincent. We allude to the “Programmes of Sermons.” This month we are enabled to enjoy the renewal of the pleasure of introducing to the notice of the clergy generally, and of the younger clergy and ecclesiastical students in particular, another new book by a different member of the same Congregation, which, in its sphere, is as excellent and as practically useful as the *Programmes*.

This new book is a Treatise on the Ceremonies of Low Mass. We use the designation *Low Mass* in its widest meaning, to include the ordinary Low Mass, the Mass for the Dead, Mass in presence of Prelates, Votive Masses, the Low Mass of Bishops, and Mass in presence of the Blessed Sacrament exposed.

It will not take from the merit of the work in the eyes of those for whom it is intended, to know that it is a translation from the Italian. Quite the contrary. Considering the subject of which it treats, we are sure that all will view in the light of a very high recommendation the fact that the original was written and pub-

lished in Rome, *in lumine urbis*, and continues to be used as the recognized text book by practically all the young priests who are ordained in the Eternal City. "Previous to entering on my task," writes the translator and editor in his preface, "I provided myself with the Treatise most recommended in Rome: it is a work published in Italian at Rome and Turin, in 1868, and at Turin again in 1878. It is adopted by St. Vincent's Missioners at Monte Citorio, in Rome, as the book best suited for conveying a full and accurate knowledge of the Ceremonies of Low Mass. Its adoption by them is peculiarly significant, inasmuch as it is their duty to conduct the Ordination Retreats, and to *train in the ceremonies of Mass all who receive Holy Orders in Rome*, excepting the few who, by special dispensation, are permitted to make these Retreats elsewhere." This rule requiring that no priest should be ordained in Rome until he had made a Retreat of ten days in a House of the Vincentian or Lazarist Fathers, and had obtained from them a certificate of his familiarity with the ceremonies prescribed for the Holy Sacrifice, is commonly said to owe its origin to the following incident. Once a Protestant Bishop came to Rome with the intention of submitting to the Catholic Church. But before he had made his abjuration, he chanced to be present at Mass celebrated by a priest who was not duly instructed in the sacred ceremonies. The carelessness and irreverence exhibited made so great an impression upon the Cathecumen, that he changed his mind, and leaving Rome, lived and died in his heretical communion.

This book has already appeared in English, but the translation was made from a much earlier and much less perfect edition. Speaking of this the editor writes: "The work, which is now offered to English-speaking ecclesiastics, replaced many years ago at Monte Citorio a similar but less complete treatise, which had been published in Italian at Bologna in 1846, and was translated into English, and edited at St. Beuno's, North Wales, some years ago."

As to the manner in which the task of translation into English has been performed, it would be little short of presumption on our part to commend it. Though the translator's name does not appear on the title page, it is no secret that he is the distinguished president of one of our important Intermediate Colleges, and his name is an ample guarantee that the translation has been accurately and elegantly made.

With facts like these for an introduction, it is needless to say that the treatise is accurate—in strict accordance with the Rubrics, the latest decisions of the Congregation of Rites, and the best Roman customs. It is indeed a standard book on the subject.

We have said that the ceremonies of the various kinds of Low Mass form the subject matter of the book. This, however, is a very imperfect description of the contents. We must remember that it not only tells us what to do, but also explains, with admir-

able clearness and conciseness, how we are to perform the various actions prescribed. Though we are familiar with most of the best books on Church Ceremonial, such as Le Vavasseur, De Herdt, and Martinucci, we have met with none better on the ceremonies of the Mass than the treatise of which we write. Occasionally it differs from one or other of those authors as to the interpretation of a Rubric, or on matters regarding which we have no Rubric or decision of the Congregation; but on such occasions it is satisfactory to get, as we do in this Treatise, the reasons why the opinion adopted is preferred. The omission of such reasons in the case of Martinucci's great work, is at least unsatisfactory.

The editor has added notes wherever needed, and also two appendices, in which he has collected very useful instructions on practical matters. Thus the first appendix contains instructions as to what a priest is to do when he says two Masses on the same day in the same or different churches, instructions on the three Masses of Christmas Day, and on the method of assisting a young priest at his first Mass. In the second appendix we have the chapter "De Defectibus Missae," from the Missal Rubrics, and the "Missal Prayers" before and after Mass.

We should add that the body of the work contains a full and complete exposition of the manner of administering the Blessed Eucharist.

We anticipate for this book a wide circulation, for it deserves it. In our colleges it will soon become a sort of *vade mecum* with our advanced students, who are preparing for ordination; and we believe that many priests on the Mission, influenced by their reverence for the Holy Mass, will procure it for themselves, in order from time to time to examine in the light of this standard book on the subject, whether they are observing those sacred ceremonies which cannot be omitted or mutilated, *etiam in minimis*, without sin.

The book is well brought out, indeed in quite an elegant form; and we have read it through without noticing a typographical error.

We heartily congratulate the Very Rev. Translator on the good work he has done in thus contributing to the more accurate knowledge, and the more becoming celebration, of the ceremonies of the Holy Mass.

R. B.

Dissertationes Selectae in Historiam Ecclesiasticam. Auctore
BERNARDO JUNGMAUN, Tomus Secundus.

When recently¹ noticing the First Volume of Dr. Jungmann's Select Dissertations on Ecclesiastical History, we felt it necessary to introduce the Author to some at least of our readers by mentioning the position he fills, stating his claims to be regarded as a trusty guide, laying down the aim and scope of his work, and

¹ See the IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, October, 1880.

enumerating the important questions he discussed. We may therefore assume that Dr. Jungmann is not quite a stranger, that the Second Volume of his Series of Dissertations is to be taken as coming from a friend whose fresh contributions to Ecclesiastical Literature we shall be ever but too happy to receive, and proceed at once to show that the expectations awakened by the first instalment of his work are, upon perusal of the second, proved to be not illusive.

We begin by observing that in forming our estimate of these Dissertations we must guard ourselves against the impression that they are select, in the sense of being prepared for select readers only. They are rather mainly designed for students who, for the most part, must be content with an elementary course of Church History. To such students they furnish more accurate and extensive information on large and much debated questions, than can be found in the crowded pages of compendiums of History. They are selected gifts, offered to those who come to the shrine but cannot enter into the sanctuary; gifts, that is, given by one who has had the leisure and the opportunity of going up to the great sources of the knowledge of the past, and the capacity of using these sources to advantage.

We proceed now to enumerate the subjects of which Dr. Jungmann treats in the volume before us. In the first Dissertation the growth of Arianism and the alleged fall of Pope Liberius are subjected to a very careful examination. Here is a topic to test the powers of the Essayist. In this admirable specimen of his work, it is worth observing how he carries on his investigation of a theme of great importance as well as of great intricacy. The best sources are indicated; the leading opinions are stated, the arguments sifted, and definite conclusions established. And all this with the freedom, freshness and vigour of one who, after hearing and weighing what others have to say, knows how to form an independent judgment on the gravest questions. How Arianism, struck down by the condemnation of the three hundred and eighteen Fathers at Nicaea, who, witnessing to what was "*ubique semper et ab omnibus creditum*," declared the Word Incarnate consubstantial with the Father, raised and improved its position and spread as a leprosy among the churches, is described in a way that supplies us with a new clue to this confessedly involved chapter and deep maze of Church History. Yet this careful treatment is but a prelude to the main point discussed in the Dissertation—the alleged fall of Liberius. At this stage he sets forth the various opinions held with regard to Liberius by writers of different schools and creeds: of Blondel and Basnage, who contend that Liberius subscribed the second Formulary of Sirmium, which distinctly propounds the heresy of Arius; of Bossuet and La Luzerne, who assert that by subscribing the First Sirmian Formulary he Arianized; of Natalis Alexander and Baronius, who admit that

he subscribed that First Formulary, but did not thereby fall into any error; of Tillemont, who hesitates about the Formulary subscribed, but inclines to the First; of Pagi and Valesius, who say that the Third Formulary of Sirmium was that which Liberius subscribed. Then follow the views of Döllinger and Möhler. Next in order Corgne, Orsi, Stilting, Ballerini, Zaccaria, Palmar, Dumont, Reinerding, Scheemann, Wouters and others are referred to as vindicating Liberius from the charges of pusillanimity and betrayal of the Faith, and denying the allegation that he subscribed some one of the Sirmian Formularies. Finally, reference is made to many writers who leave the question in doubt.

Dr. Jungmann then goes on to analyze the arguments for and against the condemnation of Liberius, and, after an exhaustive inquiry, infers that the fall of that Pope is a fiction, that he was neither a heretic nor an abettor of heresy, that he never signed any Sirmian Formulary or any other instrument in which the Nicene *ὁμολούσιος* was suppressed, that he did not condemn S. Athanasius nor hold communion with Arius. Even had Liberius, he remarks, condemned Athanasius and communicated with Arius, it would by no means follow that he had abandoned the Faith. Athanasius, hated and persecuted by his enemies on account of his strenuous defence of the Nicene Creed, was never charged by them with such conduct as an offence, but with other and various false accusations. To have condemned him on such charges would have been an act of injustice, not a denial of the Faith. Nor would communion with Arians have involved of necessity a giving up of the Nicene Creed, since, as many of the Eusebian party were believed to have held true doctrine whilst disputing about words, communion with such men {would not imply an approval of heresy. If, indeed, Liberius had signed the First Sirmian Formulary, or that instrument of which Sozomen makes mention, he gave up the word adopted by the Nicene Synod, but admitted no heresy, as no heresy was contained in these formularies. But, assuming that Liberius had, yielding to menaces, subscribed the Second and explicitly heretical Formulary of Sirmium, and held communion with open Arius, his fall, however to be deplored, could in no sense be construed as an *ex-cathedra* erroneous pronouncement on Faith. This sample of Dr. Jungmann's mode of dealing with his subject will, apart from the interest of the question treated of, enable the readers of this paper to appreciate the merits of his excellent Dissertations.

As we are writing not a Review, but a Notice of this volume, we must be content with merely directing attention to the Second Dissertation, "on the Decline of Arianism and on the First General Council of Constantinople;" to the Third, which treats of the Office of Penitentiary Priest abolished by Nectarius; to the Fourth, "on the Roman Pontiffs of the close of the fourth century and of the Council of Ephesus;" to the Fifth, "on the Council

of Chalcedon : " to the Sixth, " on the Three Chapters and Second General Council of Constantinople."

On the Seventh Dissertation, which deals with the famous Honorius controversy, we shall dwell a little. The heresy of the Monothelites was condemned in A.D. 680-1 by the Sixth General Council and Third of Constantinople, which defined that in Jesus Christ there are two natural wills and two natural operations: δύο φνσικὰ θελήματὰ τε καὶ ἐνεργείας δοξάζομεν πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους καταλλήλων συντρέχοντα. In the censures inflicted by the Council upon the authors and abettors of Monothelism of Pope Honorius (625-38) is found with those of Sergius, the name Paul, Pyrrhus, Peter, Cyrus, and Theodore. Protestant historians have asserted, and persist in asserting, that Honorius taught the heresy of the Monothelites, and was condemned as a heretic in the strictest sense of the term. Many Gallicans, who impugned Papal Infallibility before the promulgation of the Vatican Decrees, drew their palmary argument from the condemnation of Honorius, for having, as they contended, propounded *ex-cathedra* heretical doctrine. Though the controversy regarding Honorius has lost much of its interest and importance by the Definition of the Vatican Council on the Infallibility of the Pope, the Dissertation under consideration possesses great historical and polemical value. The issues relating to the genuineness of the Letters of Honorius to Sergius, to their doctrinal teaching, to their claim to be regarded as *ex-cathedra* definitions, to the sense in which Honorius was condemned as a heretic, are keenly discussed at large by Dr. Jungmann. Those who have had the advantage of studying the Honorius controversy in Dr. Murray's "Tractatus de Ecclesia Christi," Tom. iii. p. 800-8, will, in perusing Dr. Jungmann's Dissertation on the same subject, be gratified at finding how well the just views of the theologian are supported by the historian. And this is but one of the innumerable cases in which the Queen of Sciences is indebted to the learning and patient research of men who, like Dr. Jungmann, have enriched and will continue to enrich our ecclesiastical literature with accurate and solid Dissertations.

D. G.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
Censor Dep.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

NOVEMBER, 1881.

ON THE EXAMINATIONS OF THE INTERMEDIATE EDUCATION BOARD.¹

WITHIN the last few years we have been committed, in Ireland, for better for worse, to a system of examinations which practically controls the whole intermediate education of the country. It seems to me, therefore, fitting, that a Social Science Congress, meeting in the chief city of Ireland, should devote some portion of its time to consider the action of this system, and its value as an aid to education. I may say too, that this question has a very special interest at the present moment, because a similar system of examinations is on the point of being set up amongst us in regard to University education, which must exercise a large influence on the extension and development of higher studies.

Nor is the interest in this matter confined to those who are connected with education in Ireland. Our visitors from England and Scotland will not be unwilling, I think, to learn something about the working of a system which seems to be peculiarly a growth of the present age, and which has a more comprehensive scope than any corresponding system existing among themselves; while we, on the other hand, may hope to gather much benefit from their independent and enlightened criticism.

In bringing the subject before you, I may briefly state that the Intermediate Education Act was passed in the year 1878. The object of the Act was to promote intermediate

¹ A paper read at the meeting of the Social Science Congress in Dublin, October, 1881, by the Rev. GERALD MOLLOY, D.D.

secular education in Ireland by a system of prizes and exhibitions offered to students of distinguished merit, and by a system of result fees payable to the managers of successful schools. For this purpose a sum of one million sterling, yielding an annual income of about £33,000, was placed at the disposal of a board consisting of seven members, nominated by the Lord Lieutenant. It was provided that this board should every year hold examinations extending over a course of three years. Students under sixteen years of age were declared eligible for examination in the first year's course, which has since come to be called the junior grade; students under seventeen, in the second year's course, now known as the middle grade; and students under eighteen, in the third year's course, or senior grade. A programme was to be published every year setting forth, for the information of intending candidates, the subjects and the authors in which the examination of each grade would be held.

It was further provided that exhibitions of £20 a year, tenable for three years, should be awarded to students obtaining the highest places in the junior grade; exhibitions of £30 a year, tenable for two years, to students obtaining the highest places in the middle grade; and prizes of £50 to students obtaining the highest places in the senior grade.

To retain an exhibition after the first year the candidate should pass, in each subsequent year for which the exhibition lasted, a qualifying examination, the conditions of which were set forth, and were by no means severe. The number of exhibitions and of £50 prizes to be awarded in each grade was fixed at one-tenth of the number of students who should pass in that grade in at least three divisions. A division comprised some complete and substantial portion of the course, such as Greek, or Latin, or English, or Mathematics, or Natural Science. To stimulate the exertions of less distinguished students, it was declared that medals and minor prizes of books might be awarded to students of merit who should fail to gain an exhibition. Lastly, results' fees were to be paid to the Managers of schools for every pupil they sent up who passed in at least two divisions. The amount of these fees was fixed in the Act, and varied according to the acquirements of the candidates, ranging from £3 to £10 for each successful student. I should observe, perhaps, that power was given to the board to alter and amend these provisions as they should think fit, subject, however, to the control of Parliament.

You will see at once, I think, that the working of this scheme, whether for good or evil, must depend very much on the character of the programme under which the examinations are conducted. This programme is not designed merely for the purpose of picking out a few clever boys for prizes and exhibitions. It practically guides and controls the whole system of secondary education in Ireland. The course of study followed throughout the country in each branch of learning is the course set forth in the programme; the methods of study pursued are those which are judged best fitted to gain the passes, prizes, and exhibitions offered in the programme, and the standard by which every school is judged is the success attained by its students when examined under the programme. I propose, therefore, at the outset, to give you some idea of the spirit and general character of this programme of examinations.

Three leading principles, as it seems to me, have prevailed in the construction of the programme, and have determined its character. The first is, that every branch of learning should find a place in it, which might reasonably form a part of the studies pursued in any intermediate school; the second, that no one branch of learning should be favoured at the expense of others; and the third, that thoroughness of knowledge should be encouraged, as distinguished from a superficial smattering. Perhaps I should say here that, although I speak as one who had a share in drawing up the programme, I do not intend in any way to commit my colleagues to the views I am now putting forward. When I speak of these three fundamental principles I only mean to convey that I was myself influenced by them, and that I believe they found expression in the programme as it was eventually issued by the board.

The ground on which the first principle rests is, I think, very obvious. The benefits of the Intermediate Education Act were intended for all intermediate schools and scholars: all have an equal right to share in the rewards and prizes of the Act. Now, different schools have different courses of study; one course is designed mainly to prepare boys for a University career, or for the learned professions; another, to prepare boys for a commercial life; another, again, to prepare boys for the various departments of public service. And it is clear that if a substantial portion of any one course were omitted from the programme of examinations, the students following that particular course would be placed at a disadvantage as compared with their competitors.

The second principle, which lays down that no particular subjects of study should be specially favoured by the programme, is much more open to difference of opinion. At first sight, I have no doubt, many will argue that it is desirable to foster, in a special manner, those studies that are best calculated to train and develop the faculties of the mind; while those studies which are less fitted for this purpose should receive proportionately less encouragement. I admit the justice of this view; but I contend that the duty of selecting the subjects to be specially encouraged ought not to be undertaken by the Intermediate Education Board. The subjects deserving to be selected for special encouragement are not the same in all cases, but must depend, in some degree, on the particular career in life for which a boy is intended. Therefore the duty of making the selection properly belongs to the heads of schools, and can be adequately fulfilled by them alone. What seems to me, then, most desirable is, that the heads of schools should be left perfectly free to choose, in each case, that course of studies which, in their judgment, will most effectively conduce to the educational interests of the boys entrusted to their care. And this freedom is best secured under a programme of examinations in which no subject is specially favoured, and none is placed at a disadvantage.

If we accept this principle, it by no means follows that the same number of marks should be assigned to every subject; because some subjects are more difficult and require longer study than others. What follows is precisely this, that the marks assigned to each subject should be proportioned to its difficulty, and to the time necessary for learning it. If this be done the heads of schools will be left free to select the studies best suited to their own boys; because they will know that the industry and talent devoted to them will be fairly recognised and rewarded.

It may be said, perhaps, that the rule here laid down is one very easy to set forth in theory, but very difficult to carry out in practice. I admit that it cannot be put in practice with anything like mathematical accuracy. But if my argument is a good one, the rule gives us a true conception of what we ought to aim at; and I believe it is quite possible, aided as we now are by a large experience, which is every year increasing, to approximate to this ideal quite sufficiently for all practical purposes.

The third great principle aimed at in this programme is that thoroughness of knowledge should be encouraged in a

moderate number of subjects, rather than a superficial acquaintance with a large number. This principle was considered of especial importance in the case of clever students. Dull boys will naturally be restricted to a small number of subjects by reason of their limited abilities: but it was feared that clever boys would be tempted to take up an unduly large number, in the hope of winning an exhibition by obtaining some marks in all of them. The plan adopted to check this tendency was very simple and, I think, excellent in principle. It was resolved to award the exhibitions to these students who should obtain the highest total aggregate of marks made up in the following way: the marks obtained in each subject should first be reduced by 20 per cent. of the maximum assigned to that subject, and the numbers, thus reduced, should be added up to make the total aggregate. For example, the maximum assigned to Greek was 1,000; 20 per cent. on 1,000 is 200: this number, therefore, should be deducted from the marks obtained by each candidate in Greek, and only the remainder should be put to his credit, in that subject, for the purpose of an exhibition. Thus if one student got 600 and another 300, the former would have 400 to go to his credit for an exhibition, and the latter only 100. The idea that underlies this rule is that 20 per cent. of the maximum assigned to a subject represents only a smattering knowledge, which should count for nothing towards an exhibition.

Another provision has recently been adopted by the Board with a view to encourage thoroughness of study, which seems to call for a passing word of commendation. According to this provision a gold or silver medal is awarded to every student in each grade who obtains the highest marks in any one subject. This honourable distinction, while it leaves the candidates free in the choice of subjects, furnishes to them a strong inducement to study thoroughly the subjects selected. Furthermore, these medals will be trophies of honour not to the successful candidates only, but also to the schools in which they have pursued their studies. Every school will strive to carry off as many such trophies as possible; and thus an impulse will be given in all schools to thoroughness of teaching in every subject.

Having thus sketched in outline the chief features of the system of examinations established by the Intermediate Education Board, I shall now proceed to consider whether it is a system calculated to promote the interests of educa-

tion in Ireland. Before entering on this question, it may be well to lay down distinctly what I regard as the chief aim and scope of all good education : for this, I think, must be the basis of our discussion. The aim and scope of education, as it seems to me, is twofold; to train and develop the faculties of the mind, and, at the same time, to lay up useful stores of knowledge. Any system of education must be considered imperfect which keeps in view one only of these two functions, and neglects the other. I would observe, however, that they are not so independent of each other as some writers seem to imply. It is impossible to train the faculties of the mind without imparting some kind of knowledge; and it is impossible to lay up stores of knowledge without training, to some extent, the faculties of the mind.

But the question arises, which of these two functions is the more important? Which should be the primary end of education? I have no hesitation in expressing my own opinion that it is more important to train the faculties than to accumulate knowledge. Both ends, as I have said, may be pursued together: but the acquisition of learning ought to be made subservient to the cultivation of the mental powers. The reason, I think, is sufficiently plain. A man whose faculties have been well cultivated in youth, has within him a power, not only to use well the knowledge he has acquired in his early studies, but to extend that knowledge in whatever direction he pleases: whereas if his faculties have been but little cultivated, his stores of learning, however laboriously they have been piled together, will remain comparatively useless.

The ideal, then, of a good system of education, is one in which the acquisition of knowledge is made the means of training and developing the faculties of the mind. Now, the general tendency of competitive examinations is, I fear, to fix the attention of teachers and students, almost exclusively, on the acquisition of knowledge, and to offer but scant encouragement for the cultivation of the mental faculties. It is easy enough to make an examination paper a test of knowledge; but it requires skill and experience to make it a test of good training. Hence I cannot help thinking that the great development of competitive examinations in recent years has exercised, in this respect, a somewhat unfavourable influence on the progress of good education. The gathering together of information in a certain variety of subjects, has come to be looked on as

the one thing necessary, and intellectual training has been comparatively neglected. Nevertheless, I hope to show you that this evil, though it is more or less inherent in every system of competitive examinations, is reduced to very small dimensions in the examinations held under the Intermediate Education Board.

First, I would remind you that a very large majority of the candidates under this system—I believe more than three-fourths—are prepared in schools and colleges. Now the head master of a school holds a position towards his scholars very different from that of a grinder towards his pupils. The grinder does not profess to do anything more than prepare each individual pupil for a certain definite examination, and to do his best to make him pass it. A head master, on the other hand, undertakes the whole moral and intellectual training of the boys entrusted to him. He is responsible, therefore, to the parents of the boys, not only that they shall be well prepared for their examinations, but that they shall be well educated; and he knows that the good repute of his school must depend, in the long run, on the success with which this responsibility is fulfilled.

But there is another, and perhaps a stronger influence at work, in collegiate education, in favour of intellectual training. This influence consists in the academical life of the school itself: the common interest in common studies, the intercourse of mind with mind, the daily observation of failure and success, the constant process almost unconsciously carried on, of measuring one's own powers and faculties now against those of one competitor, now against those of another; these and a hundred other subtle forces, always present in collegiate life, contribute, quite as much as rules and systems, to cultivate the faculties and to mature the powers of the mind.

Again, it must be remembered that the programme of the Intermediate Education Board sets forth a long and graduated course of studies, extending over a period of several years. A master, working under this system, has to look at each examination, not as a thing by itself, but as a part of a complete course, through each stage of which his boys will have to pass. Now, I think every experienced teacher must feel that the better he trains his boys in preparing them for each examination, the better fitted they will be to advance to the higher work that lies beyond; and thus he has a direct inducement, under this system, not only to teach them what is necessary for passing the

examination immediately impending, but to cultivate as well their mental powers. The boys, on the other hand, cannot look on the knowledge they have acquired simply as a burden laid upon their memories, to be borne up to a certain day, and then to be thrown aside for ever. They will be taught, under this system, that the knowledge they are pursuing in their daily studies is necessary for their future success, that they must try to retain a firm grasp of it, to digest and assimilate it, and so to build it up into the structure of their own minds. Now, I am inclined to think that knowledge steadily accumulated from year to year, according to these conditions, in a well-chosen course of study, involves a very useful kind of mental training. In fact, it would seem that the system of the Intermediate Education Board does not differ very widely from the system long established in most public schools both in England and in Ireland. In both systems there is a regular course of study, extending over several years; in both the progress of the boys, in the course marked out, is tested by periodical examinations. The only difference is that, in the one case the examiners come from within the school, in the other they come from without.

Lastly, much may be done to counteract the evil tendency of examinations, by the skill and judgment of examiners. I have said that it is more difficult to test by examinations how far a boy's faculties have been well-trained, than to find out how much he has learned; but I do not think it is at all impossible to make an examination a test of general training, as well as a test of knowledge. Some subjects lend themselves very readily to this kind of test; for example, English composition, history, translation from one language into another. In mathematics, too, an examination properly conducted furnishes a very perfect test of one peculiar kind of intellectual power. And in the natural sciences a favourable opportunity is afforded for testing the power of inductive reasoning, the power of clear and luminous exposition, the power of quick and accurate observation. Let it be once distinctly understood that in estimating the value of a candidate's paper account will be taken, not merely of the knowledge that is exhibited, but also of the manner in which that knowledge is handled, and of the style in which it is set forth, and I believe the dangerous tendency which I have been discussing will be very greatly diminished.

So far I have endeavoured to show that the system of

intermediate examinations established amongst us is free, in great measure, from the objection that may be justly urged, as I think, against the general character of public competitive examinations. I would now briefly notice the signal advantages which, as it seems to me, this system has conferred upon secondary education in Ireland. The first and most obvious advantage is the impulse it has given to it in every part of the country. The exhibitions and prizes offered to competition tend to make boys work with energy and perseverance; while the results' fees paid to successful schools tend to make masters teach efficiently. It may be observed, too, that the influence of these rewards reaches far beyond their money value. A boy who has won an exhibition has already made a name for himself in the world, and has entered on a path in which he need but persevere steadily, and a successful career lies before him : in like manner a school which produces year by year a large number of successful pupils, achieves a reputation which, even from a money point of view, is of more value than the fees it has earned. I am willing to admit, indeed, that these examinations do not furnish an ideally perfect standard by which to measure the merits of the scholar or of the school; but what I claim is, that they furnish a moderately good standard where no standard existed before, and that this standard has the great recommendation of being perfectly impartial.

The next advantage is that this system encourages, in a special way, the heads of schools to provide a careful and exact training for boys of only moderate abilities. Parents often complain that in schools generally the masters devote undue attention to clever boys, while boys of average merit are comparatively neglected; and the natural tendency of competitive examinations is rather to increase this evil; for in competitive examinations, as a rule, the clever boys are rewarded, and all the rest are ignored. But it is not so under the system we are now considering. Results' fees are paid to each school, not in proportion to the exhibitions and prizes it has gained, but in proportion to the number of its pupils who have passed such an examination as every boy of average ability, if well educated, ought to be able to pass. Thus the heads of schools have, under this system, a special inducement, both for the sake of the results' fees which they gain, and still more, for the sake of their own reputation, to devote the same care and zeal to the ordinary run of boys as they have been

accustomed to devote to a few boys of exceptional abilities.

A third advantage of the system is that it assists a clever boy, by means of the exhibitions and prizes which it offers, to pay for his education, and to open for himself a career in life. There are high authorities, I believe, who doubt whether it is desirable, by the agency of money rewards—or bribes, as some unfavourable critics have called them—to induce boys to aim at a high standard of education, and to aspire after a career which would seem to be placed beyond their reach by the circumstances of their birth. This is a large question on which I do not mean to enter just now, though I may be allowed, in passing, to express my own opinion that if the education be good of its kind, and if it be tempered with high moral principles, we can hardly have too much of it. But the practical question is not, what is good in the abstract, but what is good for us now, in this country. And on this question I really think there is no room for difference of opinion. Ireland has unfortunately few manufactures to give scope to the energy and talent of her sons ; her trade is limited, and the opening to a commercial life is reserved to a favoured few ; agricultural pursuits are closed to a large proportion of the population ; the learned professions are blocked by the multitude of youthful candidates. But the honourable career of Science and Letters is practically unbounded, and is still but scantily occupied : and that is the career which, under the beneficent action of this system, is fairly brought within the reach of all who are fitted, by their natural gifts, to enter upon it with distinction.

Every human work is in some degree imperfect ; and the examinations of the Intermediate Education Board are no exception to this general rule. It remains for me, then, to call attention to the defects which, as I think, can be observed in the working of this system, and to consider to what extent they admit of a remedy. First, I may notice that no recognition is given to a conversational knowledge of modern languages, nor to vocal and instrumental music. This is much to be regretted, but it seems almost inevitable. The system is so constructed that every examination for which a candidate presents himself is practically a part of a great competitive trial ; because the marks obtained in each subject help to swell the total aggregate according to which the exhibitions are awarded. Now it is not easy to see how a competitive examination can be conducted at

150 different centres in such subjects as vocal and instrumental music, or the conversational knowledge of modern languages. If the examinations were held on the same day in all the centres, the number of examiners required would be very great, the expense would be therefore excessive, and there would be, in addition, this great inconvenience, that the different examiners would most probably estimate the merits of the candidates according to widely different standards. If, on the other hand, the examinations were held successively at the different centres, they would extend over a considerable period of time, and there would be great difficulty and expense in bringing the candidates together. I confess I see no adequate remedy for this defect, which seems inherent in the system; and I only mention it for the purpose of fixing attention upon it, and in the hope that as time goes on, some partial remedy, at least, may be discovered.

Similar to this is another defect, of much wider range, and, as many will think, of far more serious importance. Every kind of *viva voce* examination is excluded from this system. I freely admit that this is a defect: and I equally recognise that it cannot be removed. Nevertheless, I do not think that it mars, to any serious extent, the great benefits which have been conferred by the Intermediate Education Act. The advantages of *viva voce* examination I conceive to be twofold. First, it enables an examiner to search into the thoroughness of a boy's knowledge, and it brings out certain faculties of a boy's mind which cannot be so well displayed by means of a written paper. Secondly, it stimulates, in a peculiar way, a boy's mental faculties, and trains him in a particularly useful kind of intellectual exercise. In the first respect a *viva voce* examination is a *test* of education; in the second respect, it is a *means* of education. Now it is important to observe that there is nothing in the Intermediate Examination system to interfere with *viva voce* examination as a *means* of education. No doubt this particular kind of exercise is wanting in the annual examinations held by the Board. But it may be found, and ought to be found, in the work of the school from day to day, in the monthly revisions, and in the periodical examinations, by which the progress of the boys is tested and their industry stimulated. Hence the defect in question amounts to little more than this, that the Intermediate Examinations, considered as a method of testing the merits of candidates, are wanting in one element

which would be necessary for ideal perfection; that examiners may be sometimes mistaken in their judgment, and that some boys might stand a little higher on the lists, others a little lower, if the system of written papers could have been supplemented by *viva voce* examination. Viewed in this light the want of *viva voce* examination, though certainly to be regretted, can hardly be regarded as an evil of very serious magnitude.

A third defect that seems to call for notice is one which happily admits of easy remedy. Good penmanship is not in any way rewarded, or even recognised, under this system. Now, it will hardly be denied that good penmanship is an element of some importance in secondary education; and there is little doubt that it will be generally neglected if it continue to be ignored in the Intermediate Examinations. I would propose, then, that a certain proportion of marks should be assigned, in every paper, to the penmanship and general neatness displayed in the production of the paper. The proportion may be so adjusted that the maximum of marks which can be gained for penmanship shall not exceed, in the aggregate, 150 or 200, even in the case of boys who take up a large number of subjects. This moderate amount of encouragement would help to maintain in our schools that skill in penmanship which, though it may be called merely mechanical, is always a pleasing accomplishment, and in many positions of life is absolutely essential.

A much more serious drawback to the educational value of this system is the one to which I next propose to invite your attention. I have said that it was the aim and object of the Board to encourage thoroughness of knowledge in a limited number of subjects rather than a superficial smattering of a large number; and I pointed out the means adopted in the programme to attain this object. Now, I think it must be admitted that these means, though good as far as they go, have proved insufficient. The published results of the examinations would seem to show that the boys whose names stand highest on the list of exhibitioners have taken up, in many cases, an unduly large number of subjects; while the marks they have obtained in each subject do not represent that thorough knowledge which might fairly be expected from clever boys.

I will take an example from the junior grade of last year. There were seventeen subjects of examination open for selection; and I find that the boy whose name stands

highest on the list of exhibitors presented himself for examination in fourteen of these subjects; the second in order presented himself in fifteen, and the third in thirteen. When I look to the marks obtained, I find that the first exhibitor got only 600 out of 1,000 in Greek, 534 out of 1,000 in English, and 85 out of 150 in physical geography. The second exhibitor got only 570 out of 1,000 in Greek, 135 out of 500 in Italian, 55 out of 200 in book-keeping, and 55 out of 300 in botany. The third exhibitor got only 584 out of 1,000 in English, 165 out of 500 in music, 128 out of 500 in drawing, and 49 out of 150 in physical geography. I would hardly object to those marks if there was question only of passmen. But it must be remembered that the three boys before us are presumably the best three boys out of very nearly 3,000, from all Ireland, who were examined last year in the junior grade; and I decidedly think it would be more desirable, in the interests of good education, that they had studied fewer subjects, and knew them more thoroughly.

I would propose two remedies to check this evil tendency. First, I would put an absolute limit on the amount of matter which a candidate may present for examination; and, secondly, I would attach special value to high proficiency in each subject presented.

As regards the first of these two remedies, the chief difficulty is how to fix the limit. Some subjects, being much more difficult than others, carry much higher marks. Hence if the limit were put directly on the *number of subjects* that a boy may present for examination, there would be a strong inducement for clever boys to take up the subjects that carry high marks, and to omit the subjects that carry low marks. This would be practically equivalent to a ban upon the subjects to which low marks are assigned. In the struggle for pre-eminence, these subjects, however well-suited they might be in many cases from an educational point of view, would be altogether neglected by clever boys.

I would propose, then, a somewhat different method. Instead of fixing the number of subjects which a candidate may present—eight, or ten, or twelve—I would look to the aggregate maximum of marks assigned to the total number of subjects from which he is free to select; and I would fix the proportion of that aggregate, say two-thirds, which he may not exceed in making his selection. For example, if the aggregate maximum were 9,000, I would

require that the subjects presented for examination should not, when taken together, carry a maximum of more than 6,000. This limit would really comprise two-thirds of the whole range of subjects, not necessarily in point of number, but in point of difficulty; and it would have this advantage, that it would not set a premium, or impose a penalty, on any particular subject. In recommending this plan, I do not mean to attach any importance to the exact proportion I have suggested, though I do think that two-thirds of the whole range of intermediate studies would be found in general to afford an ample field for intellectual effort, and yet not too ample for such thoroughness as may reasonably be expected from boys.

The second means by which I would propose to encourage thoroughness of knowledge is to attach a double value to all the marks obtained in each subject above 60 per cent. of the maximum. It is the marks between 60 per cent. of the maximum and 100 per cent. that really represent high proficiency in any subject; and as high proficiency is a thing difficult to produce, and especially worthy of encouragement, I would give to these marks a double weight in estimating the merit of a candidate.

This proposal does not involve any change whatever in the present system of marking the papers, or of recording the marks awarded. What I would suggest would be simply to add a new column to the table of results. I would call it the column of *excellence*, and in it I would set down to each candidate the sum total of all the marks above 60 per cent. of the maximum which he had obtained in the several subjects presented. The marks awarded in this way, for excellence, would of course be added to his aggregate total, and thus they would be counted twice over in his favour, that is to say, they would be counted as marks of double value. Further, I would suggest that gold or silver medals should be awarded, in each grade, to the three boys who obtain the highest aggregate of marks in the column of excellence.

As an improvement, in a matter of minor detail, I would suggest the introduction of a system of negative marks, that is, marks to be deducted, not added. For example, I would give negative marks for bad spelling. I find, among the rules of the Board, that "if a student exhibit gross ignorance in English orthography, he shall not be entitled to pass." Now this is hardly just. It is either a capital sentence or a complete acquittal. If a

student spells badly, but the examiner thinks his blunders just fall short of "gross ignorance," he is as well off, under this rule, as if he made no mistake at all. Moreover, the severity of the sentence seems likely to defeat the object in view. Examiners will be slow to recognise the existence of "gross ignorance" when they remember that it is punished by loss of the examination, just as juries were reluctant to find men guilty of sheep-stealing as long as it was punished by hanging. Under the plan of negative marks which I propose, the penalty would be exactly proportioned to the offence, and would never be excessively severe.

Again, I think the penalty of negative marks should be attached to any answer that exhibits gross ignorance or incapacity. The ordinary practice, I believe, is simply to give no marks for such an answer. Now, I am inclined to think that the total number of marks obtained, under this practice, does not represent the real judgment of the examiner on the value of the paper. Suppose I examine a boy *viva voce*; he answers three or four questions well, and I form a good opinion of his intelligence and his information. But in reply to further questions, I get from him two answers which betray gross ignorance in the very elements of the subject. Does my judgment of that boy's proficiency remain unchanged? Do these two answers stand merely as blanks in my estimate of his intellectual merits? Certainly not: I give him credit for what he has done well; I count against him what he has done badly; and my judgment of his success is formed by striking a balance between the good and the bad. Now, if his answers are put on paper, why is it that I should give him credit for what he has done well, and simply take no account of the ignorance and incapacity he has shown in what he has done badly? My view, on the contrary, would be, that gross ignorance or incapacity exhibited in answer to any question, detracts from the value of good answers given in other parts of the same paper; and I would represent this loss of value by awarding negative marks for such ignorance or incapacity.

The papers set in some subjects have been occasionally so long that it would be impossible to answer them, with due deliberation, in the time allowed. Now the singular injustice involved in this circumstance has not yet, I think, received the consideration it deserves. A boy who is thoroughly well prepared in the whole range of a subject,

and who is capable of answering well every question put, ought to be placed in a position in which he can gain the maximum of marks assigned to that subject. But you make it impossible for him to gain the maximum of marks, if you set him such a paper that the mere work of writing down the answers would require four hours and you allow him only three hours for doing it. Is it not evident that this course reduces the boy of highest excellence, the boy who should be especially encouraged and fostered, to the level of a boy who is far inferior to him? Take an examination paper with twenty questions. One boy can answer them all, but you give him time only to answer fifteen. Another boy is ignorant of five out of the twenty questions, but he answers the fifteen that he knows. The two boys are thus brought to the same level so far as regards the extent of knowledge they exhibit, though one knows only three-fourths as much as the other.

But the evil does not stop here. The boy who knows his business best is actually hampered by his superior knowledge. He has glanced over the questions, and he feels confident he can answer them all. But, in his eagerness, to get through the work set before him, he writes with precipitate haste, he cannot allow himself time for a moment's thought; and under these conditions, who will say that he can possibly do justice to the knowledge which he had been steadily accumulating, and to the faculties which he had been carefully training, during his previous course of studies.

I have often thought it would be desirable that each examiner should furnish to the Commissioners a full answer to his own examination paper, such as, according to his judgment, would entitle a candidate to the maximum of marks. A practice of this kind would have many advantages. In the first place, it would act as a salutary check on the examiner, who, in preparing his questions, would remember that he had to answer them himself. In the next place, it would afford the best means of estimating the fitness of an examiner for his work. And lastly, it would show, incidentally, how far the questions set could be answered, with due deliberation, within the time allowed.

In the last place I would notice a rule, recently made by the Board, which is limited, no doubt, in its scope, but which, so far as it goes, is calculated, I think, to spoil the education of some of the best and most promising boys in Ireland.

According to the Act of Parliament, a candidate who has gained an exhibition cannot continue to hold it, after the first year, unless he pass a qualifying examination in each subsequent year for which the exhibition lasts. This is perfectly right and just. But the Board propose, after the present year, to exact a condition not required by the Act, namely that the qualifying examination shall be passed in the subject matter of a grade higher than that in which the exhibition was obtained. This rule compels every boy who has gained an exhibition to pass on to a higher grade the next year, under the penalty of losing his exhibition.

Now I contend that, in many cases, it would be much better for the boy's education that he should remain another year in the same grade. Take the case of a clever boy who gains an exhibition, in the junior grade, at fourteen years of age. He is very quick in picking up knowledge, and he is ready in using it. If he remain another year in the junior grade he can acquire a more firm grasp of what he has learned, perhaps too quickly, in the first instance; he can make his knowledge of the elements more thorough, while, at the same time, he can extend his reading with some degree of leisure and deliberation, and lay well the solid foundation of future scholarship. If, on the other hand, he is forced on to a superior stage, under high pressure, he may possibly become a youthful prodigy, and even win new exhibitions as he goes along; but his memory will be unduly strained, his knowledge will be ill-digested and imperfectly assimilated, and in the tumultuous haste of his onward progress the best faculties of his mind will be left uncultivated and unmaturing. It seems to me that, in the interests of his education, such a boy should be rather held back by his masters than pressed forward. But under the proposed rule, if he goes forward he can retain his exhibition; if he stays back he loses it. The rule, therefore, practically forbids him to do what is best for his education, under the penalty of forfeiting his exhibition.

While I have thus frankly criticised what I conceive to be the defects of this system, I wish not less frankly to acknowledge the great benefits it has conferred on the cause of education in Ireland. It has been conceived in a spirit of justice: it has been administered with ability and impartiality. It is certainly not ideally perfect; but it meets a pressing want in a practical and efficient way. The Irish people are endowed by Nature with great talent, with great energy, and with noble instincts.

If these high qualities are to contribute to national prosperity and intellectual progress, they must be carefully cultured by education; and yet, strange to say, all education of a higher kind has hitherto been, I will not say absolutely withheld from Ireland, but I will say confined to a very limited section of the population. There exists amongst us a great mine of intellectual wealth, which, for centuries, has lain neglected and unworked. Now it seems to me that the Intermediate Education Act of 1878 has sunk a shaft into this mine, not here and there only, but in every centre of population throughout the length and breadth of the land. A new spirit has been evoked; activity and energy are everywhere apparent: and I feel confident that from each one of these centres will soon come forth young men whose education has been not unworthy of their natural gifts; whose intelligence has been sharpened, whose judgments have been matured, whose memories have been stored with the wisdom of the past; men fit to take a part in the onward movement of the age, to advance and elevate their country, and to add new treasures to the intellectual resources of the world.

EVERLASTING PUNISHMENT.

THE latest controversy on the subject of everlasting punishment has well-nigh run its course. The attention which it excited is gradually waning, and the minds which it roused to a temporary interest in the question of man's future after death, are turning for excitement to other themes. For us, who were not much concerned in the dispute, whose faith on the matter could not be influenced by the triumph of Dr. Pusey or the triumph of Canon Farrar, it might seem to have little subject of interest. Nevertheless, there is an aspect of the controversy which we may study with profit. It is of importance to note the manner in which the errors of our time express themselves. Every age has its own spirit, and brought into contact with the truths of revelation, that spirit will give to the errors it creates a tinge which marks them as a special creation, as the outcome of causes peculiar to special conditions of social and intellectual life. At the present day an exagge-

rated æstheticism is struggling to set up emotion as a sovereign test of truth. By some minds the harmony of a doctrine with certain states of elevated or refined feeling is regarded as sufficient evidence of its trustworthiness. They bring no other criterion to bear upon it than their own sense of the harmonious, the beautiful, or the lovable. It is, no doubt, quite true that the sympathy with what is good and true, which expresses itself in mere emotion, may be, and often is, the best, as it is the only available guide in discerning truth. This consideration is enough to take the reproach out of the mouths of those who fancy they have said the worst that can be said against religion when they describe it as emotional. But we must not push this theory too far. Emotion is a safe indication that our sympathies are with what is true, only when it is the spontaneous effort of a nature which has not been perverted. Left to themselves, our faculties will not lead us astray, but under cultivation they may acquire a bias which will make error well-nigh unavoidable. Following the instincts and impulses of a heart which has not been taught to distrust goodness in every shape, and to question evidence in every degree, the poor and the little ones of this world may be happy in knowledge which is hidden from the proud. But emotions which have been cultivated to an extreme and sickly sensitiveness, and trained to fasten upon certain conventional types of goodness or beauty, are not safe guides in matters where much depends on discerning aright what is true rather than what is pleasing.

Canon Farrar is a man of poetic temperament, whose natural tendencies seem to have been intensified under the influence of the dominant æsthetic school. He has a horror of everything which offends good taste, and it seems to be with him a canon of criticism that what offends the cultivated taste cannot be true. He has had occasion to review the beliefs popularly held regarding the after-existence of those who die without repentance, and carry the guilt of heinous sin into the life after death. Some flippant sneers of Mr. Frederic Harrison about the psalm-singing of the Christian Heaven, roused him to inquire fully into the question of future rewards and punishments. He found in the currently accepted notions much that did not fit in with the exigencies of refined feeling, much that was out of place in an æsthetical Christianity, and he at once set about constructing a system of judgment more in harmony with what an age such as ours had a right to expect.

His scheme of punishment has just that amount of vagueness which permits us to say that it includes chastisement, but inflicts little pain—understanding the latter term in what Canon Farrar would call its coarse and vulgar sense. Whom he will have punished is not by any means clear. In the first place he sets himself to condemn in unmeasured language what he calls the “common view”—that an irreversible doom of unimaginable horror “awaits the vast majority of mankind.” He has discovered it to be the “current religious teaching” that the “majority of mankind are doomed to everlasting damnation;” he has found that men “whose religion has resolved itself into a mere feeble heresy-hunting, have turned God’s gospel of plenteous redemption into an anathema of all but universal perdition.”¹ This picture of the fate of the human race he darkens still further by introducing the Calvinistic notion, according to which man’s place after death is foredoomed independently of the merits of his life, and having drawn the picture in its most lurid colours he leaves us to infer that it represents the traditional teaching as to the number of the saved. It might have been thought that in a matter of this kind the teaching of the Catholic Church would count for something. Her attitude towards any doctrine will surely affect its claims to be called universal. Now the Catholic Church has pronounced no definition as to the number of the lost. She leaves the widest room for hope to all her children, and bids them in their surmises as to the condition of mankind after death, make large account of God’s hidden mercies. Canon Farrar quotes prominent theologians of the “Roman Church” as holding hopeful views on the ultimate lot of the great bulk of mankind.² Why then does he put forward as the “current teaching” the doctrine that the majority shall perish? It is, we may presume, to meet a need of his system. In the emotional school of theology scenic effect must take the place of argument, and to make an effective picture no better elements could be brought together than the ghastly exaggerations he has cited. He appears to think that he differs widely from all those whom he represents as his opponents, in this, that he will not sentence to everlasting pain any individuals be their condition in this life what it may. He singles out as striking examples on which to parade this forbearance the inmates of Mill-

¹ *Eternal Hope*, p. 67.

² Preface, xxvii.

bank prison—the beings whom Mr. Carlyle described as “miserable distorted blockheads, with faces as of dogs or oxen; angry; sullen; degraded, sons of greedy mutinous darkness; base-natured beings, on whom in a maleficent, subterranean life of London scoundrelism, the genius of darkness, has visibly set his seal.”¹ He sets himself in virtuous opposition to Mr. Carlyle. “The bigot may judge their souls if he likes, the Pharisee may consign them with conventional orthodoxy to endless torment, but so cannot and will not I. . . . Not mine at any rate shall it be to close against them with impetuous recoil and jarring sound, the gates of hell. . . . At any rate no arrogant word, no theologic dogma, no acrid prejudice of mine shall ever utter to them the language of despair, or stand between these—God’s lowest—and His love.”² In all this Canon Farrar does not really occupy such a distinctive position as he appears to believe. Among those who hold the traditional belief as to God’s method of punishing sin he could not perhaps find one who would confidently pronounce any single inmate of Millbank to be doomed to endless punishment. He could not find one who would pronounce the worst of these criminals to be beyond the regenerating influence of God’s grace. Nay he would perhaps find few to join him in the verdict he has uttered that these men and women, outcasts though they be, are “God’s lowest;” even that measure of judgment few of the orthodox will allow themselves. At this point Canon Farrar is dramatic and nothing more; beyond the form in which it is expressed there is nothing distinctive in his theology.

It is not in fact always easy to specify the points on which he is at variance with those whom he is denouncing. He is not an universalist, he rejects the notion that all men will ultimately be saved. Nor does he hold annihilationism—the doctrine that after a certain term of retributive punishment the wicked will be destroyed. Nor will he admit the “Romish doctrine of Purgatory,” though his aversion is rather to the word, than to the thing it expresses. He thinks “the term ‘Purgatory’ had better be rejected, not because we are averse to the acceptance of such truths as the word involves, from whatever quarter they may come to us, but because it is inextricably mixed up with a number of views in which we cannot at all believe.”³ What then is his dis-

¹ *Latter Day Pamphlets.*

² p. 105.

³ *Preface, xx.*

tinctive doctrine? He will admit Purgatory if we call it by another name. He will even admit endless punishment if it be restricted to a few. "I have expressly admitted the possibility of even endless misery for those who abide in the determined impenitence of final and willing sin." How much, then, of his doctrine is peculiar to himself? That portion alone, in which he offers plenteous hope to those who die in their sin, but who in life had certain ineffectual longings after goodness, to those who did evil but secretly thought righteousness the better course, who practised vice but admired virtue, whose conduct was vicious, but whose appreciation of right and wrong was discriminating, whose heart was corrupt but whose conscience was reproachful. They are "the vast, vast mass of mankind, they are not utter reprobates any more than they are saints. They may rise to the one, they may sink to the other; but for the most part they are undecided. They face both ways; they halt between two opinions; they are neither saints nor criminals; they have *not* closed heart and soul with good; they have not abandoned themselves utterly to evil. They want to be pardoned, yet they want to retain the offence; they admire holiness, but they dally with iniquity; they shudder to be in a state of sin, yet they attain not to a state of grace."¹

It is for this large class that Canon Farrar makes provision. He establishes for them a state of purification after death, where the unexpiated sins of this life shall be atoned for, and the soul made fit, at length, for companionship with God. Into the place of temporary punishment which he thus sets up he will admit certain of the coarser chastisements of the old creeds, provided they be not called by names too vulgarly explicit. To "æonian fire" he makes no objection, but he is strongly prejudiced against the plain language in which earnest preachers and earnest writers describe the horrors of the fiery lake of the Apocalypse. What the grounds are on which he claims belief in this temporary Hades, it is worth while to inquire. His proofs are chiefly of the emotional kind, and the best of them may be set down here as a type of the reasoning which fashions belief in the school where Canon Farrar is an authority:

"Son, or brother, or friend or father dies: we all have lost them; it may be that they were not holy; not even religious;

¹ p. 108.

perhaps not even moral men; and it may be that, after living the common life of man, they died suddenly, and with no space for repentance; and if a state of sin be not a state of grace, then certainly, by all rules of theology they had not repented, they were not saved. And yet, when you stood—O father, O brother—heavy-hearted by their open grave;—when you drank in the sweet words of calm and hope which our church utters over their poor remains;—when you laid the white flowers on the coffin;—when you heard the dull rattle of ‘earth to earth, ashes to ashes, dust to dust;’ you, who, if you knew their sins and failings, knew also all that was good, and sweet, and amiable and true within them,—*dared* you, *did* you even in the inmost sessions of thought,—consign them, as you ought logically to do, as you ought, if you are sincere in that creed to do,—to the unending anguish of that hell which you teach? Or does your heart, your conscience, your sense of justice, your love of Christ, your faith in God, your belief in Him of whom you sing every Sunday that His mercy is everlasting,—*rise in revolt* against your nominal profession then? You *can* bear to think of them,—as you can bear to think of yourself—suffering as they never did on earth, the aching pang of God’s revealing light, the willing agony of his remedial fire. We should desire—we should even pray for that—the natural consequence of our own alienation—meant not to torment us but to perfect. But an arbitrary infliction—a burning torment—an endless agony—a material hell of worm and flame—a doom to *everlasting sin*;—and all this with no prospect of amendment, with no hope of relief—the soul’s transgressions of a few brief hours of struggling, tempted life followed by billions of millenniums in scorching fire—and all this meant not to correct but to harden; not to amend, but to torture and degrade;—did you believe in *that* for those whom you have loved? Again, I say, God forbid:—again, I say, I fling from me with abhorrence such a creed as that! Let every Pharisee, if he will, be angry with me—let every dogmatist anathematise—but that I cannot and do not believe.”¹

This, then, is how Faith on such a momentous point is decided in the sensational school of theology! We are invited to look down into the grave of some friend we have loved, but the errors of whose life we have known, and we are asked to pronounce him already the prey of unquenchable fire. If we refuse, it is proof that everlasting punishment does not exist at all. There is the solemn prohibition in God’s law against our uttering judgment against any fellow-creature, be appearances ever so much against him; there are the secrets of life’s last hours hidden from every mortal eye; there are the devices of God’s love multiplied, we are permitted to hope, as the end approaches; there are the instincts

¹ p. 110.

of natural affection prompting us to withhold censure, even if we had the right to condemn: we have all these motives for refusing to utter a sentence of doom against our fellow being, for declining to believe him already consigned to unquenchable fire; yet our reluctance is assigned to one cause only—the impossibility we are in of accepting the doctrine that there is such a thing as fire unquenchable at all. If the argument were worth anything, it would prove much more than it is here made to prove. It would justify the doctrine that there is not even such a thing as temporary punishment for sin. Placing ourselves in the position to which Canon Farrar's language would conduct us, we should be slow to assert that the friend whose sins we have known, is now expiating his errors in agony indescribable, even though temporary. The instinct which makes us recoil from awarding him punishment in its extreme form, would surely prevent us from awarding him punishment just one degree less intense. In fact, if our readiness to accept the notion of punishment for those we love be the measure of the retributive pain with which their sins are visited, the case in which sin could be in any wise punished is not easily conceivable.

Canon Farrar has wholly mistaken the scheme of God's judgments. He has confounded it with the law which determines our relations to one another. Judgment upon sin has not been put into our hands. Our attitude to every fellow-creature must be that fixed by the great law of charity. Be his errors what they may, we are bidden to love him as a second self; in his sin, as in his suffering, he is to be the object of our compassion, not of our censure. In virtue of that law, and of the natural sympathies which give it effect in human hearts, he can claim our pity and our aid while he lives, and he can require from us at least an attitude of hopeful forbearance when he is dead. The time is not yet when we may sit on thrones judging the tribes of Israel. For the present, before the Tribunal of God, we are but friends of the accused, not assessors in judgment. From what we, in our present position, are warranted in doing, or inclined to do, it is vain to argue to what God can do, or will do.

God is judge, the guardian of the law, not the fellow of the accused. With Him the motives and feelings which guide the action of those who are friends of the guilty, and nothing more, would be wholly out of place. True He is a God of love—His tenderness for the creatures He has made is that of a father for his children, and in the

season of mercy He bears patiently with their waywardness. But He is the Creator of Universal Law, as well as of individual men, and the Law claims to be vindicated, just as men have titles to be loved. Now, it is as much a perfection in the guardian of the law to vindicate it fully, as it is a perfection in the Creator of men to love them tenderly. This is a notion which seems to have wholly escaped the theologians of the emotional school. Love, tenderness, compassion are the only feelings of which they will take cognizance; and yet love of order, respect for law, and reverence for its majesty, are elements of even human character quite as noble and quite as admirable as the tenderer feelings. Even in human estimation, the man who cannot punish rigorously where punishment is due—the guardian of the law who cannot enforce it at the expense of the guilty—the magistrate who cannot exact reparation at the cost of the culprit—is weak and unworthy of his office. If we will judge things humanly, why should we not ascribe to the Creator and Guardian of Everlasting Law, the qualities which we require in those who administer a system of mere human institution? Energy in enforcing what is right, and chastising what is wrong, is a mark of elevated human character, when man is appointed to administer law, why should it not be estimable in God when He stands forth to speak justice and to reprove iniquity? He is pitying and tender beyond expression; but that He should be God, we must find in Him, side by side with Infinite pity, the Infinite rigour of justice. As Mr. Carlyle has said, the “man who does not know rigour cannot pity either. His very pity will be cowardly egotistic—sentimentality, or little better.”¹ In God the perfection of justice stands side by side with the perfection of love; tenderness does not exclude the rigour of eternal inexorable law.

It is wholly beside the question to argue that God is love. This is true; but His love would not be divine if it excluded the free exercise of justice when justice is called for. How the dread decree in which he condemns sin is carried out, what the retributive chastisements are by which it is expiated when the time for forgiveness is past, we shall consider another time. For the present we have said enough to show the value of the reasoning which would make men easy in their sin, by giving hope to those to whom God has given none.

¹ III. Lecture on Heroes.

IRISH THEOLOGIANS.—No. V.

ST. VIRGILIUS.

ALTHOUGH unfortunately scarcely any of the writings of St. Virgilius have survived the wreck of time, still he is entitled to hold high place amongst Irish Theologians, for he was a strenuous champion of orthodox doctrine, as well as a scholar of vast and various learning.

The exact date and place of his birth cannot be ascertained, but that he was an Irishman may not for a moment be questioned. We have in the first place the express testimony of Alcuin in one of his poems, to which we shall refer later on. Alcuin was a contemporary of Virgilius, for he came to France about the year 770, when Virgilius was Bishop of Salzburg, and the latter did not die until 780, or 785, according to the more probable opinion of Mabillon and Pagi. Besides, Arno, surnamed *Acquila*, the brother of Alcuin, was the immediate successor of Virgilius in the see of Salzburg, and the "*Census Donationum Ecclesiæ Salzburgensis*," is regarded by Basnage as the joint work of Virgilius and Arno. There can be no doubt therefore that the English Alcuin had ample opportunities of ascertaining the truth of his own statement, that Virgil was born, reared, and educated in Ireland—*Hibernia*.¹

The ancient but unknown author of the poetical epitaph on St. Virgilius—the saint was buried in his own monastery of St. Peter in Salzburg—bears explicit testimony to his Irish birth:—

"Hic pater et pastor, humilis doctusque Sacerdos
Corporè Virgilius pausat, quem *Hibernia tellus*
Disponente Deo, partes direxit in istas," &c.

Lastly, we have the testimony of the anonymous author of the life of St. Virgilius, published by Canisius, and re-edited by Basnage.² This life was written about the year 1190, by a disciple of Archbishop Ebenhard, of Salzburg, only a few years after the discovery of the tomb of the saint in the Monastery of St. Peter, to which event we shall

¹ Protulit in lucem quem mater Hibernia primum instituit, docuit, nutrit, . . . amavit.

² The opening sentence of this life is as follows: *Beatissimus igitur Virgilius in Hybernia insula de nobili ortus prosapia litterarum studiis ita animum applicuit, ut inter doctos sui temporis atque clymatis doctissimus haberi potuisset.*

refer again. And the unvarying tradition of the church of Salzburg also attests the Irish birth of our saint, which, indeed, has not been questioned by any scholar of name.

In those days there were two causes that led Irishmen to France and Germany—first, a sincere desire to preach the Gospel in the purely pagan or only half-Christian districts conquered by the Franks; secondly, the deplorable state of their own country, which about this period became at first a prey to intestine feuds, and afterwards the spoil of savage invaders. The Danes had not indeed yet arrived in Ireland, but its turbulent chieftains were constantly at war with each other, and spared the churches, schools, and territories of their rivals almost as little as the Northmen themselves.

Virgil with some companions, one of whom was called Sidonius, seems to have arrived in France about the year 741, the year in which Charles Martel died, and was succeeded in his office of Mayor of the Palace by the famous Pepin le Bref, father of the still more renowned Charles Magne. Pepin then lived at Carisciacum, the modern Quercy, or Quiersi Sur Serre, and received the Irish strangers with princely hospitality. Dr. Lanigan conjectures, with much probability, that in their own country Virgil was called Feargall, and Sidonius was known as Sedna. The roots *fear* and *vir* are manifestly the same, and it would be quite in accordance with the custom of the time that the Irish scholars should Latinize their names when coming into countries where the Latin language was the common medium of communication amongst the educated classes.

It is said that Virgil spent two years with Pepin, who sent him about the year 743 or 744 with strong commendatory letters to the Court of Ottilo, Duke of Bavaria. Bavaria at this period had been partially converted to the Christian faith by the zealous labours of St. Boniface, the great Apostle of Germany, afterwards Archbishop of Mentz, and Legate of the Apostolic See. But much still remained to be done, and it was the wish of Pepin that Ottilo should avail himself of the services of his Irish friends, of whose zeal and learning he had ample proofs, in the conversion and instruction of his half-Christian subjects. The Duke received the friends of Pepin with much consideration, and seems to have kept them near himself, and entrusted them with his confidence, as the subsequent narrative will prove.

It was about this time that an occurrence took place which has become famous in the history of Sacramental dogma.

Many of the priests of the period were by no means learned, so it came to pass that a certain priest in baptizing a catechumen used the form—"Ego te baptizo, in nomine Patria et Filia et Spiritua Sancta." The case was referred to Boniface, who declared that the baptism was invalid, and ordered the re-baptism of the persons in question. Virgil and his friend Sidonius, afterwards Archbishop of Bavaria, objected to the re-baptism, and declared their opinion that the baptism in these circumstances was clearly valid. Boniface persisted in his own opinion—he was an Englishman, a native, as he himself tells us, of Devonshire—*Saxonia transmarina*—so Virgil and his friend had no resource but to appeal to the Pope when a point of doctrine was concerned. Pope Zachary, a Calabrian Greek, a man of learning and holiness, then filled the chair of Peter. His decision, given in a letter to Boniface, deserves to be recorded in his own words:—

"Virgilius et Sidonius religiosi viri apud Bajoarium provinciam degentes, suis apud nos literis usi sunt, per quas intimerunt quod tua reverenda paternitas eis injungeret Christianos denuo baptizare."

The Pope then adds:—

"Sanctissime frater, si is qui baptizavit non errorem introducens aut heresim, sed pro sola ignorantia Romanæ locutionis infringendo linguam baptizans dixisset ut supra fati sumus, non possumus consentire ut denuo baptizentur."¹

And, in another letter to Boniface, he emphatically declares:—

"Quamvis sceleratissimus quisque hereticus, schismaticus, aut latro, aut fur, sive adulter hoc (baptisma) homini petenti ministraret, tamen Christi esset baptismus verbis evangelicis consecratum."

This clear and emphatic expression of Catholic doctrine we owe to Virgil and Sidonius. They rightly deemed that this error in the form was not *substantial* but *accidental*; it was not introduced from malice with a view to pervert the form of the Sacrament, but from ignorance; the priest evidently had the intention of doing what the Church does, he corrupted the integrity of the form, but it

¹ Epistola ad Bonifac. It is dated the Kalends of July, the twenty-fifth year of Const., the Most Pious Emperor. (746?).

remained perfectly intelligible to any bystander acquainted with the Latin language, and hence the baptism itself was valid.

Boniface yielded prompt obedience to the Apostolic See, but, although a saint and martyr, he felt sore at the victory gained over him by the Irish strangers who intruded into his spiritual domain, and seemed to supplant him in favour with the Duke Otillo. And, no doubt, there were not wanting interested parties who strove to foment dissensions between these two saints and servants of God. No one, indeed, who knows the history of Boniface, will endorse the spiteful remark of Basnage that he was—"Vir si quis unquam superbus, sive zelotes." But he was human like others, and his own letters clearly show that he felt keenly the victory of Virgil. He waited, however, for a while, and then sent a friend of his, Buchardus of Wirseburg, to Rome with letters for the Pope, in which he brought four serious charges against Virgil. He accuses him, as we know from the Pope's answer, first, that this Virgil was making malicious accusations against him, Boniface, because he had been convicted by Boniface of teaching erroneous doctrine—"Malignatur adversum te pro eo quod confundebatur a te, erroneum se esse a Catholica doctrina." Secondly, Boniface charged him with whispering false things to the Duke, with a view of sowing dissension between him, Boniface, and the Duke—"Immissiones faciens Ottiloni duci Bajoariorum ut odium inter te et illum semniaret." Thirdly, he accuses Virgil of giving out that he was dismissed by the Pope from Rome—"Quod a nobis esset absolutus"—in order to get one of the four bishoprics of Bavaria just then vacant. Lastly, he brings against him the most formidable charge of all, that Virgil taught that there was another world, and *other* men under the earth, and another sun and moon—"Quod alius mundus et alii homines sub terra sint, et sol et luna."¹ And, in the same letter, Boniface complains that a certain Samson, an Irishman—"genere Scottus"—erred from the way of truth, teaching that a man could become a Christian merely by the imposition of hands, without baptism. Clearly, Boniface was hard on the Irishmen then in Bavaria, and the whole tone of the letter shows that he had not forgotten his previous contest with Virgil and Sidonius.

¹ See Epistola xi., Zachariæ ad Bonifacium, Migne's edition, p. 943.

The Pope in his answer deals with these charges with the greatest prudence. He had very great respect for Boniface, but it is clear he is not prepared to accept all his statements without proof. He makes no special remark on the two first charges, for they could be easily explained. But, as to the third he declares that the alleged statement of Virgil is false, that he was not *absolutus*, dismissed, or sent home by the Pope in order to get a bishopric in Bavaria. Indeed as to this charge, there is no evidence that Virgil was ever in Rome at all, but it is highly probable that both Pepin and Ottilo were anxious for his advancement to a See in Bavaria, and that their zeal was attributed to the time-serving ambition of Virgil himself. The charge is entirely inconsistent with his character, and it is hardly necessary to observe that it is no proof of its truth that it was made in these letters sent to Rome by Boniface; too many unfounded charges of the kind have been made in Rome both since and before.

As regards the fourth charge, that of teaching that there was another world, and other men, and another sun and moon, it deserves fuller notice at our hands.

It is clear that Virgil held the doctrine of the Antipodes, and that Boniface, not unwilling to find him erring in doctrine, formulated his teaching as above. The words of the Pope thereupon are noteworthy :—

“De perversa autem et iniqua doctrina ejus, qui contra Deum et animam suam locutus est ; *si clarificatum fuerit ita eum confiteri quod alius mundus, et alii homines sub terra sint, seu sol et luna, nunc, habito concilio, ab ecclesia pelle sacerdotii honore privatum.*”¹

Exactly. Let Boniface first *prove* that Virgil taught this perverse and wicked doctrine against God and his own soul, and then convoke a council, degrade him from the priesthood; and drive him from the church. But what is this doctrine as represented to the Pope? Certainly not that taught by Virgil which he learned in the schools of his native land. The doctrine censured by the Pope was that there is another world, and another race of men quite different from us, *not children of Adam*, and hence not redeemed by the blood of Jesus Christ. This was the sense in which the Pope understood the doctrine of the Antipodes, this was the sense in which it was understood by St. Augustine, and for that reason reprobated by him as well as by the Pope. And the very words in which the accusa-

¹ See Zachary's letter to Boniface *loco citato*.

tion against Virgilius is formulated clearly point to this "perverse and wicked" teaching. The truth of the matter was, that neither Boniface nor the Pope knew astronomy as well as Virgil, and hence they imagined he taught doctrines which were quite different from his real opinions.

It is interesting to note the diversity of opinion that prevailed concerning the existence of Antipodes, both amongst the ancient philosophers and the Fathers of the Church.

Plato is said to have been the first who held the existence of Antipodes, and used the word in its present signification. But there is no evidence that he himself believed in their actual existence even though he invented the term which so accurately describes them.

Lactantius however in his treatise "*De falsa sapientia Philosophorum*," ridicules the notion of Antipodes, and, as he clearly regards it as a philosophical error, we may fairly conclude that some of the ancient philosophers taught their existence. The language of Lactantius is noteworthy.

"Quid illi qui esse contrarios vestigiis nostris antipodes putant, num aliquid loquuntur? Aut est quisquam tam ineptus qui credat esse homines quorum vestigia sunt superiora quam capita, aut ibi quae apud nos jacent universa pendere? fruges et arbores *deorsum versus* crescere? pluvias et nives et grandines *sursum versus* cadere in terram, et miratur aliquis hortos pensiles inter septem mira narrare cum philosophi et agros, et maria, et montes pensiles faciunt?"

This extract does not give us a very high notion of the physics of Lactantius who thinks that the existence of Antipodes would imply the existence of men whose feet were higher than their heads, living in a world where the trees grew *downwards*, and the hail, rain, and snow fell *upwards*. But the cause of this philosophical error as assigned by Lactantius is still more amusing. "They foolishly think," he says, "because they see the sun, moon, and stars setting in the west that the heavens move round the earth, and hence that the earth itself is like a globe, and people dwell all around it, that all things are borne to the earth's centre that are heavy, and all things that are light are borne to the sphere of the stars." He does not think it worth while to refute them; they must be either joking or knowingly defending lies.¹ Virgilius then was not the first who taught the existence of Antipodes, nor the first

¹ Lact c. 24, de falsa sapientia philosophorum.

who got a bad character on account of his teaching. It is noteworthy however that Lactantius does not, as the French Encyclopædiasts say, appeal to the Scripture in support of his opinions. Like most of his contemporaries he was mistaken on the point, and judges somewhat rashly those who did not happen to agree with him.

St. Augustine¹ is equally opposed to the existence of Antipodes, but from a different reason, "*quod vero Antipodes esse fabulantur, i.e. homines a contraria parte terrae, ubi sol oritur, quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris calcare vestigia, nulla ratione credendum est.*" Unlike Lactantius he admits the sphericity of the earth, but denies the Antipodes; (1) because their existence is not proved; (2) although round, that part of the earth may not be nude, but covered with water; (3) no mention of them is made in Sacred Scripture; (4) how could they cross the immense intervening ocean if they are the Sons of Adam, and he of course assumes that men of another race can by no means be admitted. This last was the palmary reason in the mind of St. Augustine to disprove the existence of the Antipodes.

These two quotations are quite enough to prove how unpalatable the doctrine of the Antipodes must have been to the ecclesiastical authorities of the eighth century; and in what sense the Pope understood the alleged teaching of St. Virgilius. What the Pope declared to be perverse and wicked doctrine—not heretical—was that there is another world, and another *race of men*—*alii homines*—and therefore not Sons of Adam, and another sun and moon to shine upon them. But this certainly was not the teaching of Virgilius, for according to him it was the same world, and the same sun and moon, and the same race of men who dwelt in the opposite regions of the world.

Virgil must have in his own defence explained the real meaning of his words to the satisfaction of the Pope, for we find no further mention of the Controversy, and we know that in a short time afterwards he was promoted to the See of Salzburg, which would certainly not be sanctioned in Rome if they had any suspicion of his doctrine.

Pagi, indeed, holds that there must have been two different Virgils, one who had the dispute with St. Boniface, and another who was Bishop of Salzburg; and yet he admits that both were in Bavaria in 746. This hypothesis

¹ De Civitate Dei c. 9., Book 16.

is intrinsically improbable, and altogether unsupported by evidence. Indeed, the only reason given by Pagi is the silence of the writer of Virgil's life, published by Canisius, regarding the disputes with Boniface. But the answer is quite simple: the writer of the life gives very few facts, although he narrates many miracles, and hence we can infer nothing from his silence against the generally received opinion.

Pagi also alleges that he was the fifth Bishop of Salzburg; here again, however, he is mistaken, at least, if we are to credit the author of the second life given by Canisius, who makes him the eighth Bishop after St. Rudbert. Other writers, however, make him fifth after the founder of the See, following the anonymous author of an old poem on the Bishops of Salzburg, who describes them as:—

Advena Virgilius statuens quam plurima *quintus*,
Multo plura quærens Arno super omnia *sextus*.

It is almost impossible to fix the exact year in which Virgilius became Bishop of Salzburg. The metrical epitaph on his tomb declares that for nearly forty years he ruled the Church of Salzburg, and as the latest year assigned for his death is 785, this would bring the beginning of his episcopacy before 750. Another account represents him as consecrated by St. Stephen, successor of Zachary, and as the former did not begin his reign until 752, we must place the beginning of Virgil's episcopacy after that event. As he spent some years Abbot of St. Peter's Monastery in Salzburg before he became Bishop, the date given in his life, written by the disciple of St. Ebenhard, towards the end of the 12th century, is much more probable that he was consecrated Bishop in succession to John in 766 or 767. The same writer tells us that for two years after his nomination to the See, he continued to refuse the appointment, and that during this time the duties of the episcopal office were performed by a Bishop called Dowd, *Dobda*, a countryman of the Saint, who seems to have come with him from Ireland. At last he was prevailed upon to allow himself to be consecrated, but he only yielded to the earnest entreaties of all the neighbouring prelates.

His life was spent in unceasing labour, not only for his own flock, but for the conversion of the neighbouring provinces, especially Carinthia, which was still Pagan. He not only sent Missionaries to preach the Gospel amongst

these half civilized people, but towards the close of his life he himself paid frequent visits to the newly established Churches, and did much to confirm them in the faith. Hence Virgilius is venerated to this day as the Apostle of Carinthia.

He rebuilt the monastery of St. Peter in a style of great magnificence, for he always loved the good monks of St. Benedict, who had chosen the Irish stranger to be their abbot and father, and when he died he left his bones amongst them. He also built a stately church in honour of St. Stephen, and a splendid basilica dedicated to St. Rudbert, which he made the cathedral of the diocese, and to which he translated the relics of the Saint, the founder and first bishop of the Church of Salzburg.¹ When he had these great works completed, he set out on a missionary journey amongst the neighbouring tribes, but finding his end approaching "he quickly returned," says the writer of his life :—

"And when he came in view of his beloved Salzburg and its encircling hills he began to weep copious tears, and he cried out—*Hic requies mea, hic habitabo quoniam elegi eam*, and having celebrated the Holy Sacrifice he died without pain—*leni correptus morbo*—on the fifth day before the Kalends of December, 784, or according to another but less probable account in 780. His body was buried in the southern wing of the monastery which he himself had spent twelve years in building. There he was honourably buried as became a great High Priest, and his soul went up to enjoy the fellowship of heavenly citizens for endless ages."

We hear no more of St. Virgil for four hundred years, until near the end of the twelfth century, when his life was written by one who was himself a witness of the facts which he relates. "In the year of Our Lord's Incarnation, 1171," he says in the opening paragraph :—

"On the fourteenth day before the Kalends of March, in the twenty-first year of the Pontificate of our Lord Pope Alexander III., the most Serene Prince Frederic being august Emperor of the Romans, and Otto of Witelespach, most renowned Duke of Bavaria; when the edifice of the aforesaid monastery of St. Peter, which had some years before been destroyed by fire, was being rebuilt at the expense and by the command of the illustrious Pastor Chunrad, Archbishop of Salzburg, Legate of the Apostolic See in Germany, and Cardinal Priest of St. Marcellus,

¹ It was while building this church that the Saint so paid his men that none of them could take out of the money-bag (*pelle*) more than his labour entitled him to. See the Lessons on the Saint's Feast.

through the co-operating grace of the Holy Spirit, and the suffragant clemency of the Divine Majesty, it came to pass that the body of the blessed Virgilius, which had been hidden from all persons for many centuries, was wonderfully brought to light.

It happened on a certain day that some stones having fallen from the wall gave an opportunity to the passers by to look into the opening, in which they noticed signs of a hollow space, and the outlines of an ancient picture were observed drawn in gold. Thereupon the canons of the church made an investigation, and, upon further opening the wall, the tomb and image (*depicta imago*) of St. Virgilius, eighth Bishop of Salzburg after St. Rudbert, was discovered, with the following inscription:—*Virgilius templum construxit schemate pulchro*. And moreover the day of his death was marked, the fifth before the Kalends of December (27 Nov.) *anno 781.*"

Then the writer goes on to narrate how the archbishop, and the clergy, and all citizens crowded to the tomb to venerate the sacred relics, and he gives a long list of most extraordinary miracles which were daily performed at the tomb, but which we cannot stay to transcribe.

The name of St. Virgilius is not found in the Roman Martyrology, says Basnage, but he is always spoken of as a saint in the Annals of the Benedictines; and in the Canons of a Council of Salzburg held in 1274, the assembled prelates declare, that they recognise Rudbert, Virgil, and Augustine, as the patrons of that church, and command under penalty of excommunication their feast days to be kept as holidays. It is hardly necessary to add that the festival of Virgilius, Bishop and Confessor, is celebrated by the Irish Church on the 27th November.

The epitaph on the Saint's tomb in St. Peter's Abbey is worth transcribing.

"*Hic pater et pastor humilis doctusque sacerdos
Corpore Virgilius pausat, quem Hibernia tellus
Disponente Deo partes direxit in istas
Quique regebat ovans praesentis culmina sedis
Ferme quater denos, caris cum fratribus annos
A quibus ille et amatus erat, pie quos et amavit
Interim et extruxit pulchro molimine multa
Templa, loco quaedam nunc cernuntur in isto,
Insuper et miseris largus, simul omnibus aptus,
Pro quo, quis quis legis versus orare memento.*"

J. H.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

I.

DISPENSATIO IN RADICE.

. The question then is, how can the renewal of the consent be dispensed with in any case? For, either the natural consent originally given is sufficient for a valid marriage, when the impediment is removed, or it is not. If it be sufficient, then the consent need not be renewed even when only an *ordinary* dispensation is given. If, on the other hand, the original consent be not sufficient of itself without renewal, then, even though a dispensation *in radice* be granted, the consent must necessarily be renewed. I see no way out of the dilemma. And yet I am sure there must be some way, seeing that the theologians speak so differently regarding the necessity of renewing the consent of the contracting parties when there is question of a *simple* dispensation, and when there is a question of a dispensation *in radice*.

We have retained enough of our correspondent's question to make it intelligible to our readers. The difficulty not unnaturally arises from the difference set down in every treatise on Matrimonial Dispensations between the effects of a simple dispensation and of a dispensation *in radice*, with regard to the necessity of renewing the original consent, of the parties. Indeed the special advantage of the dispensation *in radice* is to obviate the necessity of a renewal of the consent, when such renewal would be attended with inconvenient consequences. From the possibility of obtaining such a dispensation it follows that the original consent, if it perseveres, must of itself be capable, when the impediment is removed, of constituting a valid marriage. But if this be so, why should the renewal of the original consent be necessary even when only a simple dispensation is obtained?

We shall confine ourselves to one answer which is quite sufficient to solve our correspondent's difficulty and to afford him an escape from the proposed dilemma. The answer is, that in one case the dispensation is absolute, and in the other it is only conditional.

The Church in case of the dispensation *in radice* grants the dispensation without requiring the renewal of the consent of the parties as a condition of its validity. In case of the *simple* dispensation the Church may, and according to many theologians does, require the renewal of the consent as a condition without the fulfilment of which the dispensation cannot be validly applied. In both cases the original consent retains its inherent aptitude to constitute a valid

marriage as soon as the impediment is removed. But in one case the impediment is removed absolutely, in the other case it is removed only on condition of the consent of the parties being renewed.—Ed. I. E. R.

II.

A QUESTION WITH REGARD TO MIXED MARRIAGES.

[An esteemed correspondent sends us the following theological question, which we submit for the consideration of our readers.—Ed. I. E. R.]

Conf. Gury Comp. Theol. Mor. (cum. Adnot^{bus}. Ballerini) Tom. II. Tr. de Matrim n. 831, Qu. 12.

Gury here cites three decisions of the S. Office, 17th November, 1830, with respect to the Baptism of heretics in relation to Mixed Marriages; and thence he draws three conclusions, of which the 1st and 3rd are as follows:—

1. In dubio de valore Baptismi, validitas matrimonii in genere praesumenda est. (a).

3. Tandem, si sermo sit de hæretico invalide baptizato respectu matrimonii recurratur ad S. Sedem. (b)

To these Ballerini adds the two following notes:—

(a) Immo validitas est retinenda juxta prius allatum decretum. *Dispensare enim tunc Ecclesia censetur, si forte baptisma reipsa validum non extiterit.*"

(b) Cum hoc matrimonium certe sit invalidum, si separari conjuges nequeant, nec baptismum alter velit recipere, superest, ut quaeratur dispensatio."

Now I ask, 1st:—Is it true, as Ballerini asserts, *note (a)*, that the Church is considered to dispense from the contingent diriment impediment of *Disparitas Cultus*? and if so, how is this to be reconciled with what he says in *note (b)*?

Take a case in point: Anna, a Catholic, is married to John, an Anglican Protestant, before the Priest, with a Dispensation for the mixed marriage and a promise of fulfilling the requisite engagements. A doubt had previously arisen as to the validity of John's Baptism, or whether indeed he had ever been baptized at all, and this doubt could not be cleared up.

Now here according to Ballerini, *note (a)*, in the case of John's Baptism being really invalid, the Church dispenses from the existing diriment impediment, so that the marriage contracted is altogether valid before the Church.

Some time after the marriage, however, Anna discovers that John without doubt had never been validly baptized.

According to Ballerini, *note (b)*, their marriage is certainly invalid.

2nd. If it be true, as Ballerini affirms, that the Church dispenses in mixed marriages, from the possibly existing diriment impediment of *Disparitas Cultus*, is she held to do so in favour of those only who obey her law—those, viz., who obtain the due dispensation for a mixed marriage, and who contract before the Priest, observing the prescribed conditions? Or does she so dispense generally and indiscriminately for all mixed marriages with a like contingency, viz.: for such also as are contracted in violation of her law, without any dispensation, before an heretical minister, or the civil authority?

3rd. If according to Ballerini's *note (a)* the Church grants a dispensation from the possibly existing diriment impediment, would such a dispensation be affected and rendered void, on discovery that *no Baptism* at all had ever been conferred? (See Konings, n. 1598, Qu. 8, *nota*.)

What is the history of the three decisions of the S. Office? Were they given, precisely, to serve as a rule for Priests, before whom mixed marriages should be duly contracted? Or were they drawn up as declarations with regard to *all* mixed marriages in general, whether already contracted, or to be contracted in future, with or without dispensation, with or without the observance of the requisite conditions, in the presence or absence of the Priest?

I venture to give my own opinion in answer to the questions I have proposed.

I believe the assertion of Ballerini, *note (a)*, to be untrue, since the decisions of the S. Office give no ground at all for holding any grant of a dispensation on the part of the Church; but simply state that, in the continuance of doubt, there is a presumption ("*censendum est*") in favour of the validity of the Baptism, which is to hold good for the validity of the marriage. This interpretation is confirmed by the third decision, which declares the marriage null in the case there contemplated, of a certainly invalid Baptism.

I see no way of reconciling together Ballerini's conflicting *notes (a)* and *(b)*. The second I believe to be true, and Anna must act according to it in the case proposed.

My answer to the 1st question implicitly contains answers to the hypothetical questions 2 and 3.

4th. I do not know the history of these decisions. I however, conceive, "*salvo meliore judicio*," that they are declarations on the *validity* of all mixed marriages in general, licit and illicit alike.

C.

III.

ELEEMOSYNA PRO SECUNDA MISSA.

I have to celebrate two Masses on Sundays and Holidays of Obligation. As it sometimes happens that I receive no "eleemosyna" for the first Mass, I would like to know if I am free to take it for the second Mass, or am I bound to make a gratis application of the second Mass also, in this case?

H.

We beg to refer our correspondent to the answers given to a similar question in a former series of the Record. The earlier Documents bearing on the question of the licitness of accepting a honorarium for the second Mass will be found by reference to the copious Index of Documents appended to the XII. Vol. of the 2nd series. But if our correspondent has read the answers already published in the Record and is not quite satisfied with them, we shall be glad to hear from him again. We take this opportunity of directing attention to an important Document recently published on the same subject.—Ed. I. E. R.

EX CONGREGATIONE CONCILII.

CIRCA APPLICATIONEM SECUNDAE MISSAE.

Per summaria precum.

Die, 14 Septembris, 1878.

COMPENDIUM FACTI. Episcopus N. in Gallia, exposuit ab anno 1842, institutam fuisse in sua Dioecesi Sacerdotum Congregationem S. Iosephi, indulgentiâ a S. Sede ditatam, cuius sodales semel, pro unoquoque Sacerdote confratre defuncto, Missam celebrare debent. Sacerdotes, quibus binare concessum est diebus Dominicis et festis, secundam litarunt Missam pro defunctis confratribus, arbitrantes id se facere posse tuta conscientia. Attamen cum dubium exortum fuerit circa eius modi agendi modum, Ordinarius quaesivit : an Missa binationis offerri possit, ut in casu, pro defunctis Confratribus.

DISCEPTATIO SYNOPTICA

ARGUMENTA CONTRARIA. Ex Constitutione Bened. XIV, *Cum semper oblatas*, et ex constanti disciplina S. C. Concilii clare patet vetitum esse Parocho aut alii Sacerdoti Missam iteranti, quominus pro secundae Missae applicatione eleemosynam percipiat. Huius constantis decisionis ratio in hoc posita est ut quodlibet mercimonium a rebus sacris removeatur ; et ideo nedum directa eleemosynae perceptio pro secundae Missae applicatione, sed etiam quivis praetextus percipiendi eleemosynam, et quaecumque indirecta eiusdem eleemosynae perceptio est arcenda.¹

¹ Confer causam relatam vol. ix., pag. 297, et seqq. Act. S. Sedis.

Quibus positis, videtur sacerdotem applicare non posse secundam Missam pro confratribus defunctis: quia si non directe, saltem indirecte videtur eleemosynam percipere, dum applicans Missam pro confratre sacerdote satisfacit obligationi cui si per se non satisfaceret vel alii stipendium rependere deberet, ut Missam illam celebraret, ad quam ipse ex obligatione tenetur dando suum nomen praedicto sodalizio, vel saltem eleemosynam Missae amittere deberet. Quare secundam Missam applicando saltem rebus suis parceret, et ita indirecte eleemosynam reciperet.

ARGUMENTA FAVORABILIA. Ex altera vero parte perpendendum est quod secundam Missam applicando pro confratribus defunctis, Sacerdos eleemosynam nec directe nec indirecte percipit. Non directe, quia in facto nihil recipit; non indirecte, nam ad ipsam applicandam adstringitur non iustitiae, sed charitatis vinculo. Unde cum nulla lex prohibitiva reperiatur, quae secundam Missam applicare prohibeat pro sua devotione, vel pro suis defunctis aut animabus in Purgatorio degentibus, nihil vetare videtur quominus pro suffraganda confratris defuncti anima secundum applicet sacrificium. Notum enim in iure est, quod illud censetur permissum, quod non est a iure prohibitum.

Hisce praeiactis, prudentiae Emorum. Cardinalium remissum fuit perpendere, quonam responso dimittendum fuisset propositum dubium.

Resolutio. Sacra C. Concilii. visis videndis, sub die 14 Septembris, 1878, respondere censuit: "Licere."

EX QUIBUS COLLIGES:

I. Ex hac etiam resolutione sartam tectamque, nobis videtur manere tum S. C. Concilii maximam, tum dispositionem Bened. XIV. in Constit. *Cum semper oblatas*; quod nempe Sacerdos pro secunda Missa, nullam recipere possit eleemosynam neque directe neque indirecte.

II. Huius constantis inhibitionis rationem in hoc positam esse, ut omnis avaritia, omnisque etiam mercimonii suspicio a rebus sacris arceatur.

III. Intentionem principalem disponentis (quam semper in applicatione legis attendere oportet) esse, ut prospiciatur potius disciplinae ecclesiasticae robori, quam Sacerdotum utilitati.¹

¹ Quoties S. Congregatio Concilii interpretata est Constit. Bened. XIV. *Quod expensis* in qua loquitur Pontifex de prohibitione recipiendae eleemosynae pro secunda aut tertia Missa, eandem tenuit praxim. Huius rigoris specimen dedit S. Congregatio in *Trevirensi eleemos.* 23 Martii 1861. Quae relata fuit Vol. I. pag. 13. Agebatur in ea de Missa secunda celebranda cum gravi incommodo, et consuetudo ferebat ut eleemosyna pro hac secunda missa ex quibusdam beneficiis perciperetur: attamen S. Congregatio edixit; solummodo posse permitti prudenti arbitrio Episcopi aliquam remunerationem, intuitu laboris et incommodi, exclusa qualibet eleemosyna pro applicatione Missae.

IV. In themate nullimode, sive directe sive indirecte, eleemosynam percipi a Sacerdotibus secundam litantibus Missam pro confratribus defunctis, ideoque eisdem licere id peragere: quia nullum ius prohibet ut quis secundam applicet Missam pro illis, erga quos non lege justitiæ, sed vinculo charitatis tantum obstringitur.

LITURGY.

The Mass to be said, when the Offices of the Church and Celebrant are different.

REV. SIR,—May I suggest to you a very practical subject for exposition in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD? It is the rules that regulate the Mass to be said by a stranger-priest in a church where a different feast is held from that which he celebrated in his Office. My want of acquaintance with these rules was a frequent occasion of embarrassment to me last summer, when travelling from place to place. Others, I know, have felt the same inconvenience.

We have much pleasure in complying with the request of our respected correspondent.

It is the well-known general rule that the Mass ought to be conformable to the Office; that is, a priest is to celebrate the Mass of the mystery or saint in whose honour he recites that day's Office.

To this general rule there are two classes of exceptions—
1°. This conformity is not obligatory on days when Votive or Requiem Masses are allowed. 2°. The second class of exceptions is that to which our correspondent refers.

Before directly answering his question it is important for the sake of clearness to attend to the few following points:—

1. In a private Oratory there is to be no departure from the general rule. The Mass is to be conformable to the priest's Office, or else a Votive or a Requiem Mass, if his office is such as allows it.¹ The reason for withdrawing private Oratories from the legislation on this matter is, that in them there is little or no danger of want of uniformity in the colour or service of the day, as they have no choral service, and rarely more than one Mass.

¹ S.R.C., 12 Nov., 1830 (4669). 23 May, 1835 (4751).

2. Every priest, whether regular or secular, who takes the place of the parish-priest in saying the parochial Mass, or who is otherwise appointed for a time to discharge the congregational and obligatory Masses of the church, should conform to the calendar of the church in Mass and colour, though both should happen to disagree with his Office.¹

3. Every priest is to conform to the calendar of the church on feast-days which are celebrated therein *cum solemnitate et concursu populi*.² The solemnity required is not identified with an obligation on the part of the people to hear Mass, but rather refers to the splendour, or greater elegance of the ceremonial,³ than is usual on ordinary days.

Having made these preliminary observations, we proceed to give the rules which are to guide us in the many perplexing cases included under the question of our correspondent.

The case is of a priest whose Office is different from the Office of the church in which he is to celebrate Mass. What Mass is he to say—the Mass in conformity with the calendar of the church or in conformity with his office?

In deciding this question an important element for consideration is whether or no the colour of the vestments used in the church on the day is different from the colour required by the priest's Office. Accordingly we may arrange the many cases that can arise in this matter under two general headings:—first, when both the feast and the colour of the church are different from the feast and the colour of the priest; and secondly, when the feasts are different, but the colour of the church and of the priest is the same.

I.—*First Class of Cases.*

The feast and colour of the church and of the priest being different:

1°. When the feast of the church is a *double*, the priest is to follow the calendar of the church both as to the colour and the Mass. He is to celebrate the Mass with its prayers, preface, and other specialities as ordered for all the other celebrants in that church, and he is to make no com-

¹ S.C.R., 15 Dec., 1691 (3259). 3 Oct., 1699 (3554). 29 Jan. 1752 (4223).

² S.R.C., 11 Jan., 1701 (3586). 29 Jan., 1752 (4223). 22 March, 1817 (4533).

³ De Herdt, Tom. i., n. 99.

memoration of the Mass which would be in conformity with his Office.

But what, if his own Office is a semi-double, may he not at least celebrate a Votive Mass, which would admit of the same colour as that used in the church? No, even this is not allowed; he must conform to the calendar of the church which forbids a Votive Mass on this day.

2°. When the feast of the church is *de Dominica*, the priest is to conform also to the calendar of the church as to the colour and the Mass. But in this case it should be noted:

(a) That a commemoration of the priest's feast is to be made, if it be a double.

(b) That a commemoration of it is also to be made if it be a *dies infra Octavam*. Here the commemoration of the priest's feast will be the second prayer; and there will no third prayer, as this is for him a Sunday within an Octave.

(c) He is not to commemorate his feast if it is a semi-double, or simple, or vigil.

3°. When the feast of the church is a semi-double, or simple, or vigil:

(a) The priest is to use the colour and say the Mass conformable to his Office, if it be a double feast.

(b) He may choose the colour and Mass of the church, or the colour and Mass of his Office, if his feast is of lower rite than a double; that is, if it is a semi-double, or simple, or vigil, or *dies infra Octavam*.

4°. When the feast of the church is a *dies infra Octavam*:

(a) The priest is to use the colour and say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is a double.

(b) He is free to choose the colour and Mass of the church, or the colour and Mass of his Office, if his own feast is a semi-double, or simple, or vigil.

(c) He is to use the colour and say the Mass of the church, if his feast is *de Dominica*.

II.—Second Class of Cases.

It is supposed that the feasts of the church and the priest are different, but that the colour of the vestments is the same for both:

1°. When the feast of the church is a double of the first or second class, the priest is to conform to the calendar of the church.

2°. When the feast of the church is a double major or minor:

(a) The priest is to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is a double of the first or second class.

(b) He is free to select the Mass of the church or of his Office, if his feast is a double major or minor.

(c) He is recommended to say the Mass of the church, though he is allowed to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is of a lower rite than a double.

3°. When the feast of the church is *de Dominica*:

(a) The priest is to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is a double of first or second class.

(b) He may select the Mass of the church or of his Office, if his feast is a double major or minor.

(c) He is recommended, but not obliged, to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is *de die infra Octavam*.

4°. When the feast of the church is a semi-double, or a simple, or a vigil, or a *dies infra Octavam*:

(a) The priest is to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is a double of the first or second class.

(b) He is recommended, but not obliged to say the Mass of his Office, if his feast is a double major or minor.

(c) He is free to select the Mass of the church or of his Office, if his feast is a semi-double, or simple, or vigil, or *dies infra Octavam*.

(d) If his feast is *de Dominica*, it cannot concur with a semi-double, or simple, or vigil in the church. It can concur with a *dies infra Octavam*, and in this combination the priest is recommended, but not obliged, to say the Mass of the church.

All these varied combinations, and the practical decision in each case, have been drawn up in two tabulated forms. These tables were submitted to the Congregation of Rites, and received its approbation. We give them in this place, and beg to suggest that it would be a manifest convenience if they were printed on a large sheet, and framed, and posted in a prominent place in the sacristy of every church.

TABELLA I.

Tabella Missæ privatæ celebrandæ in ecclesia aliena quando Sacerdotis Celebrantis et ecclesiæ in qua celebrat diversa sunt Officia et colores.

Officium Celebrantis	Dominicæ - - - - -	0	1	0	1	1	1
	Duplicis I vel II classis - - - -	3	3	3	1	1	2
	Duplicis majoris vel minoris - - -	3	3	3	1	1	2
	Semiduplicis - - - - -	4	4	4	1	1	0
	Diei infra octavam - - - - -	4	4	4	1	1	5
	Simplicis, vigiliæ - - - - -	4	4	4	1	1	1
1. Missa et color concordant cum Officio ecclesiæ alienæ.		Simplicis, vigiliæ					
2. Missa et color concordant cum Officio ecclesiæ alienæ, et fit commemoratio festi duplicis, more simplicis; si vero hoc festum habet octavam, vide 5 infra.		Diei infra octavam					
3. Missa et color concordant cum celebrantis Officio.		Semiduplicis					
4. Missa et color concordant cum alterutro Officio.		Duplicis I vel II classis					
5. Missa et color concordant cum Officio ecclesiæ alienæ et fit commemoratio octavæ sine tertia oratione.		Duplicis majoris vel minoris					
6. Casus impossibilis.		Dominicæ					

TABELLA II.

Altera tabella Missæ celebrandæ a Sacerdote in ecclesia aliena quando communis est utriusque Officii color.¹

Officium Celebrantis	Dominicæ - - - - -	0	2	0	2	1	0
	Duplicis I vel II classis - - - -	3	3	3	3	1	3
	Duplicis majoris vel minoris - - -	5	5	5	4	1	4
	Semiduplicis - - - - -	4	4	4	2	1	0
	Diei infra octavam - - - - -	4	4	4	2	1	5
	Simplicis, vigiliæ. - - - - -	4	4	4	2	1	0
0. Casus impossibilis, vel in quo nihil observandum est.		Simplicis, vigiliæ					
1. Missa conformis ecclesiæ alienæ Officio.		Diei infra octavam					
2. Missa conformis ecclesiæ alienæ Officio rectius dicitur.		Semiduplicis					
3. Missa conformis Celebrantis Officio.		Duplicis I vel II classis					
4. Missa alterutri Officio conformis.		Duplicis majoris vel minoris					
5. Missa conformis Celebrantis Officio rectius dicitur.		Dominicæ					

¹There is an apparent difference between some of the rules in this table and the decision of the S. Cong. (12 November, 1891, n. 31) which says: "Missam concordare debere cum Officio quod quisque recitavit, dummodo cum colore ecclesiæ in quæ celebrat, aptetur."

Only one other cause of embarrassment connected with this matter occurs to us; it has reference to the insertion or omission of the *Credo*. The case is this, the colour of the church and of the priest's Office is the same, and it is, moreover, a day on which the priest may say either the Mass of the church or of his Office. He chooses the Mass of his Office. But it happens that the Mass of the church has not the *Credo*, and the Mass of his Office has: must he for uniformity omit the *Credo* in his Office-Mass? In this case he may omit or insert the *Credo*. If, however, the Mass of his Office has the *Credo* because of the presence of a remarkable relic in his own church, then he should not say the *Credo* in the strange church.¹

"Poterit in officio proprio; dummodo non sit addendum ratione Corporis vel Reliquiae; debet si celebret de Officio Ecclesiae."—S. R. C. 11 Ap., 1840.

Finally, it may be of importance to give prominence to the fact that a priest whose Office is a semi-double or ferial, is not allowed to say a Votive or Requiem Mass in a church where a double feast is being celebrated;² nor, on the other hand, is he allowed to say a Votive or Requiem Mass in a church where the feast is a semi-double or ferial, if his own Office-feast is a double.³

The Rite to be observed in administering Holy Communion to a Nun who is too sick to leave her room.

REV SIR,—You would confer a great favour on me by directing me in the following matter:—

I.

If there be in a convent a nun who is for many years a confirmed invalid, and confined to bed, though not in proximate danger of death, should a priest in administering the Holy Communion to her (which may be several times in the week) observe the rubrics of the chapter of the Ritual which treats *de Communionibus Infirmorum*?

I have been told that a custom prevails of administering Communion to such persons in the same way as it is administered to persons in the church, *intra Missam*. Could you inform me whether such is the case, and whether such a custom, if it exists, may be followed.

¹ De Herdt. tom. I. n. 101.

² S.R.C. 11 Sept. 1847 (5116-3).

³ S.R.C. 11 Sept. 1816 (n. 4526-20); 16 Dec. 1828 (n. 4646).

II.

Even if the *Asperges* and prayers *Exaudi nos*, and the *Domine Sancte* be omitted, should a blessing with the Ciborium (supposing of course, particles to be in it) be given or should it be merely the blessing *Benedictio Dei*, &c., as after communion in the church?

III.

May the humeral veil be retained during the administration of the Holy Communion if the Communion be given as in the church, *extra Missam*?

IV.

Is the use of the umbrella in carrying the Blessed Sacrament from the chapel to the room of the communicant, prescribed *sub gravi*?

C. A. CAPELLANUS.

Answer to Question I.

The case is of one who is not so sick as to be a fit subject for receiving the Viaticum, nor yet so well as to be able to leave her room for the chapel.

It has been supposed in an answer of the Sacred Congregation of Rites in a similar case that if the room of the invalid be so situated that she can see the altar where Mass is being said or hear the voice of the celebrant, the Communion may be given to her *infra Missam*.¹

We are justified in extending this ruling to the administration of Holy Communion immediately after Mass, when the inconvenience caused by the interruption or otherwise to the community, if the celebrant leave the chapel to go to the room of the invalid, is such as to warrant the postponement. This is ordinarily the case.

But if the room of the invalid be far removed from the chapel, so far that even the sound of the Mass bell cannot

¹ Rmus P. Joannes Maria Alfieri . . . postulavit ut in sequentia dubia circa modum deferendi *infra Missam* sacram Communionem ad infirmos vigentem in valetudinariis Ordinis sui declarare dignaretur, nimirum :

Dubium I.—An recitato ad Altare *Confiteor*, *Misereatur*, *Ecce Agnus, Domine non sum dignus*, possit permitti quod sacerdos cum pyxide sine velo humerali deferat ad infirmos sacram Communionem saltem duobus candelas deferentibus comitatus et adhibita etiam umbrella, si fieri potest, praesertim si ab altari distent infirmi?

Dubium II.—An modo supradicto deferri possit sacra Communio non solum in toto valetudinario sive a parte antea sive a parte postea altaris, sed etiam in aliquibus cubiculis, ex quibus, etsi altare non videatur, tamen vox sacerdotis celebrantis auditur?

S. R. C. resp. "*Nihil obstat*, dummodo tamen in delatione SS. Sacramenti umbella omnino adhibeatur."

7 Feb. 1874.

be heard in it, we are of opinion that you should observe, in the administration of the Holy Communion, the rubrics of the chapter in the Ritual *de Communionem Infirmorum*, being careful to use the form *Corpus Domini nostri*, &c., instead of the *Accipe, soror*. Because, in these circumstances, the invalid does not in any sense assist in the church or chapel; and the Communion can hardly be considered to be for her *infra or post Missam* more than for the invalid who lives in a house outside the convent but yet near the chapel. It is, in our opinion, an illustration of the condition of a class of persons who are expressly contemplated in the third section of the chapter of the Ritual *de Communionem Infirmorum*, namely, those who are not sick enough to receive the Viaticum and who are not well enough to come to the church or chapel for communion.¹

Now the only points of difference noted by the Ritual in the rite of administering Holy Communion to this class, and the rite of administering it to those who actually receive the Viaticum, are, that the first class must receive Communion fasting,² and that the form to be used for them is *Corpus Domini nostri*.³ Accordingly, we think that you should not omit the *Asperges*, or the prayers *Exaudi* and *Domine Sancte*, whenever the invalid's room is far removed from the chapel where the Mass is celebrated.⁴

We are not aware of the custom of which you speak. Moreover, if the rite for administering the Communion be prescribed in the Ritual, as we hold that it is, the custom to the contrary should be regarded only as an abuse. For the Constitution of Innocent XIII., which was re-affirmed by Benedict XIII. (23rd Sept. 1724), commands the bishops—

“*Ut abusus omnes qui in ecclesiis contra praescriptum Cere-
monialis, et Ritualis Romani, vel rubricas Missalis et Breviarii
irreperint, student omnino remove.*”

¹ “*Hortetur Parochus infirmum, ut sacram Communionem sumat, etiam si graviter non ægrotet, aut mortis periculum non imminet, maxime si Festi alicujus celebritas suadeat, neque ipse illum ministrare recusabit.*”

RIT. ROM. *De Communionem Infirmorum*.

² *Ibid.* § v.

³ Rubric *in loc.* Cavaliere holds that the priest should say *Misereatur vestri*, not *tui*, when the person communicates from devotion, and is not in danger of death.—Tom. iv., *dec.* 79, n. 11.

⁴ The Congregation of Rites decided on 19 Dec. 1829 (4651), that it is not allowable for a priest to administer the Viaticum *intra Missam*, to one whose room is so far removed that the priest cannot see the altar from it. We have seen that the administration of the Viaticum and of the Communion of the sick is subjected to the same laws.

Answer to Question II. :—

You should give the blessing with the ciborium. The Rubric is clear on the point:

“Si altera particula Sacramenti superfuerit, (sacerdos) surgit, et accipiens vas cum Sacramento, facit cum eo signum Crucis, super infirmum, nihil dicens.”

Answer to Question III. :—

The priest is not to wear the humeral veil when administering the Holy Communion, but only the surplice and stole. The veil is intended for the procession, to protect the ciborium against the dust which is driven about by the wind along the public ways, and also to cover it in token of reverence and respect:

“Ut pulveris et aeris injuriæ arceantur, atque ut majus veneratio augeatur in circumstantibus; res enim, quæ ante oculos patent, facile vilescunt.”¹

The priest should put off the humeral veil, after placing the Blessed Sacrament on the table and genuflecting, and before sprinkling the holy water.

Answer to Question IV. :—

The use of the umbrella, in carrying the Blessed Sacrament from the chapel to the room of the communicant, does not bind *sub gravi*.

The Rubric itself supposes that even when the Blessed Sacrament is carried along the public ways to the house of the sick, with all the pomp prescribed in the Ritual, the Umbrella, or the Baldachino, may be dispensed with, if it cannot be conveniently had. The words of the Rubric are “Umbellam, seu Baldachinam, ubi haberi potest, deferant.”²

We should think that it is less necessary in the case we are considering, when the priest does not pass out of the convent-house, and when, moreover, he wears the humeral veil to protect and cover the ciborium.

In what sense the Approbatio Ordinarii is necessary for a Breviary.

REV. SIR,—In a former number of the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD it was stated that the Breviary from which the Office is read, must have the approval of the Ordinary. I wish to ask is there here question of lawfulness or of validity: that is, supposing the Canonical Hours to be read from a book not so approved, is the obligation discharged by one who is bound to recite the Divine Office?

¹ Barruffaldi. *Comm. ad Rit. Rom.* Tit. xxvi., 63.

² RIT. ROM. *De Communione Infer.* SS. 9.

This law regards the character of the book from which a priest is to read his Office, and not what our respected correspondent happily calls the validity of the Office itself. A priest who would read his Office from a book which is an exact copy of the Roman breviary, but which has not the approval of the Ordinary, would comply with his obligation of reading the Office, but would offend, unless he has a legitimate excuse, against this law which requires him to use a copy of the Roman breviary authenticated by the Ordinary. This law, in fact, regards an important provision to secure that the breviaries printed out of Rome are an exact copy of the Roman breviary. A similar law exists regarding the other liturgical books: the missal, the ceremonial of bishops, the pontifical, and also regarding all special Offices, Masses, prayers, antiphons, responses and such like. Hence we were careful to write in the number of the RECORD¹ to which you refer "if the breviary in question has not the *approbatio Ordinarii* it cannot be legitimately used." Here we speak of the book (the breviary) and not of the fulfilment of the obligation to read the Office.

St. Alphonsus² considers the case of a priest who is bound to use the Roman breviary but cannot get a copy of it. There is however at hand a Benedictan breviary, or a peculiar diocesan breviary, such as were common in France in the last century. He raises the question whether the priest is bound to read his office from this non-Roman breviary, and decides affirmatively. Because, he argues, the obligation of the office is two-fold: first, a universal obligation to recite the different Hours; and secondly, an obligation respecting the form of the office; and if a priest is unable to comply with the second, he is not thereby relieved from the first.

Now this case goes far beyond the one raised by our correspondent who supposes the book to be a Roman breviary, and to want only the signature of the Ordinary declaring it to be a true copy.

Disapproval of Lunettes with glass sides.

DEAR REV. SIR,—Many readers of the RECORD will be obliged by your stating in an early number of it, whether the *lunettes* composed of two circular pieces of glass enclosed in a rim of gilt silver and united by a hinge, may be used for keeping the Blessed

¹ Vol I. page 552.

² Lib. v. n. 158. *De praeceptis particularibus.*

Sacrament instead of a pyx, or for giving Benediction with it in the monstrance? In the lunettes referred to the Blessed Sacrament touches the glass both before and behind, and is kept by it in the monstrance.

The Sacred Congregation has decided that it is not proper to enclose the Blessed Sacrament in lunettes of the kind you describe:—

“Nunquid ad sacram Hostiam in Ostensorio exponendam uti liceat Lunula, quae consistit ex duobus orbiculis vitreis tenui limbo vel circulo argenteo deaurato circumjunctis et claudendis, ita ut sacra Hostia subter inhaereat ipsi circulo argenteo, ast ante et retro vitreos orbiculos ipsos immediate tangat, et per eos erecta teneatur?”

S. R. C. resp.

;*“Prout in casu exponitur non decere sacras species inter vitreas laminas includere, quarum superficies illas immediate tangant.”*
4 Feb. 1871, (54-69, n. 5).

Our respected correspondent is, we presume, aware that the lunette is now made, as it ought to be, without glass. It consists of two pieces of gold, or silver gilt, which are so connected as to form a little groove or drill in which the Blessed Sacrament is held firm. For the convenience of purifying this lunette, one of the sides forming the groove is on a hinge, so that when a little clasp which holds the two sides together is raised, the one side falls and exposes the surface of the groove or drill which had been touched by the Blessed Sacrament. This lunette is fixed in the monstrance in the usual way.

These lunettes are made in Dublin; and the glass ones, of which the Sacred Congregation disapproves as not proper, can be easily altered to this approved pattern.

The form to be used in Blessing Beads.

REV. SIR,—In blessing beads, medals, crosses, &c., what form of prayers is a priest to use who has power to attach the indulgence, *vi formulæ* quae incipit. “Indulgentiae quas Summus Pontifex, vel ab eo delegatus, benedicendi coronas, rosaria, cruces, &c.”? Is it enough for priests, with the faculties therein given, to use the form “In nomini Patris,” &c.?

No form, not even the “in nomine Patris,” &c., is required; nor is it necessary to sprinkle the beads, or cross, or medal, with holy water. All that is necessary is to make over the object the sign of the cross.

This point was decided by the Congregation of Indulgences.

“Utrum ad Indulgentias applicandas crucibus, rosariis, &c., alius ritus sit necessarius praterquam signum crucis a sacerdote qui hanc facultatem accepit, factum?”

S. Cong. Resp.: “*Negative.*” 11 April, 1840.

What Office is to be read outside one's diocese.

1. When a priest is visiting or travelling outside his diocese for a short time, what Office should he say—the Office of his diocese or of the place where he is?

2. What is to be done if he is travelling outside his diocese for a whole year?

3. What, if he intends to reside for four months in the same place outside his diocese?

The following is the common teaching of theologians and rubricists on these questions:—

1°. A priest who is travelling from place to place outside his diocese for a short time, for example, during his summer vacation, is to read the Office of his diocese. By this course he will avoid the omission or repetition of Offices ordered for his diocese within the year.

2°. Even when the term of his travelling is extended to a year, he will do well to keep to the Offices of his diocese; otherwise the ordering of the Office, if he were to follow the directory of every place into which he comes, would be exposed to very many perplexing difficulties, caused by the occurrence and concurrence of feasts and the omission or repetition of Offices.

3°. A priest who is sojourning in a fixed place outside his diocese for a short time, a month or two, will read the Office of his diocese. The reason is similar to that given already.

4°. But a cleric who is come to live in a place outside his diocese for the greater part of the year, for instance, students in college, or a priest on a temporary mission, is recommended to say the Office of the place.

One or many Low Masses de Requiem, præsente cadavere.

REV. SIR—Lately four or five priests, of whom I was one, met at a corpse-house to say Mass. The day was a double.

Some of the priests said that each of us could say the Low Mass in black vestments, because the corpse was present. The others held that only one such Mass could be said, and this in virtue of our Irish privilege.

I should add that there was to be a High Mass *de requiem* in the parish church for the deceased on the same day, *praesente cadavere*.

Please say which of the two opinions was correct?

We beg to remind our correspondent that we explained the legislation on this subject at considerable length in former numbers of the RECORD (vol. i., pp. 232, 297, 424).

In the case neither of the opinions was correct. It was not allowable to say, in the circumstances, even one Low Mass *de requie*.

Those who held that all may say low requiem Masses, provided the corpse is present, were in error. Even two solemn *requiem* Masses for the same person, on the same day, are not allowed on a double feast. Much less are two or more low requiem Masses permitted. In fact the general law forbids altogether a low *requiem* Mass on a double feast, *etiam praesente cadavere*. It requires a special Indult to allow even one.

We have in this country a special Indult which allows one, and only one, private or low *requiem* Mass, *praesente cadavere*, on an ordinary double (major or minor), but only when a solemn requiem Mass cannot conveniently be celebrated for the deceased.

In the case our correspondent brings forward, the solemn requiem Mass was actually celebrated, and consequently even the low *requiem* Mass was not allowed.

¹For the Irish indult and full explanation, see ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD, vol. i., pp. 235-6, 424-25.

CORRESPONDENCE.

[The following letter, written by one who takes a deep interest in the religious education of the youth of Ireland, and addressed to his Venerable Ordinary, has been sent to us for publication. We publish it with much pleasure, and we sincerely hope that it may have the effect of extending to other Dioceses the good work which, we know, has been already begun, with the happiest results, in the Diocese of Ferns. The only recommendation amongst those made by the writer to which objection may be taken, seems to be the one regarding the time at which the examinations should be held. We confess we should prefer a much longer interval between the examinations in secular and in religious subjects.—ED. I. E. R.]

MY LORD—Some months ago I had the honour and pleasure of a conversation with your Lordship upon the necessity of having some course of religious knowledge instituted for the Catholic youths of Ireland who are pursuing their studies under the Intermediate Education Act, now in operation about three years. Your Lordship at that time, asked me to note down any views or suggestions I would wish to make known. Time did not allow me to engage in the task; and if it be not too late now, I beg your Lordship will pardon the liberty I take in submitting a few hasty remarks upon the subject.

That it is important—nay, absolutely necessary—for the religious interests of our youths to be looked after in a new aspect, is too evident to require much argument. The thought of acquiring secular knowledge for the purposes of distinction in the new examinations, is at present so absorbing, both with masters and pupils that, to say the least of it, one feels the atmosphere of school life dangerously charged. The consoling thought that the Faith of the Irish is invulnerable, cannot, in my opinion, be much longer entertained, unless a new protecting shield be thrown around it. The influences acting upon the full-grown, half-educated men and women of the present generation are already widely enough felt; and if the rising generation, enjoying, as evidently they will, all the advantages of high secular education—call it perfect if you will—be allowed to enter life without a careful, solid, recognised course of religious knowledge, the consequences may be alarming.

It is for these reasons, as well as for many others, my Lord, that I more than once expressed an anxiety that your Lordship, in conjunction with the Episcopacy of Ireland, would devise some plan by which the Catholic youths, presenting themselves

each recurring year for the Intermediate Examinations, should do likewise in *Religious Knowledge*.

And in order that an additional interest be taken in such examinations, it would be essential that awards, *somewhat* proportional to those had under the Intermediate Act, should be offered to the successful candidates presenting themselves. Hence the necessity, in the first place, of a considerable fund being established. When taken in hands by your Lordship and the other Bishops of Ireland, there is scarcely a doubt of a large annual sum being provided. There would be further details necessary, and I would humbly suggest that—

1. A course of three years in Religious Knowledge should be drawn up and fixed for the whole of Ireland.
2. A Board of Examiners of *six* or more be appointed.
3. Examination Papers on the lines of the Intermediate, and Examinations be conducted in the same way.
4. Centre Superintendents be appointed from among the priests. This can be the more easily done, there being already a considerable number on the Intermediate Staff.
5. The day for Examinations to be the one either before, or the one immediately after, the Intermediate Examinations, if not on the Sunday or holiday within the ten days appointed by the Commissioners (Intermediate).
6. The Examinations be divided into at least two parts, of two hours each.
7. Prizes or Exhibitions of a reasonable value be awarded to the successful candidates in each grade.
8. The Results to be published in pamphlet form, &c.

Now, my Lord, with the above suggestions, I beg to inclose you a copy of a document prepared from an authentic source, showing the names of the various centres and the probable number of Catholic boys who presented themselves this year. It will at once strike your Lordship the large percentage of Catholic youths there is to be thought about.

I beg your Lordship will pardon the liberty I have taken in calling attention to the subject, and to accept as an apology my anxiety to have the religious interests of our nation always guarded by the Priesthood and Hierarchy of Ireland. I am, my Lord, with profound respect, your obedient servant, M. A.

DOCUMENTS.

I.

BAPTISM OF CONVERTS.

[The following Document will furnish the most satisfactory reply we can give to a correspondent, who asks about the Baptism of converts. There can no longer be any doubt about the obligation of making inquiry, in each case, regarding the former baptism of the converts, and of not giving even conditional baptism, unless a probable doubt remains regarding the existence or the validity of a previous baptism. Hence the general presumption against the validity of baptism administered by heretics is not sufficient to dispense with the necessity of careful inquiry. On this point Gury's decision cannot now be held.—Ed. I. E. R.]

EX S. CONGR. S. R. U. INQUISITIONIS.

DECISIO DUBII:

AN BAPTISMUM CONFERRI DEBEAT SUB CONDITIOE HAERETICIS QUI AD ECCLESIAM CATHOLICAM REDEUNT A QUACUMQUE SECTA.

Die 20 Novembris 1878.

Emi Patres Inquisitores Generales in Congregatione generali feria VI 20 Novembris 1878, resolutionem dederunt dubio, an Baptismum conferri debeat *sub conditione* haereticis illis, qui redeunt in sinu catholicae Ecclesiae a quacumque secta ipsi proveniant. Deinde casum conscientiae quoque contemplati sunt a Gury propositum pag. 393 editionis Melitae 1878; et constituerunt, eundem casum corrigendum esse iuxta terminos dicti decreti, Nos autem et casum dicti auctoris et decretum S. Inquisitionis lectoribus exhibemus.

GURY—CASUS CONSCIENTIAE—MELITAE 1878 PAG. 393.

Sabellinus haereticus veniens ad parochum petit instrui et admitti ad Ecclesiam catholicam. Parochus vero eum instructum interrogat de suscepto baptismo, nec potest certum defectum invenire; hinc haeret anceps utrum illum sub conditione baptizare debeat, quod tandem, non absque magna anxietate praestat. R. Sabellinus rebaptizare (*sic sed omnino legendum est rebaptizari*) potuit et debuit, ut fert mos generalis ecclesiae, quia notum est, haereticos errare saepius in baptismo conferendo; ergo prudenter haeretici ad veram fidem conversi communiter rebaptizari solent.

Feria VI, 20 Novembris 1878. Proposito dubio "Se debba il Battesimo *sub conditione* conferirsi agli eretici che si convertono alla religione cattolica, da qualunque luogo provenganda ed a qualunque setta appartengano?" (latine vero—An baptismum *sub*

conditions conferri debeat haereticis, qui se convertant ad religionem catholicam, a quocumque loco proveniant et ad quamcumque sectam pertineant?)—

Responsum fuit—*Negative*. Sed in conversione haereticorum a quocumque loco, vel a quacumque secta venerint, inquirendum de validitate Baptismi in haeresi suscepti. Instituto igitur in singulis casibus examine, si compertum fuerit aut nullum, aut nulliter collatum fuisse, baptizandi erunt absolute. Si autem pro tempore et locorum ratione, investigatione peracta, nihil sive pro validitate, sive pro invaliditate detegatur, aut adhuc probabile dubium de baptismi validitate supersit, tum *sub conditione* secreto baptizentur. Demum si constiterit validum fuisse, recipiendi erunt tantummodo ad abiurationem seu professionem fidei.

I. PELAMI S. R. U. INQUISIT. NOTARIUS

II.

MATERIAL FOR VESTMENTS.

[The Sacred Congregation of Rites has recently renewed its former prohibition regarding the use of cotton, linen, or woollen cloth in the making of vestments.—ED. I. E. R.]

EX S. CONGREGATIONE RITUUM MONITUM QUOAD USUM
SACRORUM PARAMENTORUM EX GOSSYPPIO, LINO, AUT LANA
CONFECTORUM.

VERSIO LATINA.

Etsi s. Congregatio Rituum saepe illicitum declaraverit usum casularum, aliorumque similium sacrorum paramentorum ex tela gossypii aut lini aut etiam lanæ confectorum; attamen a nonnullis fabricatoribus harum telarum, paramenta ejusmodi ita venundantur, quasi ab ipsa s. Congregatione nunc eadem permissa fuerint. Ad omnimodam igitur tollendam, in re tam gravi, falsam opinionem, monentur Revmi Ordinarii Dioecesium, decreta iam emanata, quoad hanc rem, ab eadem s. Congregatione, in sua plena permanere vi ac robore, neque ullam existere nuperrimam dispositionem, quæ aliquo modo eadem modificaverit,

Ex Secretaria s. Congregationis Rituum, die 28 Iulii, 1881.

PLACIDUS RALLI, SECRETARIUS.

III.

ELEEMOSYNAE] DATAE IN COMM. OMNIUM FIDEL.
DEFUNCTORUM.

The following Document will have a special interest at the present time. While the Church is most careful about the exact fulfilment of the obligation which results from

the acceptance of *Honoraria* given with an understanding regarding the saying of Masses, she at the same time takes into account the peculiar circumstances in which *Honoraria* are sometimes given. If these circumstances are considered by the faithful in making the offering, and if their tacit consent can be presumed to exist in favour of the reduction of the number of Masses which in ordinary circumstances would correspond with the *Honoraria* given, then the Church does not require that Masses should be said in excess of the intention of the faithful.

Where, therefore, the custom exists of several persons contributing *Honoraria* for the Mass or Masses said on the Feast of All-Souls, with a knowledge derived from the previous notification of the officiating priests of the number of Masses to be said, it is not necessary that the number of Masses should correspond with the total amount of the *Honoraria* given.—ED. I. E. R.

COMPENDIUM FACTI.—Reverendissimus Episcopus R. in America ad Emum Praefectum S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide epistolam misit sequentis tenoris: "In plurimis Foederatorum Statuum Americae Septentrionalis Dioecesis, et etiam in hac mea R. invaluit consuetudo ut pro unica Missa, quae in Die Commemorationis omnium Fidelium Defunctorum cantatur. Fideles contribuant pecuniam. Summa autem pecuniae sic collecta ordinarie tanta est, ut plurimum centenarum Missarum eleemosynas facile exaequet. Inter eos qui pecuniam hoc modo contribuunt, plurimi sunt de quibus dubitari merito possit, utrum eam hoc modo collaturi forent, si rite edocerentur animabus Purgatorii, quas sic iuvare intendunt, melius provisum iri, si tot Missae pro iis, licet extra diem commemorationis omnium Fidelium Defunctorum celebrarentur, quot iuxta taxam dioecesanam continentur stipendia in summa totali sic contributa.

"Ut erroneae Fidelium opinioni occurratur in quibusdam Dioecesis Statuto Synodali cautum est, ut, nisi singulis annis, praevia diligens totius rei explicatio populo fiat, Missionariis eam Fidelium pecuniam pro unica illa Missa accipere non liceat.

"Quare Eminentiam Vestram enixe ac humillime precor ut pro pace conscientiae meae ad dubia sequentia respondere digetur. 1. Utrum praedicta consuetudo *absolute* prohibenda sit. Quod si *negative*.

"2. Utrum tolerari possit, casu quo quotannis praevia illa diligens totius rei explicatio Populo fiat. Quod si *affirmative*.

"3. Utrum, si timor sit ne vel Missionarii praevidiam illam diligentem eamque plenam totius rei explicationem Populo praebeant, vel Populus eam satis intelligat, Ordinarius istam consuetudinem prohibere possit et Missionariis iniungere ut pro tota summa contributa intra ipsum mensem Novembris tot legantur vel cantentur

Missae, quot in ea continentur stipendia, pro Missis sive lectis sive cantatis. Quod si *affirmative*.

"4. Utrum ob rationem, quod Missae illae intra ipsum mensem Novembris legendae vel cantandae sint, Ordinarius consuetum Missarum sive legendarum sive cantandarum stipendium pro aequo suo arbitrio pro illis Missis possit augere."

Quaestio haec ab Emo. Praefecto S. C. de Propaganda Fide ad S. Concilii Congregationem resolvenda remissa fuit.

RESOLUTIO.

Sacra Concilii Congregatio, causa discussa sub die 13 Maii 1876, respondere censuit—*Pilata et exquiratur votum consultoris*. Sub die vero 27 Ianuarii 1877 eadem S. C. Congr. audito Consultoris voto, sequens dabat responsum: *Nihil innovetur: tantum apponatur tabella in Ecclesia, qua fideles doceantur, quod illis ipsis elemosynis una canitur Missa in die Commemorationis omnium Fidelium defunctorum.*

EX QUIBUS COLLIGES.

I. Per sacros Canones prohiberi, quoad elemosynas missarum, quidquid ad avaritiam pertinet, quodque turpe sapiat quaestum: ceu sunt importunae atque illiberales elemosynarum exactiones.

II. Proinde a iure canonico haud consuetudinem admitti ullam, qua fieret ut pro pluribus elemosynis una tantum applicaretur Missa: nequit enim Sacerdos ullo modo una tantum Missa satisfacere pro pluribus pro quibus promisit *specialiter et in solidum* celebrare.

III. Etenim quamvis sacrificium Missae sit virtutis infinitae, tamen Christus, qui est idem sacrificium, non operatur summam suae immensitatis plenitudinem, sed in eiusmodi mysteriis operatur certa distributione suae plenitudinis, lege infallibili eisdem alligata.

IV. Verumtamen licere Sacerdoti cuique plures accipere elemosynas pro unica Missa, quoties id noverint offerentes; quum enim dolus et circumventio absit omne pactum inter Sacerdotem et offerentes haberi debet licitum atque iustum.

V. Illos namque, qui singuli integra offerant stipendia, et contenti sint ut pro seipsis omnibus una applicetur Missa perinde agere ac si ex mera liberalitate pinguem elargirentur elemosynam,

VI. Consuetudinem in themate haud reprobare potuisse; dum offerentibus innotesceret; neque dici possit eosdem invitos stipendia quamplurima praebere pro unica Missa litanda in die commemorationis omnium Fidelium defunctorum.

VII. Maximam insuper a S. Rota firmatam fuisse; quod in materia oblationum legitima attendenda sit locorum consuetudo, et mens seu voluntas offerentium.

IV.

NUNS SHOULD WEAR THEIR RING ON THE RING-FINGER OF THE RIGHT, AND NOT OF THE LEFT HAND.

The following document contains an answer of Mons. Martimicci, Papal Master of Ceremonies, to a question submitted to him by the Most Rev. Dr. Kirby, on the part of a venerable Irish bishop:—

MONSIGNORE VENERATISSIMO,

Un Vescovo mi scrive dall' Irlanda di fargli sapere sopra qual mano e sopra qual dito le monache, che hanno tal privilegio, debbano portare l'anello. Stante la diversa practica vigente in Irlanda in proposito, il lodato Vescovo brama di sapere la practica approvata da Roma sulla medesima. E perciò prego la S. V. Rma. di volere colla solita sua gentilezza accennarmi qui in margine il dotto suo parere, del quale ha ringrazio distintamente, nell' atto di confermarmi colla piu distinta stima.

Hmo. Devmo. Servitore,

T. KIRBY.

Collegio Irlandese,
30 *Juglio*, 1881.

All' Illmo. e Rmo. Monsignore P^{IO} MARTIMICCI,
Prefetto Emerito delle Ceremonie Pont.

Ho sempre veduto, che le monache in Roma portano l'anello, ossia un piccolo cerchio d'oro, nel dito anulare destro.

Nel Pontificale Romano, *tit.* "de benedictione et consecratione Virginum," si prescrive, che il Vescovo "mittit annulum digito annulari dexteræ manus Virginis et desponsat illam Jesu Christi," &c. Mi sembra, che non vi sia dubbio.

P. MARTIMICCI.

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Catechumen. An Aid to the intelligent knowledge of the Catechism. By the Rev. J. G. WENHAM, Canon of Southwark, and Diocesan Inspector of Schools. London : Burns & Oates ; Dublin : Gill & Son.

IN the last number of the RECORD appeared a highly appreciative notice of a work similar in many respects to the work which we now wish to introduce to the notice of our readers. The points of similarity between the "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions" and the "Catechumen : an Aid to the intelligent knowledge of the Catechism," are obvious enough. The subject matter is substantially the same, for in both the course of the Catechism of the Council of Trent has been followed. Accordingly, in both we have the "Apostles' Creed," the "Commandments of God," the "Precepts of the Church," the "Sacraments," and "Prayer," fully treated.

The reason of this division is thus given by Canon Wenham : "The Catechism sets forth what is necessary for salvation. To save our souls we must begin, first, by believing what God has revealed. The chief and most necessary truths of revelation are contained in the Apostles' Creed. Secondly, we must practise what God has commanded ; and His Will is to be found chiefly in the Ten Commandments. And, thirdly, since we cannot please God, or fulfil His commands, without the support and assistance of His Grace, the third subject of Christian Doctrine is 'Grace and the Means of Grace,' or the Sacraments and Prayer."

In point of style there are found in both works many common characteristics, chief amongst which is simplicity—the very perfection of style.

But, notwithstanding these points of similarity, each of the two books has a very distinct object in view, and inspires a special interest which prepares the reader who has already become acquainted with the one, to appreciate more fully the distinctive utility of the other. The object of the "Programmes" has been already stated ; the aim of Canon Wenham's book cannot be better stated than in his own words. "With a view of helping those who are aiming at making religious knowledge more intelligent and practical, and at the request of some who are engaged in this work, I have written the following pages. The book does not pretend to be anything very original, or higher and better than other books of religious instruction, but rather something less than they are—something more easy, simple, and intelligible, dressed up to meet a present want. Certainly, it is intended to do more than can be done by compendiums, abridgments, and other cram-books, which, if useful in their own place, yet tend to make religious knowledge—and sometimes this is professed and defended—

an affair of memory. The aim of this little book is, on the contrary, to make it interesting and intelligent. What I have set before myself as the point I desired to aim at in writing this little book, is to help young people, whether professedly students or not, to an easy, yet intelligent understanding of Christian faith and practice—easy, in being simple in style, in not being excessive in the depth or quantity of knowledge aimed at, and in avoiding technical terms and distinctions; intelligent, in treating of each subject in its relation to others, to the objections and difficulties which are opposed to it, and to the practice of a Christian life."

The highest praise we can bestow is given by saying that the author seems to us to have carried out this correct idea consistently and successfully. We can therefore, safely and strongly recommend it to all those who are engaged in the religious education of others, whether children or adults, as well as to those who desire to acquire for themselves an easy, accurate, connected, and extensive knowledge of what Catholic Faith teaches, and Catholic morality prescribes.

We are glad to find the name of an eminent Irish Priest, Canon Thomas Lalor, mentioned in one of the first pages as *censor deputatus*. This is all the more desirable as owing to the death of his late venerated Ordinary, Canon Wenham was deprived of the advantage of a formal episcopal approbation of his work. We confess we altogether fail to see the force of an objection to Canon Wenham's work urged in an English periodical, and founded on the fact that he "holds the high position of Diocesan Inspector to the diocese of Southwark." "To have written a valuable treatise," says the writer of the notice to which we refer, "is certainly no disqualification from being appointed an examiner, but it is only very exceptional circumstances, such as the entire absence of any textbook or the pre-eminent excellence of the writer, which can justify an examiner in becoming the author of works upon the subjects with which he is officially connected; just as a Commissariat officer ought never to become a Government contractor."

Here in Ireland we are apt to imagine that where the work is undertaken not for private gain, but for the public good, it is likely to be much more successfully executed by one who knows from his official position the nature and the extent of the want to be supplied, than by an outsider whose practical knowledge may not always be commensurate with his zeal. Otherwise the rule should be that an examiner, or indeed, a professor, of theology, for instance, if he wrote at all, should write a treatise on mathematics, while the mathematical master should never appear before the world unless enveloped in theological armour.

The printing of Canon Wenham's book we regard as approaching very closely to perfection. The closest attention seems to have been devoted to the arrangement and division of the several parts, to the judicious use of capitals, to the copious table of contents, and

to the well arranged index. The result is, that as regards typography the book is a very model of order and neatness.

The work must have cost Canon Wenham many an arduous day and many a laborious night, but we believe that every hour spent in its preparation will bear abundant fruit in the increased knowledge and the increased piety of his readers.—ED.

The Life and Letters of St. Teresa. Vol. I. By the Rev. H. COLERIDGE, S.J. London: Burns & Oates.

The publishers have sent us the first part of the *Life and Letters of St. Teresa*, by Father Coleridge, which is the thirty-fourth volume of the Quarterly Series of the Lives of the Saints. The eminent author follows the plan which he so successfully adopted in the *Life and Letters of St. Francis Xavier*. He narrates in his own simple and beautiful language the leading facts of her biography; and lets the Saint's Letters explain the secrets of her life—a life in its highest aspects altogether hidden in God. We think this is an excellent plan, especially in the case of a Saint like Teresa, whose letters are voices from the heart; for no other tones can reveal like her own her wondrous and manifold virtues.

This biography when complete will be of great value, not only to all souls striving after perfection, but even to the greatest masters of the spiritual life. For the Church tells us that Teresa was raised up by God to be the Mistress of Prayer, to feed holy souls in every time and place with the “nourishment of heavenly doctrine.” And her life is besides a most admirable lesson of patient endurance in the midst of trials and afflictions, a lesson which all holy souls must learn at one period or other of their lives.

We need scarcely add that Father Coleridge has done his work well. He is, indeed, no novice in hagiology; but we think there is a peculiar charm in the limpid and graceful style of the present volume, which harmonizes admirably with the subject matter. His facile pen glides onward with easy motion, like a strong bird borne on noiseless pinions; we can only realize our progress when we stay to measure the distance passed over. This is not the place to enlarge on the Life of St. Teresa; the leading facts of that wonderful story are familiar to all our readers. And for the higher lesson to be learned from the careful study of her life, we must remit our readers to this most interesting volume. Its perusal will reveal hidden treasures even to those most advanced in the knowledge of spiritual things. We can confidently recommend it as a volume admirably adapted to instruct and to edify, for it gives a vivid picture of a life pre-eminently holy and beautiful. Such a vision of spiritual brightness leaves a twilight glow to linger even in the most darkened souls. It is said that all who visit the chamber where she died feel an odour as if of airs from Heaven that breathe around; so the readers of her life cannot but perceive the enduring fragrance of her virtues, as portrayed in the charming narrative of Father Coleridge.

J. H.

BROWNE & NOLAN'S INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL TEXTS.

Twenty Essays selected from the Spectator. Edited by WALTER

F. BAILEY, B.A.

Lamb's Essays. Edited by GEORGE VILLIERS BRISCOE.

Scott's Lady of the Lake. Edited by ARTHUR PATTON, B.A.

Metastasio : Giuseppe Riconosciuto, with Memoir and Notes.

Titi Livii Historiarum Romanarum.—Book I. Edited by LOWE
C. PURSER, M.A.

GILL'S INTERMEDIATE SCHOOL SERIES.

Twenty Essays selected from the Spectator. Edited by P. W. JOYCE,
LL.D., M.R.I.A.

The Satires of Horace. Literally translated by H. WARING, A.M.,
T.C.D.

Virgil : Aeneid, Book V., with Copious English Notes by RICHARD
GALBRAITH, T.C.D., and GEORGE B. WHEELER, A.M., T.C.D.

Tasso. Gerusalemme Liberata ; Cantos XI. and XII. Text with
Translation on opposite pages.

Horace : Satires. Book I., 1, 6, 9. Book II., 1, 2, 4, 6, 8. Latin

Text with Copious Notes, by M'CAUL and WHEELER,

Metastasio : Giuseppe Riconosciuto. With Biographical Notice.

It has been remarked with much truth, that if the Intermediate Education Act did nothing else for Ireland than to be the occasion of the publication of so many new and improved editions of standard classical works as have appeared within the last few years, it would still have done a great deal. Our readers may see by the list which heads this notice what a large share of enterprise Messrs. Browne & Nolan, and Messrs. Gill & Son have shown in this department. There may be some difference of opinion regarding the skill or success of the annotators of the different works mentioned—though to us they seem to have succeeded admirably—but there can be no second opinion regarding the performance of the printers. We beg to direct the attention of Catholic pupils who are preparing for next year's examinations to the great assistance which they may derive from the use of such well printed and well edited works. ED.

We have received for Review the following Books, which we shall notice in some of our future early numbers:—

MESSRS. BURNS & OATES—

The Prisoners of the King. By the Rev. HENRY J. COLERIDGE, S.J.
Maidens of Hallowed Names. Published with approbation of the

Most Rev. JAMES GIBBONS, Archbishop of Baltimore.

The Catholic Family Annual for 1882.

The Passion Play of Ober-Ammergau. By FRANCIS DREW.

MESSRS. GILL & SON—

Irish Pleasantry and Fun. By J. F. O'HEA.

Lessons in Gaelic. No. 5. By the Rev. JOHN NOLAN, O.D.

The Tortures of Boycotting.

"Ut Christiani ita et Romani sitis."

"As you are children of Christ, so be you children of Rome."

Ex Dictis S. Patricii, Book of Armagh, fol. 9.

THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD

A Monthly Journal, under Episcopal Sanction.

THIRD SERIES.—VOL. II., No. 12. - - DECEMBER, 1881.

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Nihil Obstat.

GIRALDUS MOLLOY, S.T.D.,
Censor Dep.

Imprimatur.

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THE IRISH ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD.

DECEMBER, 1881.

POPE LEO XIII. ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CIVIL POWER.

THE Latin text of the Pope's Encyclical on the origin and nature of the Civil Power, was published in one of our recent numbers. Latin documents, however, even on the most important subjects, are not very attractive; hence we think it well to call the attention of our readers to some very noteworthy statements in this most interesting and valuable document.

It is unnecessary to observe that a Papal Encyclical addressed to the Prelates of the Catholic Church, is, on account of its high and sacred authority, entitled to the assent and obedience of all the children of the Church. And this is true even when it pronounces no *definitive* sentence *ex cathedra* on questions of faith and morals, which would be necessarily infallible. The obedience of our internal assent, at least as to the *security* of the doctrine put forward, is due to the supreme teaching authority, according to the nature of its pronouncements, when the Supreme Pastor on any question connected with faith or morals, admonishes, advises, censures, or forbids the propagation of any dangerous or erroneous doctrines or opinions.

In the opening paragraph of this Encyclical the Pope justly observes that the impious war so long waged against the Church has now received its natural development, in being directed against the State also. After having referred to some of the atrocious attempts on the lives of

¹ See Franzelin, whom we merely paraphrase, De Trad. Thesis 12, Coroll. 5, and again, Eadem Thesis, Princip. 7, Coroll. 3, where he declares: "Licet non ex cathedra definienti sed *prescribenti* doctrinam aliquam sequendam vel non, debetur obedientia et mentis obsequium ad iudicandam doctrinam esse (saltem) securam."

sovereigns, that have lately shocked the public conscience of all Europe, he declares that in these circumstances he deems it his duty to remind the Prelates of what Catholic truth teaches regarding (a) the origin of the Civil Power, (b) the reciprocal duties of rulers and subjects, (c) as well as the best means to consult for the common interests of Church and State in the future.

It cannot be questioned that this is a theme of great gravity, and that the teaching and the counsels of the Ruler of Christendom deserve the serious attention, not only of all Catholics, but of all thinking men. We invite the especial attention of our readers to the opening paragraph, in which the Pope explains the origin of the Civil Power.

He begins by stating what, as far as we know, has never been seriously questioned by any true statesman or philosopher, except J. J. Rousseau, that no community can exist without government, and that social life is a necessity of our human nature. Thus far even pagan philosophers¹ have agreed with the teaching of the Church. But what is the origin of this civil government? It was always regarded by Christians as divine down to the sixteenth century, when new theories in Church and State began to be broached; these theories were amplified by the so-called philosophers of more recent times, who, amongst other errors, maintain that Civil Power derives its origin from the people, that the rulers of the State must not regard this power as their own, but as intrusted to them by the people, and only on this condition, that it shall be revocable at the will of the people. Such, however, says the Pope, is not the belief of Catholics, who derive the right of governing, *jus imperandi*, from God, as from its natural and necessary principle. We call the especial attention of our readers to the paragraph which follows, of which we give both the translation and original.²

¹ See Aristotle Libro. i., Del Pol. et Lib. x., De Ethicis; also Plato De Resp. et Cicero de Finibus et de Legibus.

² Interest autem attendere hoc loco, eos qui reipublicae prae-futuri sint posse in quibusdam causis voluntate judicioque deligi multitudinis, non adversante neque repugnante doctrina Catholica. Quo sane delectu, designatur princeps, non conferuntur jura principatus; neque mandatur imperium, sed statuitur a quo sit gerendum. Neque hic quaeritur de rerum publicarum modis; nihil enim est cur non Ecclesiae probetur aut unius aut plurium principatus, si modo justus sit et in communem utilitatem intentus. Quamobrem, salva justitia non prohibentur populi illud sibi genus comparare reipublicae, quod aut ipsorum ingenio, aut majorum institutis moribusque magis apte conveniat.

"Now it is important to observe here, that those who may rule the State can in *certain cases* be selected by the will and judgment of the people, and that herein Catholic doctrine offers neither dissent nor opposition. By this vote, however, the ruler is determined, but the right of governing is not conferred; supreme authority is not thereby passed, only the person who is to exercise it is named. Neither do we here inquire into the various forms of government; for there is no reason why the rule of one or of many should not be sanctioned by the Church, provided only it be just in itself, and exercised for the benefit of the commonwealth. Wherefore nations can with perfect justice select that form of government which is best suited to their own character, or to their traditional habits and institutions."

This is a very important paragraph, it is most carefully worded, and coming from the supreme teaching authority in the Church it deserves the very greatest attention. Let us then examine its import carefully.

In the first place, it must be borne in mind that all power comes from God. This assertion is, and always was, of Catholic faith; and hence to say that the Civil Power comes from the people, is, as it stands, simply an heretical proposition, for it formally contradicts the Apostle who declares that there is no power unless from God.¹ This great truth of our Catholic faith is specially insisted upon in the present Encyclical; for the Pope repeatedly affirms it under various forms of speech. "God," he says, "is the natural and necessary principle of authority in Civil Government;" and again, "the Church teaches that Civil Power comes from God." The next paragraph declares that, "God is the fountain of all human authority:" and elsewhere, "the origin of all power and dominion is derived from one and the same Creator and Lord of the Universe." It is unnecessary to multiply quotations from the Sacred Scriptures and the Fathers of Church to prove this primary truth of Christian morality and Catholic faith. Yet it is sometimes forgotten by persons otherwise well-meaning who are too much accustomed to the inaccurate and unorthodox language of English literature, to use that sound form of words in which the Catholic teachings should be expressed.

But in the paragraph above referred to, the Pope goes much farther than simply saying that the Civil Power comes from God. He appears to us to say very distinctly, that it is in no sense of the word derived from the people

¹ Rom. xiii. 1.

either ultimately or immediately. That the Civil Power is not from the people ultimately is of Catholic faith; that it is not immediately from the people, although ultimately from God, is certainly not of faith; nor does the Pope intend to teach it as of Catholic faith in the paragraph we have quoted: at least such is our opinion. It must be borne in mind that neither Popes nor Councils, as a rule, intend to pronounce a final decision on free questions of theology, except the contrary is clearly expressed. And certainly the opinion which teaches that Civil Power is immediately from the people, although in the abstract and ultimately it is derived from God, has hitherto, and is still, we think, a perfectly free opinion; for it has been maintained by Suarez, Bellarmine, and other theologians of less name; and in more popular books the same view has been often advocated, as by Balmez in his *History of European Civilization*.

But we think the present Encyclical deals a serious blow at the probability of that opinion, and indeed, in the face of the Pope's language, we do not see how it can henceforward be maintained amongst theologians with any show of probability. As the matter is of considerable importance, we shall examine it more closely.

On the question of the nature and origin of the Civil Power there are four writers of pre-eminent authority—Suarez, St. Thomas, St. Augustine, and St. Chrysostom. We take them, not in the order of merit, but in the backward order. Suarez discusses the question both in his treatise "*On Laws*," and in a special work written "in defence of the Catholic faith against the errors of the Anglican sect." In the opening chapters of the third book of this treatise, the reader will find a full and accurate exposition of the origin and nature of the Civil Power. James I. of England, who set up to be a theologian as well as a philosopher, had written a severe attack on Cardinal Bellarmine's doctrine touching the so-called divine right of kings and their inferiority to the Pope. Thereupon Suarez, after the death of Bellarmine, entered the lists against the royal pedant, in defence of the great Cardinal of his Order, and certainly left James no ground to boast of victory. On the present question James maintained the divine right pure and simple; Suarez, following Bellarmine, denies this right, and furthermore maintains that the royal authority is derived from God through the people.

St. Thomas discusses also the origin and duties of the

Civil Government, in a treatise addressed to the King of Cyprus, probably Hugo III., entitled "*de Regimine Principum*." The treatise, as we have it, contains four books; but the last two, although frequently quoted on this very question as the work of St. Thomas, are of doubtful authenticity. The first two, however, except a small portion of the second book at the end, are undoubtedly genuine, and are referred to by the Pope in the present Encyclical.

The references of St. Augustine to this question are contained chiefly in his great treatise "*De Civitate Dei*," while St. Chrysostom testifies to the doctrine of the Greek Church in his 24th Homily on the Epistle to the Romans, as well as in the 34th on the Epistle to the Corinthians.

It is not unknown to our readers that Rousseau in his *Emile*, and the treatise *Du Contract Social*, teaches the strange doctrine that the solitary state is natural to man, that therein alone he is truly happy, that society is a purely artificial state, resulting from a free compact amongst its individual members, and that the vices and crimes resulting from this unnatural condition of mankind are the real obstacles to human happiness.

Other writers, without adopting the extreme views of Rousseau, admit his doctrine, in so far as it tells us that society is the outcome of a perfectly free compact; that its members for their own better security have agreed to forfeit a portion of their individual liberty and independence, in order to secure more efficient protection for their persons and properties. To carry out the terms of the compact, government is necessary; but the consenting parties are the true and ultimate source of the authority thus delegated to their rulers, and consequently can withdraw, modify, or annul not only the delegated authority itself, but also the terms of the original compact. This last point is not always explicitly put forward as a part of their system, but it logically follows as an inevitable consequence, for the consent of the contracting parties can always dissolve a merely human compact; and certainly one generation of men cannot by any act of theirs bind any subsequent generation.

Very different, indeed, is Catholic teaching regarding the origin of Civil Society. In the opening chapter of the treatise on the "*Government of Princes*," St. Thomas very beautifully explains the Divine origin of the Civil Power,

as well as of human society, reasoning as usual in singularly clear and cogent language.

Man, he says, being a rational animal has necessarily some end to which his whole life and activity are to be directed, and this natural end is peace, and the happiness which follows peace. Now, if man were to be alone he could not attain this end, for he could not procure the means of gratifying even his most urgent wants—food, shelter, clothing, and protection. Nature has in these respects left him almost helpless, quite dependent on the aid of his fellow men. Outside of society he cannot perfect his natural gifts; he has little or no use for speech; he could find no exercise for his sympathies; he could not share his happiness, even if he possessed it, with others; and thus life would lose its greatest charm. In fact, left to himself he would be little better than a ferocious savage. Thus man's natural inclinations, his weakness, his wants, his endowments, all point distinctly to the fact that God made him for society, and that only in society he can attain his end, which is peace and happiness.

Society, therefore, is not the result of a voluntary compact, but a necessity of our human nature. Men cannot, never could, except in a few isolated cases, exist unless in society. The social compact is a pure figment, we do not find it in history, we cannot ascertain it by reason. The true historical origin of society dates from the family, which is of divine institution; from God is derived all paternity in heaven and on earth. From many families of the same descent uniting together we get patriarchal or tribal society; and from the union of several tribes under one head, it may be of their own choosing, we come to the perfect community, which is complete and self-sufficing for its own protection.

No society, however, can exist without rulers; it exists for a definite purpose, and the attainment of that purpose requires efficient and intelligent guidance. The multitude of wills, with varying wants and wishes and interests, would rend society asunder, instead of enabling it to attain its end, if left to themselves for any length of time. Thus we have the *sorites* of St. Thomas, which is briefly this—man by nature seeks happiness; he cannot have happiness except in society; he cannot have society without rulers; and as God is the author of man's nature, so He is also the source and sanction of that Civil government which is a necessity of his nature, for whenever He fixes

the end, He also furnishes the necessary means to its attainment. Thus it is that as the power of a father in his family, of a husband over his wife, are both Divine and cannot be forfeited or annulled even by the will of the parties concerned, so also the power of the ruler in the State is from God and not from man, and can only be forfeited in those cases determined by the law of God.

Thus far all Catholic Theologians, all the Fathers of the Church, the sacred writers in the Old and New Testaments, declare with one voice that there is no power unless from God, that it is through Him that sovereigns rule, and princes judge justly, and therefore he who resists the power resists the ordinance of God. He does not, says St. Chrysostom, say that the individuals are chosen by God, but that the thing itself is from Him, therefore he who bears it is the minister of God, and as such is entitled to obedience for conscience' sake.

As a rule, the Fathers of the Church and the earlier Theologians stop here; they were content with emphatically asserting the divine origin of the Civil Power, but later writers have raised a very important question: the power they all admit comes from God, but in whom does it *immediately* vest? Does it vest in the whole body of the community, from whom it passes to the rulers, when they are chosen or determined? or does the community merely possess the right of selecting the ruler and determining the form of government, so that when this is done the authority vests immediately in the rulers, without passing at all through the hands of the people? This is a very important question, and is very differently answered.

According to Suarez, Bellarmine, and many other writers of great name, the power comes immediately from God, *but primarily vests in the people*, not in the people as units, nor even in the people as a mere aggregate of units, but in the entire body politic. "*Suprema potestas civilis*," he says, "*solì communitati perfectae immediate a Deo confertur.*" Which he explains by saying, "*Primo enim suprema potestas civilis, per se spectata, immediate quidem data est a Deo hominibus in civitatem seu perfectam communitatem congregatis, non quidem ex peculiari et quasi positiva institutione vel donatione omnino distincta a productione talis naturae, sed per naturalem consecutionem ex vi primæ creationis ejus, ideoque ex vi talis donationis non est haec potestas in una persona neque in peculiari*

congregatione multarum, sed in toto perfecto populo seu corpore communitatis."¹

He adds that this is the common opinion of a large number of Theologians and canonists, whom he cites. Further on, in No. 17, he says, "Neque sufficit designatio personae, neque est separabilis a donatione vel contractu, aut quasi contractu humano, ut habeat effectum conferendi potestatem. . . . Unde intelligi non potest collatio potestatis, quae a Deo immediate fiat media generatione, electione, aut simili designatione humana, nisi ubi successio est ex divina institutione positiva, potestas autem regia non ex divina institutione positiva, sed solum ex ratione naturali ducit originem, media libera voluntate humana, et ideo necessario est ab homine *immediate conferente* et non tantum *personam designante*."

It is manifestly impossible to reconcile the statement in the last sentence with the words of the Encyclical—"Quo sane delectu *designatur* princeps, non *conferuntur* jura principatus; neque *mandatur imperium* sed *statuitur a quo sit gerendum*."

Suarez, as might be expected, defends his opinion with great ingenuity, yet we think in this question the controversial spirit must have led him astray. For how could this power vest immediately in the entire body politic, seeing that the entire body could never possibly exercise it? God is not in the habit of giving a power which cannot be exercised, and even if we admit that in extreme cases the whole community could exercise the legislative, it is utterly impossible that it could ever exercise the executive, or judicial power. Besides, there is no such thing as a body politic "complete and perfect," as Suarez supposes, without rulers of some kind, any more than you can have a human body without a head. You have an aggregate of units but no body politic, no community, no society, in the formal sense of the word.

But Suarez says, the aggregate of individuals forms as it were the matter, the power is the form which completes them as a perfect community. He may possibly conceive it as such, and in his conception make this separation, but where, since the beginning of the world, did any perfect society exist as such without rulers? for a perfect society is self-sufficing for the attainment of its end, and, therefore, necessarily implies a ruling power. And all Scripture and

¹ Lib. iii., c. ii. n. 5.

tradition declare that it is the rulers, not the society, to whom God gives the power. In the older writers we do not meet with this distinction at all. All the Fathers simply declare with St. Paul, that the power comes from God, that the rulers are the ministers of God, that reverence is due to them for conscience' sake, and so on; but not one syllable can be found to the effect that God gave this power to the body of the people, to society as a whole, or anything of the kind. These ideas have been the growth of a later theology, which attempts to reconcile the doctrine of the Church with the so-called rights of the people.

Moreover, this doctrine, which vests the people with the God-given power of ruling, is open to grave abuses. In truth it seems to lend countenance to the idea, the fatal and destructive idea, that the ruler is merely the delegate of the people, and therefore that the power is validly revocable at the will of the people. It is true, Suarez vehemently denies this inference when choice is made of a ruler: he says, the power is transferred, not delegated, and is not therefore revocable during the period assigned by the terms of the original constitution, at least so long as the ruler acts justly. But it is hard to find a parallel case in which the holder of supreme power despoils himself completely and transfers it altogether. He may abdicate, but he cannot transfer with the right of resumption after a certain time, at least it is not easy to find any instance of the kind.

Another inconvenience following from this doctrine is, that if it were true, Democracy pure and simple, if such a thing were possible, would be the only government existing by divine right; for, according to Suarez, Democracy was the only form of government to which God gives immediately the power of ruling, not its subjects, but itself; for a Democracy pure and simple could have no subjects but the people, and thus the people would be at once subjects and rulers, their own subjects and their own rulers, which is somewhat inconvenient. In a wider sense of the word, a man may be said to rule himself when he rules his own passions, and the State governs itself when it has the right of choosing its governors; but this is clearly said only in the metaphorical, and not in the strict sense of the word.

Quite different is the origin of the Civil Power, as put forward in this Encyclical. *It comes to the rulers immediately from God.* In certain cases, it is true, the community

has the right of choosing the ruler, or rulers, and of determining the form of government. They may, as they think proper, choose monarchy, aristocracy, or democracy; or it may, like our own, be a mixed government, in which the three elements are combined in harmonious proportions. But it is one thing to choose the rulers, and another to grant the power; the people have the right of doing the former, God alone can do the latter. Of its own nature, this power cannot be in the gift of the people, either as the original depositaries, or temporary custodians. As the Pope points out, its exercise involves acts which are utterly beyond the competence of the multitude. The people cannot, for instance, grant the right of taking human life as a punishment for past crimes. The law of nature indeed gives every individual the right of taking human life, when it is the only means of defending one's own life against an actual aggressor; but the law of nature gives no single individual, or no aggregate of individuals, the right of taking human life in punishment of a past crime. In that case, the right would result from a formal or virtual compact amongst the members of the community, but this is impossible, for as the individual has no dominion over his own life, he cannot by any agreement authorize others to take that life in certain circumstances. To authorize, therefore, the taking away of human life needs divine authority, and consequently cannot come from the community as such. The multitude is not, therefore, the original depositary of this power, neither are they the immediate recipients, because it would be useless and unmeaning to give them a power which they could never exercise.

Again all human laws bind some way in conscience. Even purely penal laws bind delinquents to accept the penalty when it is imposed, so that resistance, even if successful, would be a mortal sin in *re gravi*. But no merely human power can bind in conscience; the State if it had no divine authority and sanction, could not touch the conscience, could not cause the delinquent to become guilty of a crime in the sight of God by the transgression of its laws. But now, whether the ruler wills to bind in conscience or not, nay even against his express will, his laws have this binding power, because he is only the minister of God, he rules in virtue of the power of God, and the man who breaks his laws necessarily breaks the ordinances of God. This doctrine is so clearly put forward both by St. Peter and

St. Paul that it cannot for a moment be questioned by Christians; it is explicitly revealed. It matters little whether the ruler be good or bad, Christian or pagan, Catholic or Protestant, he is still entitled to the obedience of his subjects, for he is still the minister of God. "God," says St. Augustine, "because He alone is the true God, gives earthly kingdoms both to good and bad; happiness, however, He gives only to the good." And, again having spoken of Nero's cruelty and impiety, he adds "yet even to such the power of ruling is given only by the Providence of the Supreme God, when He judges that human affairs deserve such a ruler."

The Pope very justly says it is only in certain cases that the people has the right of selecting the ruler and fixing the form of Government; that is to say only at the origin of the State, or when, from some extraordinary combination of events, the State is left without any rulers with a title to obedience. When, however, the form of the government has in these circumstances been once fixed, and the ruler is chosen, then he gets his power to rule from God and consequently retains it according to the terms of the constitution so long as he acts justly. Whilst the rulers do so it is no longer within the competence of the people to modify the form of Government, or get rid of their rulers. Any other doctrine would be subversive of society, and is manifestly false, seeing that if the power comes from God, the ruler necessarily holds that power so long at least as he acts justly and within the limits of the constitution. This doctrine is equally true whether it be understood of absolute or limited monarchy, and whether the Sovereign power be hereditary,¹ elective for life, or for a definite number of years.

This is the divine right of kings, in the true sense of the word, but it is also the divine right of consul, dictator, or president, precisely in the same sense during the legal tenure of their office. Hence we do not by any means understand the word in the sense in which it has been so often abused by Anglican divines of the old Tory type and French theologians of the Gallican School, who, whilst they unduly restricted the liberties of the Church, gave hereditary monarchs an absolute, divine, and indefeasible right to rule the State. It does not appear that hereditary monarchy, as such, has any *specialty* divine

¹ De Civit. Dei Book V. c. xix.

character; that may be, as St. Thomas teaches, the better form of government, probably is in certain cases, and originally seems to have been the usual form because the best suited to primitive and comparatively rude populations. But monarchy is not of specially divine institution, it is not necessarily nor in all cases usefully absolute in authority; and certainly is not indefeasible in its right to rule. This is not the place to discuss that question, but St. Thomas expressly teaches that kings may forfeit their divine right by intolerable oppression of their subjects, and there can hardly be a doubt but other causes also might entail in certain circumstances a similar forfeiture, for instance utter incapacity to rule, or the persistent violation of the fundamental principles of the constitution.

We give, therefore, the same divine right to all just rulers as to hereditary monarchs; they have their power equally from God, when they have once been designated or elected by the people; they are entitled to the same obedience, and to the same reverence. No doubt, in the popular imagination, an aureola of accidental glory will gild the brows of the descendant of an ancient line of kings, and the monarch's character becomes still more venerable when the Pontiff anoints his head with the sacred oil. But all this, although natural and becoming, is still purely accidental; the elected and unconsecrated ruler is all the same the minister of God, equally entitled to reverence and obedience.

This, we think, is the true way to explain the divine origin of the Civil Power; and, as the Pope justly observes, this view of his authority lends to the civil ruler a dignity and majesty which tend to preserve the strength and peace of nations, as well as to secure the personal safety of the rulers themselves. Their character, according to this view, is sacred; their persons are inviolable; they are the anointed of the Lord, if not with sacred oil, at least by virtue of their office. Their power is "broad-based" upon the will of God, and not on the shifting sands of the people's will. They are the servants, not of the people—

"The herd, wild hearts, and feeble wings,
That every sophister can lime—"

but the servants of the Most High. They will be spoken of with becoming reverence, instead of being in public estimation the fitting butts for all foul tongues. It becomes a sacrilege to violate their persons, and every indignity

offered to them in word or act becomes an indignity offered to God Himself. It is this view of kingly rule that alone can keep alive in a scoffing and licentious age the spirit of ancient loyalty, that spirit begotten of faith, combining in itself obedience, reverence, and love for the majesty of kings, which was at once a bond of social union, an incentive to noble daring, and a salt to purify the heart from its grosser tendencies, preserving it from all that is mean, selfish, and contemptible. Such was loyalty in the Ages of Faith, when men swore, and kept their oath.

To reverence the king, as if he were—

“ Their conscience, and their conscience as their king,
To break the heathen and uphold the Christ,
To walk abroad, redressing human wrongs,
To speak no slander, no, nor listen to it ;
To honour his own word as if his God’s,
To lead sweet lives in purest chastity ;
Not alone to keep down the base in man,
But teach high thought, and amiable words,
And courtliness, and desire of fame,
And love of truth, and all that makes a man.”

J. H.

STUDIES ON ENGLISH LITERATURE.

THE ELIZABETHAN PERIOD.—IV.

ROBERT SOUTHWELL, S.J.

AMONG the rough notes of his conversations with Ben Jonson, Drummond of Hawthornden has the following :—

“ That Southwell was hanged; yet so he had written that piece of his, the Burning Babe, he could have been content to destroy many of his.”

A very rough note indeed it is, and very hastily must it have been jotted down; a modern interviewer would have put it into somewhat of this shape—

Drummond: “ Who was this Southwell, and what do you know about him?”

Jonson: “ He was a Jesuit priest, and was put to death for his religion the very same year that I was imprisoned, and when one of that order received me into the Catholic Church.”

Drummond, with a growl, makes a brief note that “ Southwell was hanged,” and then observes—

“ Do you think much of his poems?”

Jonson: "I think so highly of them, that I would be content to destroy many of mine, to have written that one of his called the Burning Babe."

Drummond notes it down as above.

Priests and Jesuits had no attraction for Drummond, and at the time when the conversation occurred, the Catholic faith was a sore subject to Jonson, if, as we are told, he had lapsed back into Protestantism. So we have as few words as possible about Southwell the man, though the words of commendation of Southwell the poet cannot be omitted. This generous witness to the merits of another poet is especially valuable, because Ben Jonson was not too liberal in his commendations, being very conscientious as a critic, and but little given to flattery.

Thus, with this testimonial in hand, we bring our new worthy into fitting poetic company, and entwine the names of Robert Southwell and rare Ben Jonson together in our brief record of the Elizabethan Period. Nor do we think that we shall err if we join our Shakespeare in the same poetic union; binding him with Southwell, as we have already done with Jonson, in virtue of a very striking allusion, which can hardly be misunderstood, that occurs in the poetic preface in which Southwell introduces himself to his readers.

Just at that time the great dramatist, as yet young, was trying his wings in poems, before spreading them for the wider and higher flight which was to make his name immortal. In what he modestly calls his "unpolished lines," he was content to treat of *Venus and Adonis*, and then of *Lucrece*, and so in the eyes of Southwell, the younger author was wasting his great poetic powers, which the future martyr felt with all his heart, and through every fibre of his soul, should be dedicated to God alone. His poetic instincts and cultivated mind enabled him to appreciate the coming greatness which as yet showed itself in what to one so thoroughly in earnest, seemed but mere trifling; and so his gentle nature, little prone to rebuke, cannot but mourn, that while—

"So ripe is vice, so green is virtue's bud,
The world doth wax in ill, but wane in good.
This makes my mourning muse dissolve in tears,
This themes my heavy pen to plaine in prose:
Christ's thorn is sharp, no head His garland wears;
Still *finest wits* are 'stilling *Venus*' rose;
In *Poynim* toys the *sweetest* veins are spent;
To Christian work few have their talents lent."

Who can question whose finest wit is here alluded to, or whose sweetest veins are rebuked for being spent in Paynim (*i.e.* Pagan) toys?

Thus we have Southwell combined in our mind with the two other worthies whom we have singled out as representative men of the Elizabethan Period; combined in their high gifts of poesy, in their mutual appreciation of each other's genius, in that width of judgment and absence of jealousy which characterize really great minds, and at one in their diligent use of the intellectual gifts with which they were all three endowed; but separated by their course of life, by the trials which awaited them, and by the end which crowned them, as though they belonged to altogether different periods, and lived among men in lands far apart. We read the lives of Shakespeare and of Ben Jonson, and find a harmony between them; we blend them together in mental pictures as history records or fancy imagines, and we see how they illustrate the Elizabethan Period in its greatness, its splendour, and its intellectual vigour, until the mind's eye is dazzled, if not blinded. But Southwell—the Jesuit and Martyr—where is his place herein? What is that period to him and to those who believe and feel as he does? An English gentleman of unblemished reputation and great sanctity, who has given himself to God in the highest and holiest calling man can receive, who puts aside all political thoughts, which are then moving the hearts of men to their lowest depths; puts them aside as distractions in his appointed career, and goes on his way a diligent and simple-hearted priest, administering the Sacraments, and breathing words of exhortation to the weak, of comfort to the troubled, and telling of the eternal crown to all. What character can we conceive more estimable, what occupation more honourable or worthier of respect? And yet he has to hide himself as a felon, to steal out in the midnight darkness in disguise, lest he should be seen discharging his divine commission, and be caught in the fact of following in the footsteps of his Divine Master, going about doing good.

Perhaps we have unconsciously stumbled upon the explanation of this enigma. He follows his Master, and therefore he must share His cross, ere he can share His crown. We are accustomed to look for this in the first ages of the Church, and to read of those who with their blood watered the seed they sowed among pagans in other and later times; but here in England and scarcely three centuries ago, it

meets the literary student as an anachronism, as a jarring discord amid rich harmonies, and as a false perspective in a fair picture. Even from that point of view the sudden shock may not be without its value; at least if it disturbs an idle dream and wakens the subject of it to serious investigation. The real anachronism is not in the facts themselves but in our imperfect acquaintance with the period we are studying; the discord has its place and contributes its share of the effort, to the real harmony which is the truth itself, and not a partial view of it; the false perspective is indeed a blemish to the fair picture, but it is a true record of the imperfection of the work, and testifies to the shortcoming which marks man's efforts. It is sad it should be so; it were much pleasanter to dream in a fool's paradise where all is as we would wish it to be, and every thing that annoys is shut out. But literary history must be studied as a whole, or little good will come of our labours; and so as a kind of illustration of our meaning, as well as through loving reverence for the devout poet himself, we place Robert Southwell, Jesuit and Martyr, as a representative man beside the two whose works are so much better known, even perhaps by the majority of Catholics themselves, and place him after—though in one sense far above—the humorous poet who for years lived, and the great dramatist who it is said died, a “Papist.”

The story of Southwell is soon told. However little it is in harmony with those with which literary investigations have generally to deal, it was not a rare one in the Elizabethan Period. He was of a noble army of martyrs, who in days of persecution joyfully laid down their lives in the discharge of their sacred duties, counting the cost, weighing it carefully in the balance of the sanctuary, and therefore and then esteeming it at nought as against the eternal reward.

It is very difficult for us in these days of toleration and of indifference to judge aright the actions, by estimating justly the motives, which influenced men in those Elizabethan times. All who played leading parts were terribly in earnest, and risking all, were determined that those who opposed them should do the same. Lives were accounted of little cost, and were laid down with a readiness which surprises us now. The hand-to-hand fighting which inured men to bloodshed, the wild spirit of adventure which sent numbers abroad to risk all for wealth and renown, and which brought them home again with a daring that was

ferocious and a recklessness which was scarcely human, made them fit sharers in mad plots and counterplots, and so crowded the gallows and the jails with desperados. This made our populations so bloodthirsty, and led men who in more refined times would have been gentle and forbearing enough, to devise laws of terrible severity, and to carry them out in a fierce and corresponding spirit. Moreover, we must bear in mind that these features are characteristics of the time, and are not peculiar to any one nation of Europe.

Persecution breeds persecution: the conquered in time becomes the conqueror, and as Shylock says:

“The villany you teach me, I will execute, and it shall go hard but I will better the instruction.”

The hatred which burned in one breast, kindled a like flame in another. Englishmen hated Spaniards, and the Don, we know full well, repaid the feeling with interest. So it was a time of war to the knife, and sharp and quick were the thrusts exchanged, not only between nations, but between those who should have been bound in one; men, and women too, asked for no quarter, because they gave none. It is not a pleasant picture, nor one very creditable to humanity, but it was a universal one, and history fails in its duty, if it tries to gloss it over, or to paint it as more partial than it really was.

Amid such scenes as these Robert Southwell was born in 1562. The son of a Norfolk gentleman of ancient lineage, in his very cradle he was exposed to a danger which threatened his place in life, if not life itself. He was stolen by a gipsy who substituted her own child in his stead. The theft, however, was speedily discovered, and the child restored. “What if I had remained with the vagrant,” he said in subsequent years, “how abject, how destitute of the knowledge or reverence of God! in what debasement of vice, in what great peril of crimes, in what indubitable risk of a miserable death and eternal punishment I should have been.”

His first care, we are told, on entering on his mission as a priest, was to convert to the church the female servant who had been the instrument of detecting the theft.

His father seems to have been but an indifferent Catholic, connecting himself by marriage with the Court, for, according to Henry More, his wife had once been instructress to Queen Elizabeth in the Latin Language: not abandoning the Faith, but being negligent of its obser-

vances, which means that he did not care to risk his life by hearing mass, for that was then the penalty. However he was content, like many others, "to give the fruit of his body for the sin of his soul," and sent his eldest son Robert to Paris in 1577, at the age of fifteen, where his religious education was superintended by Father Thomas Darbyshire, nephew of the celebrated Bishop Bonner, and one of the earliest English Jesuits. Bishop Chaloner says, that he was for some time in the English College at Douay, if so he could not have remained there long, for he was in Rome in 1578, and on the Vigil of St. Luke of that year, while he was not yet seventeen, he was received into the Society, but the climate proved too trying for his constitution, so he spent a considerable part of his noviciate at Tournay in Belgium, returning however to Rome for his course of philosophy and theology, and as the outcome of his success was appointed Prefect of the English College there. But his work, he felt, was awaiting him at home. He knew, none better, what that work implied; he had seen others go forth, and had heard of the martyr's crown which they had earned. He knew that he must return to his own country as a stranger and an alien, that England had cast him, and such as he, out of its pale; that he would be watched by jealous eyes, and tracked like a wild beast by mercenary ruffians who thirsted for the price of blood. He knew that he should bring trouble upon those who received him, and suspicion upon his own kindred, and yet he came, for he knew also what spiritual blessings he would bring to others, and what an eternal reward to himself. He counted the cost, and joyfully entered upon the mission, being ordained priest in 1584, and reaching England, not as Chaloner says in the same year, but in July 1586. It was a time of special danger for Catholics, for the whole nation was under the excitement brought about by the wretched plots and conspiracies in favour of Mary Queen of Scots, and though Southwell took no part in these, or indeed in any other political movements, he of course shared in the common danger, and in the end paid the penalty of the schemes of others. However, he effected a safe landing, and remained for some months with Lord Vaux of Harrowden at Hackney. Then he became chaplain—private chaplain indeed in the fullest sense of the word—to the Countess of Arundell, whose husband Earl Philip was a prisoner in the Tower of London. Here he wrote, for the use of that nobleman, his "Consolation for Catholics," and

found leisure in his difficult and dangerous position to produce some of those religious poems which have given him no mean place in English Literature. Of this we shall soon have to write; at present we have to trace rapidly his life, that we may enter into the full spirit of his works, and read in its light the meaning which is anything rather than superficial.

One of his first cares was to win back his father to a stricter Catholic life, and this he brought about in no small degree by a letter which is highly characteristic of the man, and throws much light upon the times in which he lived, and their influence upon himself. This letter, and another one of similar import to his brother, may be found in Mr. Turnbull's edition of his works. We owe much to this editor, but cannot agree with him in believing that his poems "were *all* composed during his residence with Lady Arundel," as there is internal evidence to the contrary.

For six years he carried on his missionary work, for such indeed it was, extending far beyond the household of the good Countess; then it came to the end in a way far too common in those hard times: and this brings before us one terrible effect of persecution which we are all apt to lose sight of when picturing to our minds the trials of such days. We naturally dwell upon the martyrs, their heroic sufferings, and their glorious crowns. We shudder at those scenes of torture and blood, but our hearts glow as we look through and beyond them to the noble natures developed as by fire, and glory in the triumph which crowns the end. But we think little, if at all, of those who are tried and fail; who for a while persevere and then sink; who are brought face to face to an ordeal of which we know nothing, and then have not strength to endure it. One out of the large number of such as these meets us at this period of the life of Southwell and brings him to his martyr's crown. A young Catholic lady, whose family Southwell visited and instructed when he ventured into the dangerous public streets, showed marked signs of religious zeal and fervent piety, and perhaps thereby brought upon herself the notice which more prudent persons avoided. She was arrested and committed to the Gatehouse at Westminster. There she fell a victim to the infamous keeper, and subsequently married him. To please this husband she consented to play the decoy, and to win for him the reward of blood by betraying Southwell to the Government. She sent a message inviting him to meet her at her father's

home, and he, thinking perhaps that grace had touched her heart, went there as desired. The husband informed a notorious persecutor, Topcliffe, of the time and spot, and the wretched wife explained the place of concealment in her former home. The house was surrounded, and Topcliffe carried off Southwell to his own house where it seems he had power to imprison and torture Catholics.

How he exercised this power we may judge by the recorded fact, that during a few weeks Southwell was put to the torture ten times; and to what fearful extremity it was carried, may be read in Tanner's *Societas Jesu Martyr*. We pass over such harrowing details, and content ourselves with quoting the testimony which Cecil, Lord Burleigh, gave—no mean authority on such a subject, and one certainly not prejudiced on the Catholic side.

“Let antiquity boast of its Roman heroes, and the patience of captives in torments; our own age is not inferior to it, nor do the minds of the English cede to the Romans. There is at present confined one Southwell, a Jesuit, who, thirteen times most cruelly tortured, cannot be induced to confess anything, not even the colour of the horse whereon on a certain day he rode, lest from such indication his adversaries might conjecture in what house, or in company of what Catholics, he that day was.”¹

He had nothing to confess, for he had taken no part in the plots and intrigues of the period, and we see that torture, to which he declared to his judges, “death would have been preferable,” could not shake his resolution to say nothing, however apparently trivial, which could involve others. So, wearing out the patience of Topcliffe, he was transferred to the Gatehouse prison, and to the charge of the husband of the poor fallen girl who had sunk so low from her once fervent devotion. Two months more saw him in the Tower, where he was treated with a hideous barbarity, which exceeded that generally in use even in those terrible days. The English gentleman and inoffensive priest was, we are told, “thrown into a dungeon so filthy and noisome, that when brought forth at the end of a month to be *examined* (as torturing was mildly called), his clothes were covered with vermin.” So his father petitioned the Queen, humbly entreating, that, “if his son had committed anything for which by the laws he had deserved it, he might suffer death; if not, as he was a gentleman, he hoped her Majesty would be pleased to

¹ Quoted by Father Henry Moore, Hist. Prov. Angl. Soc. Jesu.

order that he should be treated as such, and not be confined in that filthy hole."

The Queen seems to have been moved by the appeal, and in all probability knew nothing of the matter before ; so she ordered that he should be better lodged, and gave his father permission to supply him with clothing, necessities, and books. Scant courtesy enough we may be inclined to think, but much more than ordinary in those troubled times. It is said that the only books he asked for were the Bible and the works of St. Bernard : he had, we have reason to believe, still the makings of another book, which was indeed the outcome of these two, being filled with their spirit, his own manuscript poems, of which volumes we shall have presently to write, when the short record of his life, now drawing to an end, is completed. For three years he remained a close prisoner in the Tower, and then he wrote to the Lord Treasurer, Cecil, praying that he might either be brought to trial to answer for himself, or that his friends might have permission to come and see him. Whereupon Cecil in his rough way replied, that, "if he was in so much haste to be hanged, he should have his desire," words which may imply a kind of compassion for one who had, as we have seen, inspired Cecil with admiration for his fortitude. So, in February 1594-5, he was taken from the Tower to Newgate, and cast into another filthy hole called Limbo, where he was kept for three days, as though to break his spirit, and then removed to Westminster for trial. The great Sir Edward Coke was the official prosecutor before Chief Justice Popham and three other judges. Southwell pleaded not guilty to the charge of treason ; but fully and distinctly admitted that he was a priest, and had returned to his own country simply to administer the Sacraments to those of his religion who might desire them, and perform the ordinary duties of a clergyman of the Church of Rome. Bishop Chaloner¹ reports the proceedings, and Father Henry More² gives Southwell's noble defence.

At daybreak on February 22, he was drawn on a hurdle to Tyburn, where he addressed the people, who listened with silence and decorum, impressed as they could not but be, with admiration for the Martyr. He prays for God's mercy on himself, on the Queen—"to whom I have never done nor wished any evil ; I have daily prayed for her, and now, with all my heart do pray, that from His great

¹ Bp. Chaloner's *Memoirs of Missionary Priests*.

² More, *Hist. Prov. Angl. Soc. Jesu*.

mercy, He may grant that she may use the ample gifts and endowments wherewith He hath endowed her, to the immortal glory of His name, the prosperity of the whole nation, and the eternal welfare of her soul and body. For my most miserable, and with all tears to be pitied country, I pray the light of truth, whereby the darkness of ignorance being dispelled, it may learn in, and above all things, to praise God, and seek its eternal good in the right way;" with other words in a like loyal and pious strain, which so moved the hearts of his fellow-countrymen, that they interfered to prevent the completion of the horrible sentence.

Thus, at the age of thirty-three, Father Southwell finished his course, and went to his eternal reward.

The scholar, the poet, the gentleman, the priest, the Jesuit; in every phase of life he has alike won honour: passing without defilement through each, pure and unspotted in all. There seems no drawback to our veneration, for there is nothing in his life which we would fain have removed. Look at him from whatever point of view we may, it is ever the Christian aspect which shows itself, and gives the picture its heavenly glow. The world around worked its cruel will upon him; troubling his youth, hampering his manhood, and shedding his life-blood when that manhood was in its early prime; but its action was only external, and never penetrated with its corrupting influence into the inner life.

Such is the poet whom we place beside Shakespeare and Ben Jonson, because he, like them, illustrates a separate class, in which each perhaps is chief in his own. There is no comparison here intended to be made between them; but for his high place among sacred poets, and in vindication of our judgment, we appeal to his poems. We have dwelt at some length upon the well-known incidents of his life, because we believe he cannot be understood, certainly not justly estimated, apart from those leading features. Feelings such as his have been expressed by others; sometimes as mere poetic fancies and momentary whims. Life is despised and death desired in sweet strains when the realization of the well-worded phrases has been furthest away from the heart of the writer.

It was not so with Southwell. Some of his poems were doubtless written when he was in comparative ease, but most of them were evidently the outcome of his long and terrible imprisonment. He wrote while his limbs were aching with the torture of the rack, and looked on life and death as men do at the last moment. This intense realiza-

tion, this poetic uttering of deep feeling and the severe judgment that comes of such daily intercourse, as it were, with death, give a weight to his words, which nothing but actual experience could communicate, and then, of course over and above all this, comes the spirit of the martyr, which sanctifies and purifies what, without it, would be too human, too terrible for verse. Resignation, and that beautiful and almost unnatural, because indeed supernatural, cheerfulness which accompanies it, throw beams of light over bodily suffering, and illuminate it with a glow of heaven; giving such poems a fascination the very opposite of that which comes from vulgar sensationalism.

There is, at times, a ruggedness about the lines, characteristic indeed of the period, which lacks the polish of modern verse, but which somehow fixes them more firmly in the memory, and makes them, as it were, cling by their roughness, where smoother things slip away and are lost. Perhaps this is only saying that they are vigorous, and not effeminate, which should always be borne in mind when we are at first perplexed thereby. That Southwell was careful in correcting his works we have abundant evidence in the manuscripts which still remain; which we should naturally expect, seeing how conscientious he was in all he did. His poems, short as most of them are, were not trifles thrown off in idle moments; with such a man and in such circumstances there were no trifles. They were written as much as any sermons could be, as religious teaching; they were his legacy to his Order, his word of counsel and encouragement to those who might have to follow in his footsteps; and in them as in every work of life, he did his best, not only for the glory, but as St. Ignatius taught all his children, for the greater glory of God.

“LIFE IS BUT LOSS.”

“By force I live, in will I wish to die;
In plaint I pass the length of ling’ring days;
Free would my soul from mortal body fly,
And tread the track of death’s desired ways:
Life is but loss when death is deemed gain,
And loathed pleasures breed displeasing pain.
Who would not die to kill all murd’ring grieves?
Or who would live in never-dying fears?
Who would not wish his treasure safe from thieves,
And quit his heart from pangs, his eyes from tears?
Death parteth but two ever-fighting foes,
Whose civil strife doth work our endless woes.
* * * * *

Come, cruel death, why lingerest thou so long?
 What doth withhold thy dint from fatal stroke?
 Now prest I am, alas! thou dost me wrong,
 To let me live, more anger to provoke;
 Thy right is had when thou hast stopp'd my breath,
 Why shouldst thou stay to work my double death?

Avaunt, O viper! I thy spite defy:
 There is a God that overrules thy force,
 Who can thy weapons to His will apply,
 And shorten or prolong our brittle course.
 I on His mercy, not thy might, rely;
 To Him I live, for Him I hope to die.

Stonyhurst College possesses two manuscript volumes of Southwell's writings. We learn in answer to inquiries that one is a small quarto bound in parchment with gilt edges, very carefully written, with an inch margin ruled throughout. There are very few corrections and erasures in the volume; it contains his letter to his father and his short poems, all in English. The size of the volume is $5\frac{3}{4}$ inches by $7\frac{1}{4}$. It is partly but not entirely paged. The other volume contains 6 fasciculi varying in size from $4\frac{3}{4}$ by $2\frac{7}{8}$ inches to $8\frac{1}{2}$ by $5\frac{1}{2}$, and contains English and Latin prose and verse; poorly written, has numerous corrections and unlike the other volume, may have been written anywhere, when any sort of pens, ink and paper could be had at all. The contents of this volume have been gathered together and bound by Father Morris. The other volume is in old binding.

These manuscripts were examined carefully by Mr. Grosart, and upon them was founded the beautiful edition of the complete poems of Southwell, which he prepared for "the Fuller Worthies Library," in 1872. As this volume is privately printed and not published, it may be as well to mention that a copy is to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, which will well repay a careful study; for, thanks to the diligent collations with the Stonyhurst manuscripts, it clears up obscurities which either had their origin in imperfect copies, or crept into the text by careless editing. Mr. Grosart speaks of one volume only, the other evidently had not been formed by bringing together the loose papers by Father Morris, at the time he used them. He describes a "manuscript handsome volume bound in vellum, gilt edges and written very beautifully throughout in one hand, with exception of one poem, *The Prodigall Chylde's Soule Racke*, which, though occurring in the body of the volume is wholly in Southwell's autograph. This MS. he continues, must have been prepared for the author him-

self, inasmuch as while now and again self-correcting mistakes are left inadvertently, there are repeated corrections in *his own autograph*, revealing careful reading and interest. Besides this volume, there are various MSS. in Southwell's own autograph, notably the *Latina Poemata*, here printed for the first time."

The poems are wholly posthumous. An edition appeared in the year of his martyrdom, 1595, followed rapidly by others in the succeeding years. The last published, which is described, not over correctly, as "now first completely edited," by Mr. Turnbull, appeared in 1856, in the "Library of Old Authors." Mr. Turnbull does not seem to have known of the Stonyhurst MSS.; his edition, as he tells us, is based upon that of 1634, with the valuable aid of Mr. Heber's MS. now in the British Museum.

We have left ourselves no space for quotations. Our aim has been to draw readers to the poems, and this we hope to do rather by showing what Southwell was, than by furnishing extracts from his exquisite works. We feel that his life is the best key to his writings, that his sufferings give them their reality, and that his earnestness, piety and zeal in the service of God find expression therein, and raise them immeasurably above the ordinary level of what is called religious poetry.

We cannot, however, refrain from giving one more specimen of the shorter poems, and as our paper began with the opinion of Ben Jonson on the "Burning Babe," so shall it conclude with that seasonable poem itself.

"THE BURNING BABE."

"As I in hoary winter's night stood shivering in the snow,
Surpris'd I was with sudden heat which made my heart to glow;
And lifting up a fearful eye to view what fire was near,
A pretty Babe all burning bright did in the air appear,
Who scorched with excessive heat, such floods of tears did shed,
As though His floods should quench His flames which with His
tears were fed;

Alas! quoth He, but newly born, in fiery heats of fry,
Yet none approach to warm their hearts or feel my fire but I!
My faultless breast the furnace is, the fuel wounding thorns;
Love is the fire, and sighs the smoke, the ashes shame and scorns;
The fuel Justice layeth on, and Mercy blows the coals;
The metal in this furnace wrought are men's defiled souls;
For which, as now on fire I am, to work them to their good,
So will I melt into a bath, to wash them in My blood;
With this He vanish'd out of sight, and swiftly shrunk away,
And straight I called unto mind that it was Christmas Day.

H. B.

IN A DUBLIN ART-GALLERY.

“**F**OR the artists of our age are steadily turning their eyes from the saints, and Madonnas, and martyrs of the past, and finding in Nature alone the fittest subjects for their pencils,” &c. This statement, taken almost literally from the speech of the late Lord Beaconsfield at the Academy banquet, 1879, and expressive of the speaker's desires, as well as of his opinions, irresistibly came to mind, as we gazed on its most emphatic contradiction in one of the noblest works of modern art, the famous picture by Sir Noel Paton, “Satan watching the sleep of Christ.” It was exhibited in one of the Art-galleries of Dublin last year; and hundreds, attracted by the quaint title, as well as by the laudatory notices of the picture that had appeared in the press, visited the gallery, and found, if we may judge by expressions and visible emotions, that they were standing in the presence of a great work, touching and sublime in conception, and so far as amateurs could judge, faultless in the many details that are necessary to interpret to the public the artist's mind.

The subject of the painting has not been taken from Scripture narrative. The artist has followed either some pious tradition, or a fancy suggested by his own poetic instincts, or one of those terrible Dantesque conceptions so vivid and painful that rise before the mind “when the soul follows a dream in the house of sleep.” Darkness still hangs in the sky, except where behind rocks and boulders, and far away and far down across the valley the grey-blue dawn is showing against a jagged cloud. The morning star is shining liquid and lustrous in the sky, and dark and brown against the dawn, the form of Satan looms up in the centre of the picture. The tempter, naked but for a loose strip around the loins, is seated on a rock, one hand convulsively grasps his knees, on the other he is resting his head. The spear leans against his shoulders; a strange bluish light quivers from his hair, and his wings are half closed. So far, in colour and form, the Satan of the picture is only partly original. But when we look on the face, we see at once the power of the artist. For into those features he has knit all those passions of fear, and anger, and hate, which Satan's defeat on the previous night by one whom he considers a mere man, must have created. He is looking on the face of the sleeping Christ.

The Saviour is stretched on the rocks at his feet. His hands are clasped on His breast, and His face is partly in the light which the dawn is shedding on the desert. And what a face! Traditional? So it is. The features with which pious pictures have made every Catholic familiar are there, but the long and weary vigil of forty days has wasted them, the temples are sunken, the cheeks hollow and tinged with a pale hectic flush, and the terrible struggle with the tempter through which He has passed, or perhaps the proximity of Satan at the moment, has left a shadowy expression of pain on the brow and closed eyes, which is inexpressibly touching. It is a great work—so great that the artist is completely forgotten. These two figures—the fallen Archangel, still great in his strength but baffled, glaring on the Man-God unconscious and the conqueror, but yet troubled, are so terribly realistic and representative, they must remain a memory for ever. Looking on the face of the Arch-Fiend, we could not help conjecturing the thoughts that were passing through his mind. He had remained on that rock through the night, and as passion after passion rolled in storms over his soul, one cry echoed ever, ever answered, but never hushed, “Who is He?” There is a far-off look in the fierce, questioning eyes, as if he had seen that face before, and a patient and hateful expression, as if he waited only the opening of the Saviour’s eyes to challenge Him again to conflict. And turning from that fierce, dark countenance to the worn and gentle features of Christ, “the Eternal strength made perfect in His weakness,” we asked ourselves the tempter’s question, “Who is he?” and that glorious outburst of eloquence with which Lacordaire made the hardened infidels of Paris grow pale and breathe hard with emotion came to mind: “There is a man, whose tomb is guarded by love. There is a man, whose sepulchre is not only glorious as the prophet declared, but whose sepulchre is loved. There is a man, whose ashes after eighteen centuries have not grown cold, who daily lives again in the thoughts of an innumerable multitude of men, who is visited in his cradle by shepherds and kings, who vie with each other in bringing to him gold and frankincense and myrrh. There is a man whose steps are unweariedly trodden by a large portion of mankind, who although no longer present is followed by that throng in the scenes of his bygone pilgrimage, upon the knees of his mother, by the borders of the lakes, to the tops of the

mountains, in the byways of the valleys, under the shade of the olive trees, in the still solitude of the deserts. There is a man, who was scourged, killed, crucified, whom an ineffable passion raises from death and infamy, and exalts to the glory of love unfailing, which finds in Him, peace, joy, honour, and even ecstasy." And when we looked around, and saw the representatives of the intellect and wealth of the metropolis gathered together in this quiet gallery, and studying silently and reverently the great work, and the great lesson before them, and when we saw the wonder excited by the bold figure and terrible face of Satan give way to looks of reverential pity and awe, as the hard, worldly, deeply-lined faces were bent on the figure of Christ, we thought that after all that has been doubted and denied, the preacher is right, religion is still the absorbing subject for human thought, and great artists, like Sir Noel Paton, consult wisely for the interests of Art and their own fame, when they refuse to submit themselves to the deteriorating influences of their age, and rise above the world of Nature to steal the fires of artistic inspiration from that world over which God more immediately presides.

We use the word Nature here of course in a restricted and limited sense, as it is used in the remark that opens this paper. Lord Beaconsfield speaks of Nature as the negation of everything supernatural, everything that does not come under the domain of intellect and sense. And he hopes and believes that the artists of our age are emancipating themselves from beliefs that have hitherto been held sacred, and traditions that have been proudly cherished, from the magic of names that have been household words in Art circles and schools, and from the inspirations that have been shed on past generations from the deathless works of the dead, from the stone that sprang into life, and the canvas that breathed immortality at the touch of vanished hands. And he thinks that Art will have reached its highest level when its disciples, freed from the dead-lights of superstition, paint Nature as she shows herself to them, and the humanities of life as they can interpret them, and adapting their tastes to the materialistic tendencies of the age, exclude everything that will not bear analysis from the scientist, or attract the sympathy of men, whose tastes may be refined, but whose ideas on Religion and Nature are very superficial.

It is not much to be wondered at that the ruling passion of our age—this passion of *Æstheticism*—the

worship of sensuous beauty—the careful elimination from all art and science of everything moral, didactic, or spiritualising, should have found its way into that art, which more than any other appeals to the senses. The hard, cold materialism of our day, which treats as shadowy and unreal whatever does not submit itself to the arbitrary tests of science and sense, is not confined to the study of the natural philosopher, or the laboratory of the chemist. It has filtered down from these high places into all the strata of society, has created in poetry what is called by the ill-sounding name of the “fleshly school,” and in the sister-art of Painting has tried to establish the principle that nature alone must be studied and reproduced. If fancy must have its flights, let them be limited to the absurdities of Pagan mythology; if models or types are needed, let them be the few relics that Grecian art has left us.

The Victorian age has set itself to rival the ages of Pericles in Athens, and the Medici in Florence. These were the two great epochs in human history, when Art is supposed to have been most carefully cultivated, and to have been brought to its highest perfection. That such is not the opinion of the first art critic of our age, we shall immediately show. But such is the tendency of present ambition. It aims at excelling or equalling the best works of these periods, whilst adhering so closely to their traditions and principles, that it does not even affect invention or originality. It has taken for its idol the *τὸ καλόν*, careless whether that beauty be wedded with baseness, or be the reflex of that inner sacredness and spiritual beauty that lies deep in the heart of all things. The Athenians had their gods and goddesses, their fauns and satyrs, and nymphs and dryads, tales of fleshly love and records of shameless intrigues, histories of triumphs of brute force, and of daring deeds—heroic only in their defiance of all natural and moral law. From these their poets had to weave tragedies, and their painters and sculptors had to design groups; and, as we may well imagine, in this poetry and its kindred arts there is much beauty, perfect and exquisite in every detail, but wanting in that majesty and sublimity that must be suggested by a higher faculty than fancy, and that can be thrown into form only by those who have recognised and cultivated in themselves what we may call the higher supernatural sense. It wanted more. It lacked the suggestiveness that can be produced only by high moral and

intellectual perceptions, and by the conviction that Art has far-reaching, immortal aims, and that a work of art is even of less value than a fashion in dress, if it merely pleases the eye or the fancy for the moment. Nature to them was dead and uninformed, and as such they interpreted it. The great Being, whose existence they knew to be necessary, was "unknown." They substituted for Him such weak representations as poetic fancy could suggest. They knew nothing of the economy of creation. The world was

An altar-step without a priest,
A throne whereon there sate no king ;

and as they could not grasp the mighty mystery, the interpretation of what they did see was necessarily weak and defective. "For we do, indeed, see constantly," says Ruskin, "that men having naturally acute perceptions of the beautiful, yet not receiving it with a pure heart, nor into their hearts at all, never comprehend it, nor receive good from it, but make it a mere minister to their desires, and accompaniment and seasoning of lower sensual pleasures. And this which in Christian times is the abuse and corruption of the sense of beauty was, in that pagan life of which St. Paul speaks, little less than the essence of it, and the best they had. I do not know that of the expressions of affection towards external nature to be found among heathen writers, there are any of which the leading thought leans not towards the sensual parts of her. Her beneficence they sought, and her power they shunned; her teachings through both they understood never." Yet their representations of the objective realities of life, though piecemeal, were perfect. What they wanted was inspiration. But what shall we say of their modern admirers, who confess their despair of approaching the perfection of Grecian workmanship, whilst they reject the Christian ideals and Christian inspirations that would enable modern artists to rival and even surpass the ancients?

This vast distinction between the Pagan and Christian conceptions of art, and their relative influences on artists themselves, on contemporary students and admirers, and on posterity that has inherited the accumulated treasures of the ages, was most distinctly shown about that period, when the Medici had made Florence a modern Athens, and Greece was robbed of its priceless wealth of statuary and painting to please the over-refined tastes of the æsthetic city. The two great schools of art, of which all the suc-

ceeding classic schools were merely sub-divisions, were then brought face to face, their principles were tested by the works of their pupils, they were supported by the dominant influences of the age, they contested the supremacy with all the calm, earnest, unimpassioned vigour on the one hand, and all the fierce, intemperate zeal on the other, that have characterised the eternal war between the Church and the world. It was another, and not very dissimilar phase of that uprising against faith and morality of which we are witnesses, the only difference being that the struggle which is now waged by the pen and the press, was then carried on with brush and pencil in the studios and art galleries of the Italian cities. It was the Renaissance of Pagan ideas, Pagan worship, Pagan theories of art, Pagan habits of life, of which, after all, Art and Literature are but faithful reflections. On the side of this new Paganism were arrayed artists, and men of letters—the restless, unquiet, but gifted spirits that haunt a city of revolutions like Florence; wealthy and powerful merchants, like the Medici themselves, proud and retiring aristocrats, like the blind father of Romola. On the other side, which clung with the tenacity of love and principle to Christian tradition, was the Church, then as now combining a magnificent contempt for the transitory passions of the age, with maternal anxiety for truths that might be neglected and souls that might be imperilled, and, under the shadow of the Church, protected, encouraged, and inspired, were her faithful servants, working out on canvas or on the bare wall, the thoughts that were ennobling their minds, and the feelings that were sanctifying their souls. The Renaissance ushered in the Reformation. It was the preliminary and partial revolt that preceded the great rebellion against the majestic dogmas and the stern discipline of Christianity. The world was growing tired of the supernatural, and was yearning after the humanities of ancient times, and the soft heathen freedom and voluptuousness to which Rousseau says mankind is perpetually tending. And the first symptoms were exhibited in the new departure in art from all that twelve centuries of Christian civilisation had prized, and the new passion for reproducing and embellishing that ancient civilisation which had been branded as “anathema” by the prophets and priests of the Catholic Church. It is true that before that time there had been a few attempts to break away from Christian traditions, and establish new schools that might emancipate themselves

from prevailing ideas, and fly to the buried past for inspiration. But the faith of the ages would not brook this disinterring of Paganism, nor tolerate representations of the "grand old gods of Greece and Rome," when the pure and sublime art of the catacombs was still modern, and painting was yet what St. Basil called it, and the Council of Arras defined it in 1205: "The book of the ignorant who do not know how to read any other."

And when the primitive art-school of Florence was established, of which Giotto was the founder, it seemed as if Christian art was so thoroughly regenerated that no succeeding attempts could revolutionise it, nor introduce again a passion for Pagan or Byzantine types. Work after work came from the pencils of holy men who were inspired, not by anticipation of public applause in national galleries, nor by the hope of amassing money by painting to please the passion of an hour, but by a pious desire of lending their talents to God's service, and raising men's minds far above mundane things to the celestial heights where themselves in spirit were dwelling. And, therefore, the Christian Gospels, and not Pagan mythology, were the sources whence they drew subjects for portraits and for larger works. It is marvellous to see how faithful they were to these lofty ideas. Still more marvellous that though circumscribed within comparatively narrow limits, they were able to infuse variety into their works, and stamp on every product of their pencils the individuality of their own minds. There is scarcely a name, for example, worthy of respect in the Catholic schools of Italy that cannot be found subscribed to some painting of our Blessed Lady. In the Siennese school, there are Madonnas by Guido, Lorenzetti, Bartoli, Matteo da Siena, Pacchiarotto, Beccafumi, Razzi. In the Florentine school, we have Madonnas from Giotto, Buffalmacco, the Gaddi, Giottino, Orgagna, Fra Angelico, Gozzoli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Lorenzo di Credi, Lippi, Fra Bartolommeo, Albertinelli. In the Umbrian school, by Perugino, Pinturricchio, Raffaello. In the Bolognese school, by Dalmasio, Francia, who seemed to be able to paint nothing else, for every city in Italy has a Madonna from his pencil; in the museum at Berlin there are several from his hands, and at Munich and at Vienna. In the school of Ferrara the same subject is treated by Panetti, Costa, Grandi, Mazzolino, Garofolo. In the Venetian school, by the Vivarini, Gentile and Giovanni Bellini, Carpaccio, Vecelli. And so strongly were these artists imbued

with Christian feeling, that a sodality was established, the members of which bound themselves to paint no other subjects but holy men and women on the walls and altars of churches, that by this means the world, in spite of the demons, might be attracted towards virtue and piety. This is the first academy of painting of which history makes mention: the confraternity of St. Luke, founded in 1350. A century later, so rapid are the revolutions for good or evil, the Medici had perverted public taste, and mythological subjects came into request. Little by little, painting became the servant of vanity and vice, the pedantry that pervaded the schools invaded the studios, and art had fallen very low when the portraits of patrons were no longer seen at the foot of the pious picture in an attitude of humble supplication, but introduced into the picture itself, and attached with unblushing effrontery to the most holy and sacred personages. In former days, the faces of art patrons were seen amongst humble shepherds or enthusiastic disciples; now they were to be seen amongst angelic choirs, or representing the holiest that ever trod the earth, and then alternating as an Olympian god or hero. Ancient sources of inspiration were abandoned. The histories of Greece and Rome superseded Sacred History. "Pagan inspirations," says M. Rio, "were received at the time from two sources—the majestic ruins of ancient Rome and the Court of the Medici. The paganism of the Medici sprang from the corruption of morals, as well as from the progress of learning. What did Lorenzo de Medici demand from the first artists of Florence, when he wished to exercise towards them that distinguished patronage of which we hear so much in history? From Pollajuolo he demanded the twelve labours of Hercules; from Ghirlandajo the edifying story of Vulcan's misfortunes; from Luca Signorelli nude gods and goddesses; and as atonement, a chaste Minerva from Botticelli, who despite the natural purity of his imagination was also obliged to paint a Venus for Cosmo de Medici, and to repeat the same subject several times with all the changes suggested by his learned protector." This materialism, thus introduced under powerful patronage, and adopted by men of light and leading, has to this day dominated the art of painting. It would reach its final stage of development if the hopes of Lord Beaconsfield could be realized. But as Christian Art not only survived Medicean influence, but reached its perfection stimulated by the hostility raised against it, so we may hope

that in our own age, the intelligent and natural sympathy of artists for purity and sublimity will keep them faithful to the highest traditions of their art, and help them to sustain Christian ideas and follow Christian types, undeterred by false criticism, or vitiated public taste.

Driven by princes and presidents from museums, academies and private collections, mysticism in art found an asylum in convents and monasteries, where the art of painting in miniature was brought to perfection. The Dominicans and Camaldulenses cultivated the art with the greatest success. The magnificent productions of these monks, and the solitaries of Monte Cassino, can still be seen at Sienna, Ferrara, and the Vatican. They were the immediate precursors of that great saint and painter, still known in Florence as *Il Beato*, the Blessed John of Fiesole, better recognised by the title Fra Angelico. It was he who never took pencil in hand without previous prayer; it was he who never painted a Crucifixion without shedding bitter tears at the memory of his Saviour's sufferings. A bare catalogue of his principal works will show the source of all his inspirations. In Paris, at the Louvre, the Life of St. Dominic. In Orvieto, at the Cathedral, Our Lord at the Last Judgment, and the Choir of Prophets. In Rome at the Vatican, in the Chapel of Nicholas V., the History of SS. Stephen and Laurence; in the Corsini gallery, The Ascension, and The Descent of the Holy Ghost; in the Fesch gallery, The Last Judgment. At Fiesole, in the Church of St. Dominic, a Madonna with several saints; at the Church of St. Jerome, a Madonna between St. Jerome and St. Stephen. At Cortona, in the Gesu, the Annunciation, the Life of Our Blessed Lady, the Life of St. Dominic. At Florence, in the cloister of St. Mark, a Crucifixion with St. Dominic; in the Chapter Hall, a Crucifixion with many saints, and a genealogical tree of the Dominicans; in each cell, a fresco of the Crucifixion; in the Uffizi gallery, St. Peter, St. Mark, a Madonna with many saints, the Martyrdom of St. Peter, the Nativity of St. John, the Preaching of St. Peter, the Espousals, the Adoration of the Magi, the Death of the Blessed Virgin, the Coronation of the Blessed Virgin in the midst of celestial choirs; at the Academy of the Fine Arts, the Descent from the Cross, St. Thomas and Albertus, the Life of Our Lord in thirty-five tableaux, the Last Judgment, the *chef-d'œuvre* of Christian Art. In Berlin, at the Royal Museum, St. Francis and St. Dominic embracing. Yet such is the degeneracy

of modern art, that Fra Angelico is numbered by modern connoisseurs amongst the painters of what they are pleased to call *i tempi bassi*. And yet we are told by the best critics of our time that "modern Italians have degenerated into sign-board painters," that now "they can only reproduce," that as "originators they are beneath contempt."

Fra Angelico was immediately succeeded by Perugino, Pinturricchio and Rafaello, "a glorious trinity of artists," says Montalembert, "that never has been, and never shall be surpassed." They belonged to the Umbrian school, which shares with the Siennese school and the mystic school of Florence, the glory of having been entirely Catholic and Christian as regards the choice of subjects and the mode of treatment. "Perhaps," says M. Rio, "the Umbrian school was not so rich in its variety of subjects as contemporary schools; it did not follow profane mythology, or the study of ancient bas-reliefs, or even the grand historic scenes of Sacred History; it limited itself to the development and perfection of certain types, very restricted in number, but which reunited all that faith could inspire of poetry and exaltation. The glory of the Umbrian school is to have followed without ceasing the transcendental aims of Christian Art, without suffering itself to be seduced by example, or distracted by clamours. It would seem that a special benediction attached to these places particularly sanctified by St. Francis Assisi, and that the perfumes of his sanctity preserved the Fine Arts from corruption in the vicinity of the mountains, where so many pious painters had contributed one after the other to decorate his tomb. This happy influence exercised on painting became part of a mission of purification, and we see that Perugino, who was the great light of the Umbrian school, extended this influence from one end to the other of Italy."

Just at the same time, a mighty and temporarily successful struggle was made against the invasion of Paganism into Art and Society. It was the crusade preached by the great friar of St. Marco in Florence against the Renaissance. Its history has lately been made so familiar to the world, that it is needless to enter into it here. It is enough to say, that, as at the passing of Paul and Timothy of old, the idols crumbled into dust, so at the voice of the Christian preacher the relics, collected at such

¹ For the quotations from M. Rio's standard work, the lists of Paintings, &c., I am indebted to Montalembert's Essay: "*De la Peinture Chrétienne en Italie.*" — P. A. S.

mighty cost, of the "grandeur that was Greece and the glory that was Rome" were huddled together in the square of the city of Florence, and the craze of the moment vanished from the minds of men, as the smoke of the holocaust of heathen vanities thinned and whitened into fleecy vapour in the blue Italian sky. Despite the all-powerful influence which Savonarola exercised on the *savans*, the artists, and the warriors of his age, Pico de la Mirandola, Salviati, Valori, Lorenzo di Credi, Fra Bartolommeao, Luca della Robbia, Cronaca, &c., the mighty apostle perished. But ten years after his death justice was done him by the Roman court, for Raphael represented him amongst the Doctors of the Church in the fresco of the Blessed Sacrament, and with the authority of Julius II., the immediate successor of the Alexander VI. who had condemned him.

From that time naturalism steadily became the fashion in art. We read of Signorelli, who pushed his love of anatomy so far, that he studied the dead body of his own son, anticipating the scientists of whom Wordsworth says, "they would peep and botanise on their mothers' graves;" of Mariotto, who died of a debauch in the flower of his age, of Andrea del Sarto, who for money painted the obese wife of Francis I. as a Madonna, of Piero di Cosimo, whose special horror was the sound of church bells, and the chanting of monks. Even such original and mighty geniuses as Raphael and Michel Angelo became subject to the passion of the age. Though essentially Catholic, and deriving all their transcendent glory from the works which they executed under inspirations from faith, they too temporarily forgot their allegiance to the highest teachings of their art, and sacrificed the majesty and beauty of spiritualism in a passion for perfect anatomy or skilful colouring. The perfection of tinting and shading, the scientific and symmetrical reproduction of muscles in action or repose, became of far greater importance than the lofty philosophy of Christianity, and its power over humanity flashed forth upon learned and unlearned from the faces of "sweet Mother Mary," or a Magdalen, or that warrior-saint, Sebastian, or the midnight horrors of a Crucifixion, or the terrors and splendours of a Last Judgment. And they suffered in consequence. Their right hands lost their cunning, because their minds had forsaken their inspirations. It is well known that Raphael, for the last ten years of his life, was not equal to the

Raphael who emulated Perugino in his love of Christian Art. It is said that monsters issued from the marriage of the sons of God with the daughters of men; and such must ever be Christian ideas, wrought out in obedience to Pagan theories.

However sad this defection might be, and it is saddest in the case of Michel Angelo, who was essentially a poet-painter, and a poet before he became a painter, and was therefore more independent of fashions than any of his contemporaries, these artists are still claimed as masters of Catholic schools, and their fame rests on the sacred pictures they executed, rather than upon their imitations of Grecian Art. Now, all these painters and all these schools are still regarded with as much reverence by art-students, as the Fathers or Scholastics by theological students, or German philosophers by the lovers of the mystic and the undefined. No art education is considered complete that has not been finished under the shadows of the old Masters. And though a hope is now entertained of transferring the sanctuary from the Tiber to the Thames, Italy must remain for ever the home of painting. Who could study, for example, the *nuances* of colour under the *aer bruno* of the murky metropolis of England? No! modern eclecticism, fickle and erratic, will soon wear itself out. Students of far future generations will sit in the dim twilight of cathedrals, and lay the foundations of their fame in the lessons that are inculcated by the silent and eloquent teachers, that tell the glories of an age, the like of which we shall not soon see. And then, as now, it is Madonnas, and pale saints, and stately prophets, and grave doctors, "with a far off look in their eternal eyes" that will rain down inspiration into these students' souls, and with such dreams will these latter be afterwards haunted, when they touch, with brush or pencil, the canvas that is to speak back to them the cherished fancy, or realize the long-worshipped ideal.

If, therefore, Religion from the beginning had been rejected as an element in Art, Art would have had no history, no "names that will hang on the stretched forefinger of all time." Religion supplied the loftiest inspirations; Religion elevated and exalted the tastes and ambition of artists; Religion repelled whatever was base and sensual; and Religious Art, therefore, alone is immortal.

So far then for History, and the testimony of the ages.

Now, on purely abstract grounds, let us consider the motives which Religion supplies, and the subjects it presents to the artist's mind, and we shall see that, apart from the influence of traditions, Religion must always remain the most potent factor in Art. There was a time when men regarded labour as prayer: with them Art was worship. The present is a time when Art has become a trade, and labour means coining mind-thoughts and the heart's blood for gold. Worship nineteenth-century progress as we may, can it be doubted for a moment that the inspirations of faith are higher than the promptings of avarice? That the men who stood day by day, face to face with eternity, who dealt familiarly, but not without awe, with great solemn mysteries that were terrible realities to them, have not higher ideas and inspirations than Medicean or Victorian artists, whose fancies are busy with cheque-books and art criticisms, while their hands are mixing the colours or laying them? What a comment on our age is the simple and touching inscription under a beautiful Madonna in the Hospice della Scala at Sienna: "Opus Laurentii Petri pictoris; fecit ob suam devotionem;" or the painting of the Procession of the True Cross in the Place St. Marc, signed by the artist, "Gentilis Bellinus amore incensus crucis, 1496." Where shall we find a parallel in our age to Vitalis, who could never paint a Crucifixion, saying it was too sorrowful a task for him, or Jacopo Avanzi, who for years was prevented by the same scruple, or Lippo Dalmasio, who cared only to paint images of the Blessed Virgin, and in whose eyes this work was so great, that he never undertook it without preparing himself by a fast on the vigil of his work, and receiving Holy Communion on the day on which he commenced his sacred labours? "Dreadfully superstitious!" no doubt our modern artist will exclaim; yet Guido in the fuller light of the seventeenth century stood for hours ravished with delight before one of this painter's Madonnas. Mr. Ruskin, whom all agree in considering the first art-critic of his age, has a remarkable passage on the subject:

"And, in the last place, it will be found that so surely as a painter is irreligious, thoughtless, or obscene in disposition, so surely is his colouring cold, gloomy, and valueless. The opposite poles of art in this respect are Fra Angelico and Salvator Rosa; of whom one was a man who smiled seldom, wept often, prayed constantly, and never harboured an impure thought. His pictures are simply so many pieces of jewellery, the colours of the draperies being

perfectly pure, as various as those of a painted window, chastened only by paleness, and relieved upon a gold ground. Salvator was a dissipated jester and satirist, a man who spent his life in masquing and revelry. But his pictures are full of horror, and their colour is for the most part gloomy grey. Truly it would seem as if art had so much of eternity in it, that it must take its dye from the close rather than the course of life: 'In such laughter the heart of man is sorrowful, and the end of that mirth is heaviness.' These are no singular instances. I know no law more severely without exception than this of the connection of pure colour with profound and noble thought. The Bellinis, Francias, Peruginos painted in crimson and blue, and gold. The Caraccis, Guidos, and Rembrandts in brown and grey. The builders of our great Cathedrals veiled their casements, and wrapped their pillars with one robe of purple splendour. The builders of the luxurious Renaissance left their palaces filled only with cold white light, and in the paleness of their native tone."

Lastly, it were easy to show that even for technical reasons, Religion is not only a legitimate subject of Art, but the worthiest and most fertile subject, inasmuch as it is Catholic in its sympathies, reaches from the footstool of God on earth to the throne of God in Heaven, enters deeply into all human concerns, and presents a hundred conceptions that must be of lasting interest to men's minds. Such is the opinion of all those who have given serious and earnest attention to this engrossing subject. Let us hear the voices of two, who may be considered the leading experts on Art and Psychology:

"Painting," says Mr. Ruskin, "or Art generally as such, with all its technicalities, difficulties, and particular ends, is nothing but a noble and expressive language, invaluable as the vehicle of thought, but of itself nothing. It is not by the mode of representing and saying, but by what is represented and said, that the respective greatness of the painter or writer is to be finally determined."¹

¹ In the *Magazine of Art* for December 1880, the sarcastic remark of Lord Beaconsfield is indignantly criticised in the following passage:—"When at the Academy banquet of 1879, Lord Beaconsfield half slightly referred to pictures of 'saints, and Madonnas, and martyrs,' there was a sympathetic laugh. Who laughed? Some of the 'distinguished strangers,' let us hope, and not any of the brotherhood who own a kindred art with M. Angelo, Raphael, Titian, and Murillo, and least of all, we may be certain, he who was exhibiting there at the very time not a 'saint, or a Madonna, or a martyr,' but personages who may be supposed to be equally comic—an angel and a prophet! The public will rather agree with another speaker at another Academy banquet—The Archbishop of Canterbury in 1880—who said: 'The noblest pictures are as a rule the embodiment of the highest and noblest ideas, and I hold that saints and angels are nobler subjects than Bacchus with the satyrs and fauns.'"

Now by this rule let us try to understand the words of Victor Cousin :—

“Art is the reproduction of the beautiful, and not of *natural* beauty, but of *ideal* beauty, such as the human imagination conceives it by the help of the data which Nature furnishes. The ideal beautiful envelops the infinite ; the object of Art therefore is to produce works, which, like those of Nature, but in a still higher degree, have the charm of the infinite. But how, and by what conjuring, to draw the infinite from the finite ? Here lies the difficulty of Art ; but it is also its glory. What carries us up towards the infinite in natural beauty ? The ideal side of that beauty. The ideal is the mysterious ladder by which the soul ascends from the finite to the infinite.”

Now, in another part of the same lecture, he says in language that were worthy of St. Augustine :—

“The ideal resides neither in an individual, nor in a collection of individuals. Nature or experience furnishes us the occasion of conceiving it, but it is essentially distinct from it. For him who has once conceived it, all natural figures, however beautiful they may be, are but shadowy images of a beauty they do not realize. The ideal retreats perpetually in proportion as we approach it more nearly. Its last term is in the infinite, that is, in God ; or, to speak better, the true and absolute ideal is nothing but God Himself.”

And after a series of passages rising one above the other in beauty of thought and diction, he concludes by saying :—“Thus God is the principle of the three orders of beauty we have distinguished, physical beauty, intellectual beauty, and moral beauty.”

Now, if Art be but the expression of thought, if thought must be exercised about what is beautiful, so that Art may reproduce only what is beautiful, if that beauty be not natural beauty alone, but ideal beauty, and if the term and source of all ideal beauty is God Himself, who can eliminate as objects of Art, that world over which God more immediately presides, of which He is the centre and the life, the world of religion and mysticism ?

Would we then exclude Nature in its lower forms from the domain of Art, paint only purely religious subjects, be blind to the beautiful world that lies around us, with its rich landscapes and seascapes, the soft tender dawns, the transparent light of noon, the purple twilights, the blush of a rose petal, the pure whiteness of a lily, the clustering vegetation of forests, the still and solitary grandeur of

mountains? Still more, shall we exclude humanity, with its passionate tenderness, and sublime dissatisfaction, its yearnings after the Infinite, the pulsations of human activity, the flutterings of the human heart? So thought Goethe, the Archpriest of humanity in our age, the leader and the interpreter of our modern classical contempt for Christianity. Speaking of the subjects treated by the old Masters, he says :—" They are either miscreants or ecstasies, criminals or fools. There is not a *human* idea throughout the whole." Not the human ideas, certainly, of suicidal Werthers, or a Faust, driven by passion into fearful excesses, or a sad Gretchen, dying a lunatic in a prison. But divinely human ideas of saints who have stilled the wild yearnings of their hearts by penance and prayer, and learned doctors who have bound themselves with cinctures of chastity, and Magdalens, who have found peace after sin in repentance. Christian Art is not above humanity. It stoops to it, raises it, ennobles it, consecrates it. Christian Art is not above Nature. But it sees in Nature the hand of the Divine Artist, whose works speak his praise so eloquently. It sees the smile of God in the sunshine, the anger of God in the storm, the tenderness of God in the flower and the child, the love of God in the stricken soul, the peace of God on the faces of the dead. It will not rest content with mere material beauty. Everything in its eyes has a subjective beauty. Substances that impress the senses are nothing compared to the Divine thought that flashes for ever athwart them, glorifying and transfiguring them. " It is the realization of this subjective beauty," says a late writer in the " Magazine of Art," " that has made great landscapists. See how Turner and Cox invariably sacrificed the lesser to the greater. The work of one was a mighty protest against the materialism of topographical draughtmanship—it was not Ehrenbreitstein he saw, but the flash of sunlight that fell upon it fresh from the hand of God. The work of the other was a mighty protest against the traditional notion that fine scenery makes fine pictures. Lancaster sands were good enough for him if God passed over them in a storm." This is the subjective beauty which the saints have always seen in Nature: it was this which was present to the mind of St. Bernard when he declared—" I meditated upon the word of God; the fields and the forests taught me its sacred meaning; the oaks and the beeches were my masters." And to St. Augustine, when he declared that " all beauties which pass from the soul to the skilful hands of artists are

derived from that beauty which is above the soul, after which my soul sighs day and night. But the artists and admirers of these exterior beauties, while they take from that first beauty the rule of approving them, do not take from thence the rule of using them." It is in its lowest form the vision of the singer who beholds

A light that never was on sea or flood :
The consecration, and the poet's dream.

And in its highest form it is represented by the beauty of "Sovran Blanc," the "thunderous avalanche," the "motionless torrents," the "silent cataracts," the "living flowers that skirt the eternal frost," when Coleridge looked upon them, and heard syllabled in every tone that Nature could assume, the name of God.

With such thoughts in our minds, looking again on the picture before us, do we not discern a relative beauty in all the accidents of nature? Is not the glimmering dawn more tender because it floats its veil of light over the sleeping Saviour? Is there not a soul, an intelligence in the lone star, that seems to be resigning into the hands of coming day the watch it has kept over its master? The rugged boulders even seem to have feeling in them, as they support the head of the sleeping Christ. All things are transmuted by the subtle spirit which the artist has thrown from his soul into his work. We, too, are no longer spectators, but worshippers; the usual interjections of wonder and criticism are silenced; we hear only the soft sounds of pencils that are stealing ideas from the masterpiece, and the soft breathing of reverential men and women who seem never tired of looking and admiring. The gallery, for the moment, is changed into a sanctuary, and the picture has become a shrine.

P. A. S.

I cannot forbear closing this paper with a few lines taken from "Scribner's Magazine." They express in the narrow space of six stanzas all that we have been labouring to say :—

TRANSFIGURED.

By S. M. B. PIATT.

Almost afraid they led her in ;
(A dwarf more piteous none could find) ;
Withered as some weird leaf, and thin,
The woman was—and old and blind.

Into his mirror with a smile—
 Not vain to be so fair, but glad—
 The South-born painter looked the while,
 With eyes than Christ's alone less sad.

"Mother of God," in pale surprise
 He whispered, "what am I to paint?"
 A voice that sounded from the skies
 Said to him: "Raphael, a saint."

She sat before him in the sun;
 He scarce could look at her, and she
 Was still and silent. "It is done,"
 He said. "Oh, call the world to see!"

Ah, that was she in veriest truth—
 Transcendent face and haloed hair;
 The beauty of divinest youth,
 Divinely beautiful, was there.

Herself into her picture passed,
 Herself and not her poor disguise,
 Made up of time and dust. At last
 One saw her with the Master's eyes.

THEOLOGICAL QUESTIONS.

DISPENSATIO IN RADICE.

THE brief answer given in the last number of the RECORD, to a question regarding this form of Matrimonial Dispensation, has elicited from an esteemed correspondent some important remarks which we desire to place before our readers.

These remarks address themselves to two points—first, to the *name*, and secondly to the *operation*, commonly designated a dispensation *in radice*.

1. Our correspondent objects to the *name* as being misleading, and suggests, instead of *Dispensatio in radice* the title *Sanatio in radice*. He gives the following reason to justify his preference for the latter title:—

"A Dispensation has its effect only *ex tunc* from the time it is granted, and supposes the impediment in existence at the time, and of course all along since the marriage was contracted. The *Sanatio in radice* goes back to the beginning, and removes the

marriage from under the impediment from the beginning, just as if, so far as the particular marriage is concerned, no such impediment existed at all; so that, even though the parties be dead, it has its effect as fully as in the case of living persons."

2. Our correspondent urges a fundamental objection to the explanation given by us of the *operation*, known as a *Dispensatio in radice*. If we apprehend his meaning correctly, he maintains that in every case in which a *Sanatio in radice* is obtained, and applied, there is really no impediment removed, because no impediment existed from the beginning. To understand this view, we must suppose that the Church has antecedently exempted from the impediments imposed by ecclesiastical law, all those parties who at a future time shall seek for a *Sanatio in radice*. This exemption, we must suppose, takes effect when the parties enter into the marriage contract. The result is, therefore, that the marriage of such persons is valid from the beginning, and that the offspring of such marriage is *really* legitimate, even before the *Sanatio in radice* is obtained.

It also follows from this view, that as the exemption from the ecclesiastical impediment is dependent on the future application for a *Sanatio in radice*, if such application be not made, the marriage was invalid, and the issue of such marriage illegitimate, all through the supposed marital union of the parties.

It is obvious that if this explanation of the *Sanatio in radice* be correct, our correspondent has reasonable grounds for objecting to the use of the word *Dispensatio*, as applied to such an operation.

"To bear out these views," he says, "it is assumed that the Church, in instituting the impediment in question, provided for special cases of difficulty, and exempted them beforehand from the operation of the impediment. Therefore her action in granting a *Sanatio in radice* is simply to recognise a particular case as not included in the impediment at all, and consequently to decide that the parties in question were married *ab initio*."

"The jurisprudence of the Church in the matter may be exemplified by the reserve made for the prerogative of the supreme executive in penal legislation, in which a case which incurs condemnation according to the ordinary law, is exempted from its operation by the prerogative of the crown, just as if, so far as the particular case is concerned, there was no such law at all. Allowance is made in the

enactment of the law for this exercise of the prerogative, and every case is exempted beforehand in which the prerogative will be exercised.

"We see, therefore, there is no question of consent being or not being renewed in the case of a *Sanatio in radice*, and such a case stands on a totally different footing from the case of an ordinary dispensation, leaving altogether free the question of the necessity of renewing consent in the latter case, to be discussed by itself."

Now, in reply we must say, at once, that our correspondent seems to us to stretch the prerogative of the *Sanatio in radice* considerably beyond the straining point, and to attribute to it an efficacy which it does not possess.

We will content ourselves with two arguments—one derived from reason, and the other from authority—to show that our correspondent's view of the *operation*, and his objection to the *name*, are untenable.

1. If it be true that a person who afterwards obtains a *Sanatio in radice* was validly married from the beginning, it would follow that if before obtaining the *Sanatio in radice*, he attempted to contract another marriage, such a marriage would necessarily be invalid. But it is sufficiently obvious that such a marriage would not be invalid, and therefore that the former marriage was not valid *ab initio*.

When the impediment becomes known, it is open to the party concerned to apply, as he may freely determine, either for an ordinary dispensation, or for a dispensation *in radice*. If he determine to apply for an ordinary dispensation, our correspondent will freely admit that his marriage has hitherto been invalid. How then can it be valid all the time, from the accident of his determination to apply for a dispensation *in radice*, rather than for an ordinary dispensation.

2. Passing from reason to authority, the evidence is overwhelming against our correspondent's view. It will be sufficient to quote a few authorities of recognised weight. Benedict XIV., who treats so fully and so frequently of this question, expressly declares that the effect of a dispensation *in radice* is not to render a marriage valid from the beginning, which otherwise would be invalid, but to remove the effects which flowed from the invalidity of the marriage before the dispensation had been obtained.

"*Quamvis enim in aliquibus circumstantiis conceduntur quædam dispensationes, quæ dicuntur in radice matrimonii, per quas*

renovandi consensus necessitas tollitur . . . certum tamen est hujusmodi dispensationes, quibus matrimonium redditur validum, et proles ex eo genita, legitima nuntiatur, absque ulla renovandi consensus necessitate, concedi quidem aliquando, gravissimis urgentibus causis . . . sed tunc solum cum impedimentum, propter quod matrimonium irritum fuit, nequaquam ortum habuit a jure Divino, vel naturali, sed a lege dumtaxat Ecclesiastica, quam positivam vocant, et cui summus Pontifex derogare potest; *non sane* agendo ut matrimonium nulliter contractum, non ita contractum fuerit, sed *effectus* illos de medio tollendo, qui ob hujusmodi matrimonii nullitatem, ante indultam dispensationem, ac etiam in ipso contrahendi matrimonii actu producti fuerunt." (De Synodo Diocesana. Lib. xiii. c. 21, n. vii.)

Van De Burgt gives the difference between an ordinary Dispensation, and a Dispensation *in radice* in the following terms.

Quaer. Quomodo Sanatio in radice, differt a simplici dispensatione?

Resp. Differt (a) quod simplex dispensatio generatim requirit renovationem consensus ab utraque parte, non autem sanatio in radice qua solet dispensari in renovatione consensus vel utriusque vel unius conjugis. (b) Dispensatio in radice habet vim retroactivam, non autem dispensatio simplex. Vis retroactiva non respicit ipsum praecise matrimonii valorem, *nam matrimonium a tempore dumtaxat sanationis validum est*, sed respicit effectus secutos ex invalidis nuptiis, qui effectus ut non secuti considerantur." (De Dispensat. Matr. n. 119, q. 3.)

We might add the testimony of *Perrone* De Mat. Christiano Tom. II., sect. I. cap. IV., Art II., nota. 22. *Feije*. De Imped. et Dispens. Mat. n. 82, 766. *Carriere*. De Mat. n. 1424. *Mechlin Treatise* De Mat. n. 102. *Craisson* De Mat. 4447. *Van Der Velden*. De Mat. Cap. X. n. 464.

But it is needless to multiply authorities where there is such a consensus of testimony. In truth the only foundation which our correspondent's view could have, rests on the supposition that the effect of an ecclesiastical impediment is to totally destroy the consent of the contracting parties. If this supposition were true in fact, then we should either deny to the Pope the power of granting a Dispensation *in radice*, or we should explain the Dispensation as our correspondent has explained it.

But an ecclesiastical impediment has no such effect. It merely suspends the efficacy of the natural consent until the impediment is removed. The vital energy, though pressed down and inoperative, still remains till the pressure is removed. Then the marriage becomes valid, either,

solely by virtue of the consent originally given, or, by virtue of the same consent, inasmuch as it morally perseveres up to the time when the impediment is removed.

Perrone (l.c.) is decidedly of opinion that, *per se*, the validity of the marriage does not require the moral perseverance of the original consent, and consequently that the marriage may become valid even after one of the parties has positively withdrawn his or her consent. After stating that the perseverance of the consent of the contracting parties is sometimes required as a condition in granting the Dispensation *in radice*, as was done in the faculties communicated to the French Bishops by Cardinal Caprara in 1803, he adds:—

“Quinimo Benedictus xiv. non solum inter conditiones ad dandam ejusmodi sanationem nunquam recenset hanc perseverantiam moralem in dato consensu, verum etiam excludit satis aperte, dum concessit dispensationem in radice matrimonii, dum alter conjugum in tribunalibus sollicitaverit solutionem, adeoque quantum in se erat, suum consensum retractaverat . . . Itaque tantum abest, ut renovatio consensus necessaria sit, ut per se ne requiratur quidem moralis consensus perduratio, imo nequē quandoque obsit consensus retractatio.” De Mat. Christ, (loco cit).

But this is a view of the question which, though we cannot accept, we are not called on to consider at present. In a future number we purpose to return to a fuller consideration of the subject, if to any of our correspondents it appears desirable that we should do so. We may then conclude our remarks for the present by saying, 1, that as far as the *name* is concerned, we believe that either expression, *Dispensatio in radice* or *Sanatio in radice*, may be used with propriety, and 2, that as regards the *operation*, the leading practical difference between the two is—no matter how this difference may be explained—that in the one the renewal of the consent is required, while in the other generally speaking it is not needed.

ED. I. E. R.

CORRESPONDENCE.

MATRIMONIAL DISPENSATIONS.

A correspondent directs our attention to the Instruction regarding Matrimonial Dispensations which was issued by the Propaganda in 1877, and which was published in the October number of the RECORD. After detailing the different causes on account of which Dispensations are usually granted, the Instruction enumerates the circumstances which must be mentioned in order to secure the validity of the Dispensation. One of these circumstances, mentioned in page 625, n. 7, creates a difficulty, for a solution of which our correspondent asks.

"It would appear," he says, "as if in applying for a dispensation, not only aggravating circumstances, such as publicity, and a sinister intention of more easily obtaining the dispensation by the commission of the crime, should be mentioned; but also mitigating circumstances, such as the absence of a fraudulent intention in the commission of the crime referred to (*incestus*). The word *hac* in the beginning of the second sentence, appears to refer both to the presence, and to the absence, of these aggravating circumstances, and to indicate that a distinct statement must be made of one or other, according to the circumstances, under pain of the invalidity of the dispensation. Please say am I right in supposing that these *mitigating* circumstances must be distinctly mentioned to prevent the invalidity of the dispensation."—ENQUIRER.

What is stated in the paragraph referred to is, that the *circumstantia incestus* must be mentioned, whether the crime was committed before or after the dispensation was asked for, whether it was committed with or without a fraudulent intention of more easily obtaining the dispensation, and finally, whether the crime is public or private. From this statement, it does not follow that the *mitigating* circumstances, namely, the absence of publicity, and the absence of a fraudulent intention in the commission of the crime, must be distinctly mentioned.

It is obvious that some of these mitigating circumstances, such as the absence of publicity, must be kept in view, if the Dispensation is to be obtained from Rome, in determining to which of the tribunals application is to be made.

The meaning of the whole paragraph will be more clearly understood by referring to the declaration of the

Congregation of the Holy Office, dated the 1st August, 1866, which we subjoin.

EX. S. CONG. S. R. U. INQUISIT.

DECLARATIO QUOAD INCESTUOSAM COPULAM HABITAM INTER SPONSOS
RESPECTU DISPENSATIONES PONTIFICIAE.¹

“Subreptitias esse et nullibi, ac nullo modo valere dispensationes, quae sive directe ab Apostolica Sede, sive ex Pontificia delegatione super quibuscumque gradibus prohibitis consanguinitatis, affinitatis, cognationis spiritualis et legalis, nec non et publicae honestatis, conceduntur; si sponsi ante earumdem dispensationem, executionem, sive ante, sive post earum impetrationem, incestus reatum patnaverint, et vel interrogati, vel etiam non interrogati, malitiose vel etiam ignoranter reticuerint copulam incestuosam inter eos initam, sive publice nota ea sit, sive etiam occulta, vel reticuerint consilium et intentionem qua eamdem copulam inierunt, ut dispensationem facilius assequerentur. Sufficere autem ut unus ex sponsis delictum hoc suum, vel nefariam intentionem modo dictam explicaverit.”

The points therefore which, if they exist, require distinct mention, are, 1st, the commission of the crime; 2nd, its publicity; and 3rd, the fraudulent intention with which it was committed.

ED. I. E. R.

II.

THE JUBILEE ALMS.

As a Subscriber to the RECORD may I request you to discuss the following cases in the December number of that Periodical.

1. A person anxious to gain the Jubilee has given to a servant the alms intended for the poor. The servant in one case appropriated the alms to his own use, and in another case he distributed the alms, but not until the time prescribed for gaining the Jubilee had passed.

2. I have reason to know that in more cases than one, the box containing the Jubilee Alms was broken, and the contents carried away.

The question now arises, did these persons, or any of them, gain the Jubilee, or were they deprived of the indulgence by the dishonesty or neglect of others?—J. C.

The questions raised by our correspondent have been fully considered by some of the ablest theologians and canonists. In questions of this sort, where there is no

¹ S. Congreg. S. Officii fer. iv., 1 Augusti, 1866.

authoritative decision to appeal to, we cannot be surprised that considerable difference of opinion exists. It will be more convenient to consider the questions separately.

1. Where the alms were entrusted to a dishonest or negligent servant, who failed to give them to the poor, or to give them in due time, the weight of authority seems to be against the sufficiency of such alms for gaining the Jubilee.

This is the opinion of De Lugo (De Sac. Poenit, D. xxvii. n. 112.) Loiseaux, (Traite du Jubilé, p. 301.) Collet, (Chap. v., art. ii. § iv. n. ix.) Viva, (Quaest. viii., art vi., n. iii.) Gobat, (chap. xxx. n. 221,) and of many others.

The principal argument in favour of this opinion is : 1°. That in order to enjoy a *privilege* the required conditions must be placed, and must be placed within the specified time. Now, where the servant is dishonest, the condition of giving alms is not at all complied with. For no one can be said to have given alms until he has divested himself of the dominion of the money or other valuable thing which he sets aside for that purpose. But in this case the owner has never lost the dominion of the amount which he intended should be given as alms. And though his intention is equally good as if the poor had actually received the alms, still we must remember that it is to good *works* and not to good *intentions* the Church wishes to attach Indulgences.

Again, where the servant delays to give the alms till the time for gaining the Jubilee is passed, it is obvious that the required condition has not been strictly complied with, and, consequently, according to the argument of these theologians, the Indulgence has not been gained. In such circumstances they say the person who desires to gain the Jubilee is in no better condition than if he had laid aside a certain sum for the poor, but afterwards forgot to give it till the appointed time had expired.

“ Verius tamen credo, in neutro casu satisfieri, ” says De Lugo (loco cit.), “ quia dare, est transferre dominium: famulo autem non dante eleemosynam, nondum est translatus dominium, nisi forte aliquis jam pro ipso paupere acceptasset: tunc enim jam esset irrevocabilis donatio. Unde idem dicerem, si mitteretur eleemosyna tempore Jubilaei ad pauperem distantem, ad quem non posset pervenire intra illam hebdomadam, tunc enim eleemosyna non daretur intra tempus legitimum, cum possit revocari mandatum toto illo tempore, nisi aliquis, ut praedixi, pro paupere acceptasset.”

This, as we have stated, is the opinion which is supported by the greater number of theologians and canonists.

But in support of the opposite opinion, which maintains that the dishonesty or neglect of a servant, will not deprive his master of the indulgence of the Jubilee, the names of many eminent theologians may be cited. Amongst these may be mentioned Amort, Van Ranst, Dicastillo, Sa, Vega, and Gobat. We have given the name of Gobat in favor of this second opinion, because, although he holds the first opinion speculatively, still he admits that this opinion is *probabilis et tuta* in practice.

Two reasons may be given in favour of the second opinion :—

1. According to the common sentiment of men, a person is said to have given alms as soon as he intrusts them for distribution to another. And as he has the merit of alms-giving before God, it seems unreasonable to suppose that he would not enjoy such privileges as may be attached to the same good work by men.

2. It seems very improbable that the Sovereign Pontiff in granting a Jubilee would exclude from its benefits those who, as far as in them lay, tried to fulfil exactly the specified conditions. Amort (Quaest. Resolut. pract., Quaer 77, 2, 7.) says of the opponents of this view: “*Sed si ipsimet fuissent Pontifices, credo humanius cum heris fuisse acturos.*” This opinion appears to us to be very probable; still as probability will not, of itself, suffice in fulfilling the conditions for gaining a Jubilee, we should strongly recommend the *certain* fulfilment of alms-giving as long as certainty is possible.

So far for the first case proposed by one of our correspondents. In regard to the second case, viz., where the box containing the alms has been broken open, or removed from the Church, although the theologians do not distinctly consider these circumstances, still, there seems to us to be a principle contained in the extract given above from De Lugo which will serve to solve the difficulty.

De Lugo admits that it is not necessary that the alms should actually reach the hands of the poor. It is sufficient if any person takes possession of such alms in the name of the poor. Then the owner ceases to retain dominion of the alms, and he can never recall them.

Now this is what occurs in the circumstances mentioned by our correspondent. When the alms are put into the alms-box, the Church, or parish priest, in the name of the Church, accepts them in the name, and for the benefit of the poor.

If these alms are afterwards stolen or otherwise misappropriated, we believe that the person who gave them is not thereby deprived of the Jubilee.

In favour of this opinion we may advance, 1°, the opinion of all those theologians who hold the second opinion given above, and 2°, the principle underlying the opinion of De Lugo and those theologians and canonists who agree with him.

ED. I. E. R.

LITURGICAL QUESTIONS.

NEW YORK, September 3rd, 1881.

REV. DEAR SIR—Please answer the following questions in the ECCLESIASTICAL RECORD during the present year, if convenient:—

I.

The faithful here have the practice of carrying home with them the water blessed on Easter Saturday for Baptism, before the Holy Oils are poured into it. Is this practice laudable?

II.

What is to be done in private Mass, when saying the prayers after the Postcommunion ordered in the Missal for Ferial Masses in Advent and Lent? I refer to the *Humiliate capita vestra Deo*, and subsequent prayer.

III.

Is it improper to recite the Litany of the Blessed Sacrament in public—for instance, before our Lord in the repository on Holy Thursday evening, when people come in large numbers to visit Him?

IV.

In the Forty Hours' Prayer, is the *Missa pro pace* of strict obligation where it can be sung without any notable inconvenience? I have lately known an instance where no Mass was sung, the priest of the church contending that the *Missa pro pace* should be sung, if any were necessary, but that it was not necessary to sing any Mass.

V.

In a church where no priest is obliged to duplicate on Sundays, but where the pastor, for reasons of discipline, or to avoid scandal, or that Holy Mass might be better attended, has determined to have no Requiem Mass at funerals on Sunday—can the Requiem Mass be said on Monday morning, if it be a double feast; or on Tuesday, if Monday should exclude a Requiem Mass because of its exalted rite?

Is it allowable to duplicate on Sunday for the purpose of celebrating a Requiem Mass for one about to be buried?—E. P. I.

Answer to Question I. :—

(a) Is the custom described a laudable one?

The custom is laudable, and even recommended by the Rubrics of the Missal. "Et iterum unus ex ministris ecclesiae accipit in vase aliquo de eadem aqua ad aspergendum in domibus et aliis locis."¹ Moreover, the custom is a very old one: Martene² quotes passages from the oldest rituals and decrees of the early Councils, to prove that the faithful were wont, from a very remote date, to carry to their homes vessels of the water blessed on the eves of Easter and Pentecost (but before the holy oils were mixed with it), for the purpose of sprinkling it on their houses, vineyards, fields, crops, and, in general, on objects for which they implored God's blessing. Indeed, it is the common opinion of those who have written on the ancient rites of the Church, that this practice had its origin in the Apostolic age.

(b.) May this water be used for the ordinary Holy Water?

This water may be used in such cases as those mentioned by our correspondent, for instance, in the blessing of objects for which the sprinkling with holy water is prescribed; or for the aspersion of the sick as required on the occasion of the administration of the last sacraments.

It must be kept in mind that this water, even before it is mixed with the holy oils, is blessed with a more solemn blessing than the *aqua lustralis* or ordinary holy water. Moreover, it is the common opinion of the learned on subjects of this kind, that the *aqua lustralis* was introduced as a substitute for the water blessed on the eves of Easter and Pentecost, or as a reminder of the baptismal ceremony of those days. Martene's account of its origin is substantially this. The custom of using Easter and Pentecost water for sprinkling all manner of objects spread among the faithful. The supply provided for distribution on these two occasions was found to be, after a time, wholly insufficient, and, in order to meet the pious practice of the faithful, it was ordered that the priest should bless holy water every Sunday. As this blessing, unlike that on the eves of Easter and Pentecost, was to be unconnected with any existing church function, a special form or rite had to be instituted, which is that now set down in the ritual for the blessing of the *aqua lustralis*.

¹ Rub. Missalis in *Sabbato Sancto*.

² *De Antiquis Ecclesiae ritibus*, Cap. I., Art. xviii.

According to Durandus, the blessing and sprinkling of the holy water ordered for every Sunday before the principal Mass, was intended to remind the people of the baptismal ceremony performed with the consecrated water on Easter and Pentecost Saturdays.

It is insinuated very plainly in the rubrics of the missal that the *aqua lustralis* is but a substitution for the other; for they direct the priest to sprinkle the people with the *aqua lustralis* on Sundays before the principal Mass, except on Easter and Pentecost Sundays, when the water blessed on the previous days, if procurable, is to be used for this purpose.

(c.) Why is not salt added to the water on this day?

As we have said, the form of blessing water on the eves of Easter and Pentecost is the more ancient of the two rites. Consequently we should rather ask, why the Church, when instituting the form of later date, required the mixture of blessed salt with the water, a ceremony which heretofore formed no part of the blessing.

This rite, we are told, is borrowed from the 4th Book of Kings, where it is related that the prophet Eliseus, mixed salt with the water when, at the request of the citizens, he healed the waters of Jericho of their bitterness and badness.

As a symbol, salt is no less significant than water. As water denotes the process of purification from spiritual uncleanness, so the salt is a reminder that every Christian should be, in his own sphere, the *sal terrae*, preserving himself and others from spiritual corruption.¹ It is, then, suggestive of the dispositions the Church would wish to find in her children when they use the holy water, and also symbolic of certain effects which may be expected from the proper use of it. "Ut ubicunque fuerit aspersa, per invocationem sancti tui nominis, omnis infestatio immundi spiritus abigatur."

Answer to Question II. :—

How is one to say in a private Mass the prayer given in the Missal after the Postcommunion for the Ferial Masses of Advent and Lent? I refer to the "*Humiliate capita vestra Deo.*" &c.

The *Oremus*, the *Humiliate capita vestra Deo*, and the prayer that follows these words, are all to be said at the Epistle corner. At the *Oremus*, the priest extends and joins his hands, and makes the usual reverence to the

¹ See *Quarti de Benedict*, tit. iii, sect. i, praelud. 2, n. 204.

cross; he says the *Humiliate capita vestra Deo* facing the book and not the congregation, with hands joined, and without an inclination of the head to either the cross or the book,¹ and he finally reads the prayer, *manibus extensis*, in the usual way.

Answer to Question III. :—

Is it improper to recite the litany of the Blessed Sacrament in public; for instance, before our Lord in the Repository on Holy Thursday evening, when the people come in large numbers to adore Him?

One is not allowed to recite, as a public prayer in a church, any litany not approved by the Sacred Congregation. Now the only litanies approved by the Congregation are the litany of the Saints, the Litany to be said for a soul in its agony, as given in the Ritual, and the litanies of the Blessed Virgin and the Sacred Name of Jesus. Consequently, we think that it is not allowable to recite the Litany of the Blessed Sacrament publicly in the circumstances you mention.

It may be well to give in this place the latest decision on the matter, though the decree appeared in a former number of the RECORD :—

“Etsi, praeter litanias S. Smi. Nominis Jesu, Beatae Mariae, Virginis *Lauretanas* nuncupatas et sanctorum quae in libris liturgicis habeantur, nullae aliae a Sancta Sede approbatae fuerint, quaedam tamen typis passim evulgantur, quae in honorem alicujus sancti vel mysterii, fidelibus recitandae proponuntur, atque in libris praesertim pietatis, vulgo *De devotion*, continentur, nonnumquam etiam auctoritatis ecclesiasticae sanctione munitis. Hinc Sacra Rituum Congregatio sui muneris esse duxit Rmos. locorum Ordinarios admonere, ne sinant alias litanias publice recitari nisi praedictas, vel alias si quae a S. R. U. Inquisitione recognitae aut approbatae fuerint; ac simul caveant suam approbationem pro impressione subnectere iis libris in quibus Litaniae inveniuntur apostolica sanctione carentes.”

S. R. C. 16 Junii, 1880.

Answer to Question IV. :—

In the Forty Hour's Prayer, is the Mass *pro pace* of strict obligation, where it can be sung without any notable inconvenience? I have lately seen an instance where no Mass was sung, the priest of the church contending that the Mass *pro pace* should be selected if any Mass were to be sung, but that it was not necessary to sing any.

This case seems to us to include three questions :—1. Is

¹ S. R. C., 16 Mart., 1833.

it obligatory, as a condition of being allowed to have the Quarante 'Ore, to have Mass celebrated in the church on the second day of the Exposition? 2. Must the Mass be sung, or is it enough to say a private or low Mass? 3. Must the Mass be always *pro pace*?

1°. It is necessary, we think, to have Mass on the intermediate day of the Exposition, unless the priest is relieved from the obligation by competent authority. In the *Instructio Clementina*, which prescribes the ceremonies to be observed on the occasion of the Quarante 'Ore, Mass is ordered for each of the three days. And though this Instruction is obligatory in all its details only in Rome, the portions of it which are regarded as more important and substantial are of obligation everywhere throughout the Church. All are encouraged to adhere to it exactly, but it is left to the prudence of the bishop, and not of the parish priest or rector of the church, to sanction deviations from it in minor particulars, according to the wants and special circumstances of the place and church.¹

2°. Next comes the question whether the Mass, on the second day of the Exposition, must be sung?

The *Instructio Clementina* requires a *Missa Solemnis* on each of the three days; and this rule is obligatory in Rome. But we have seen that, *extra Urbem*, the bishop of the place, is empowered to decide whether the details of this Instruction should not give way before the special circumstances and wants of the locality and church. Accordingly, if, in a certain district, it is not fairly convenient to provide

¹ The Congregation of Rites, when consulted on the nature of the obligation of this *Instructio Clementina*, answered: "*Praedictam Instructionem extra Urbem (Romam) non obligare; laudandos tamen, qui se illi conformare student, nisi aliud ab Ordinariis locorum statuatur.*"

In his commentary on the *Instructio Clementina*, Gardellini has the following remarks in reference to this decree: "Hinc, si episcopi quoad aliquam ex praescriptis regulis ab Instructione recedere satius ducant vel aliquid moderandum censeant, ut locorum et ecclesiarum qualitati provideant, laudabilibus et rationalibus consuetudinibus, quae nec per caeremoniale Episcoporum abrogantur, se conformant, variisque consultant circumstantiis, quae non ubique eadem sunt, hoc erit servandum. Id tamen duntaxat intelligendum de iis quae, salva ritus substantia, vel circa modum versantur vel quamdam congruentiam important nullamque praeferrunt difformitatem, si diversimode fiant, aut etiam omittantur. Secus vero de iis est, quae cultus substantiam spectant et Sacrae Actioni sunt essentialia, quae propterea ubique locorum sunt servanda, non in vim Instructionis, quae ad universam Orbem non extenditur, sed ex Ecclesiae praescripto, Rubricis ac sacrarum Congregationum generalibus decretis, quae ubique vim legis habent."—*Comment. ad Inst. Clement. Praef. n. 12.*

the necessary sacred ministers or other essentials for a Solemn or High Mass, this condition may be dispensed with by the bishop. But does this mean that a private Mass will be sufficient to secure the privileges attached to the Solemn or Votive Mass ordered for this day? No, it does not. If a Solemn or High Mass cannot be celebrated, the priest, according to Gardellini, ought to surround the Mass with all the solemnity that is possible; and, consequently, should at least have a *Missae Cantata*. He considers this to be necessary in order to celebrate a Votive Mass on a day of higher rite than is allowed by the general Rubrics, and to be entitled to the other privileges of a solemn Votive Mass.¹

3°. Lastly, we have to inquire whether the Mass on this day must be *pro pace*?

It is laid down in the *Instructio Clementina* itself, that if this intermediate day of the Quarante 'Ore fall on a double feast of the first or second class, or on a Sunday of the first or second class, or on Ash-Wednesday, or on Monday,

¹ The following is from Gardellini's commentary:—

"Restat modo, ut inquiramus; num eadem methodus servanda sit extra Urbem. Ut pluries notavimus legem quae pro Urbe tantum dicta est, alibi non obligare, etsi optandum sit ut, ubi fieri potest, eadem servetur. Verumtamen si celebrari velint *Missae Votivae* de Sacramento vel pro ingruente necessitate, diebus expositionis, repositionis ac medio, cum hae sint pro re gravi et publica Ecclesiae causa, non aliter celebrari poterunt, nisi solemniter et cum ministris paratis, quia privatim et sine ministris sacris haud fieri posse videtur, nisi diebus illis, quae *Missas Votivas* universim non respuunt.

"Subdit Cavalerius (*tom. iv. c. vii. dec. 32, n. 2*) limitando regulam: 'Fortasse tamen id potest fallere, ubi ex defectu ministrorum solemniter fieri non potest.' Limitatio haec tamen videtur absolute et generaliter sine ulla modificatione accipienda. Cum enim rubrica *Missas Votivas* pro re gravi solemnnes dicat, sed non declaret qualis et quanta ista debeat esse solemnitas, et moneat solummodo quod una tantum dicatur Oratio, (*Tit. ix. n. 14*) solemnitatem illam satis esse existimo quae juxta locorum et personarum circumstantias adhiberi potest, aliquam tamen solemnitatem, quae actionem distinguit a simplici et privata, necessariam esse censeo. Hinc ubi ecclesiae egestate premuntur (extra Romam), paramenta desunt et sacri ministri; quid, quaeso, prohibet si unus sacerdos eo, quo potest modo, cum uno vel duobus clericis *Missam Votivam* pro re gravi vel publico Ecclesiae bono cum cantu celebret? *Haec Missa non absolute solemnns est, talis tamen relative ad locum, personas, tempus et alias, quae concurrunt, circumstantias, quaeque, si aliter fiat, non permittunt. Missam vero simpliciter lectam cum privilegiis solemnns ex defectu ministrorum celebrari haud posse crederem.* Sub hac distinctione, doctrina Cavalerii admittere posse videtur, non autem, quod liceat pro re gravi celebrare *Missam* privatam loco solemnns in iis diebus, in quibus *Missae Votivae* prohibentur."—GARDELLINI, *Comment. ad Inst. Clementis ix., Sect. xv., 4, 5.*

Tuesday or Wednesday of Holy Week, or on the Vigils of Christmas or Pentecost, or any day within the octaves of Easter or Pentecost, the Mass is not to be *pro pace*, or any other Votive Mass; but the Mass *de die*, with a commemoration of the *pro pace*, or other prescribed Votive Mass.¹

Secondly, the *Instructio Clementina* prescribes that on other days than those just mentioned, the Mass on the intermediate day is to be "*pro pace vel alia ex Sanctitatis Suae praescripto.*" At present the Mass ordered by the Pope is the one *pro pace*. This is consequently obligatory in Rome; but it is in the power of the local bishop to prescribe for his diocese any other Votive Mass which he deems to be more suitable to the wants of the times or locality. Gardellini lays down this conclusion most distinctly:—

"Haec quoad Urbem. In aliis vero Ecclesiis diversarum diocesium lex non obligat (*i.e.*, the law prescribing the Mass *pro pace*) etiamsi in iisdem fiat Oratio quadraginta horarum. Ideo non erit necessario intermedia die solemniter celebranda Missa Votiva pro quacunque necessitate, vel pro aliqua in specie, quae magis urget, dummodo habeat Missam propriam inter illas, quas habemus ad calcem Missalis. Id autem non erit in facultate et arbitrio rectorum ecclesiarum, sed, quemadmodum Romae Summus Pontifex, ita Episcopi in propriis diocesisbus poterunt unam alteramne praecipere, vel saltem ut celebretur, concedere."²

Answer to Question V. :—

(a.) Is it allowable to duplicate on Sundays for the purpose of celebrating a Requiem Mass for one about to be buried?

This is not allowed. The only title recognised as sufficient to justify duplication is *necessity*; and this necessity must be of such a kind as to include the following circumstances³: 1. The day in question must be a Sunday, or a feast of obligation on which the people are bound to hear Mass; 2. A second Mass must be considered necessary to give the people an opportunity of complying with this duty; 3. It is necessary that no other priest can be procured to say the second Mass, who would make duplication unnecessary.

The bishop is to judge of the presence of this necessity.

¹ GARDELLINI, *Comment.* Sect. xiii. n. 1.

² *Ibid.* sect. xiii. n. 3.

³ *Constitutio Benedicti xiv. Declarasti Nobis.* 16 Mart., 1746, S.C.C. 14 Oct., 1843. 25 Sept., 1858. *Instructio S. C. Fide Propagandae.* 24 May, 1870.

Plainly the case of a mere funeral Requiem Mass is not one of public necessity of the kind required.

(b) In a church where no priest is obliged to duplicate on Sunday, but where the pastor, for reasons of discipline, to avoid scandal, or to secure better attention at Holy Mass, has determined to have no Requiem Mass, can the Requiem Mass be sung on Monday, though a double feast; or on Tuesday, if Monday should exclude a Requiem Mass on account of exalted rite?

1. It is certain that if a privileged Requiem Mass be hindered by the fact that the day in question is of a higher rite than is covered by the privilege, the Mass can and must be postponed to the first day the rite of which comes within the range of the privilege. For example, on the 7th or 30th day after death, a solemn Requiem Mass is allowed on an ordinary double, provided the day is not a feast of obligation or a Sunday. But if the 7th or 30th day happen to fall on a Sunday, the privilege is extended to Monday, or the first ordinary double. This is a general principle, and consequently the second part of the case stated above must be answered in the affirmative, i.e., if Monday be excluded by reason of its exalted rite, the privilege is extended to Tuesday, or the first day not so excluded.

2. But can the Requiem Mass be postponed to Monday for the reason mentioned: it is supposed that the funeral takes place on Sunday?

It has been decided by the Sacred Congregation that, if the funeral has taken place before a Requiem Mass has been celebrated for the deceased, and this "*ob causam rationabilem*," the Requiem Mass may be sung on the following day, provided it is not a double of the first or second class, or a feast of obligation.¹ It would seem to follow from this ruling that the only point to be decided in the present case is whether the reasons for deferring the Mass on Sunday amount to a "*causa rationabilis*" in the sense of the decision. We are inclined to think, that they constitute this sufficient cause. There is no doubt that a "*causa rationabilis*" would be an enactment made by the civil authorities for what seems to them to be good reasons, to prevent the bringing of the

¹ "An pro defuncto sepeliendo ad vesperam ob aliquam rationabilem causam dici possit aliqua hora matutina Missa de requiem, iisdem diebus quibus locum habet corpore praesente?"

Resp. S.R.C., " . . . Si cadaver sit terrae traditum, celebrari poterit una Missa cantata, ut in die obitus, dummodo non sit duplex primae vel secundae classis, aut festivum de praecepto."—7 Sept., 1816.

corpse to the church on Sunday. Surely then it will be deemed a *causa rationabilis*, if for the grave reasons alleged the bishop were to prevent Requiem Masses on Sunday.

Again, another indication of the importance of the cause assigned, is found, we think, in the enactment of the Roman Ritual prohibiting a Requiem Mass, *etiam praesente cadavere*, if thereby the conventual Mass would be hindered.¹ The mere disturbance, then, of the public service ought to be a *causa rationabilis* in the sense of the Rubrics for deferring the Mass till the next day. De Herdt, paraphrasing the passage in the Rubrics of the Ritual, *de Exequiis*, writes: "Praesente corpore celebrari potest omni die, dum tamen Missa conventualis, ubi obligat, aut parochialis, si sit dies dominica aut festa, et officia divina non impediuntur, magnoque diei celebritas non obstat."²

Moreover, the Sacred Congregation, when asked whether in churches where only one Mass is said on Sundays and Holydays, this Mass may be *de requiem, cadavere praesente*, answered, that in the circumstances, the public Mass on the day of obligation should be of the feast, and the Requiem Mass should be put off till the next day.³

This decision, which would probably be extended to all public Masses on Sundays and Feasts of obligation, is, we think, a stronger proof than any given yet of the unwillingness of the Roman authorities to allow a Requiem Mass, if the permission supposes any disturbance of the usual public Sunday Masses.

These facts point to the conclusion that a regulation, such as you describe, made by a competent authority for the grave reasons alleged, should be considered a "*causa rationabilis*" for deferring the Requiem Mass with the usual privilege.

R. B.

¹ Si quis die festo sit sepeliendus, Missa propria pro defunctis praesente corpore celebrari poterit, dum tamen Missa conventualis et officii divina impediuntur, magnaue diei celebritas non obstat.—RIT. ROM. DE EXEQUIIS.

² Tom. i. n. 56.

³ An iis locis, ubi una tantum celebratur Missa diebus Dominicis, et Festivis per annum (non tamen solemnioribus) dum aliquis mane sepelitur, et Missa dicitur ante sepulturam, corpore praesente, debeat haec Missa dici *de Requiem*, ut in die obitus, vel potius tanquam Missa conventualis, cui populus assistit, debeat cantari de die, et Missa *de Requiem* transferri ad primam diem non impeditam?

S. R. C. resp. *Negative ad primam partem. Affirmative ad secundam.*

NOTICES OF BOOKS.

The Art of Thinking Well. By Rev. JAMES BALMES. Translated from the Spanish by Rev. WILLIAM McDONALD. Dublin : GILL & SON.

THE appearance of one of the occasional works of Balmes in an English form will be learned with much pleasure by the admirers of his "European Civilization." The profound impression made by that great work is not likely to pass away. As a mere answer to writers like Guizot it might be forgotten ; but beyond its controversial aspects there is no abler exposition of many essential points in the historical bearing of the Church. We remember too the satisfaction felt among Catholics everywhere in finding that Spain, after a long silence, was again taking her old place in Catholic literature. Some of the other works of Balmes were scarcely less admired by his fellow-countryman, but, except the "Letters to a Sceptic," have become little known outside the Peninsula. We are indebted to the Rev. Dr. McDonald for enabling us to form an acquaintance with the "Art of Thinking Well." Dr. McDonald classes the "Art of Thinking Well" among the minor works of Balmes. When a translator takes that line, his opinion, if only as a testimony to its novelty, may be allowed to go without question. In any case we are not disposed to combat Dr. McDonald's view. We would not venture to hold that if the "Art of Thinking Well" had stood alone it would have made a high reputation for Balmes. Though constructed on a formal plan it seems to us to bear many signs of incompleteness. In conception it covers the whole field of mental and moral philosophy, as these terms are popularly understood, but while the outlines are mapped out with great care they are only very partially and very unequally filled up. But, even as it stands, the "Art of Thinking Well" is a work of great value. He deals little with mental training, and so far as he does, he interests us rather by the light he throws upon his own intellectual habits than by any freshness in his views. The truth is, that rules for the conduct of the understanding are so much the outcome of individual tastes and circumstances, that we consider any given scheme more as a subject of curiosity than a lesson for our guidance. The work of Balmes is mainly upon the old lines of Catholic philosophy. Starting with the primary questions of possibility and existence, he discusses in succession the leading points in applied logic and psychology, examining the evidence of the senses and human testimony, the various offices of reason, imagination, and the passions, as well as some of the difficulties against revealed religion more fully dealt with in his "Letters to a Sceptic." All these problems are expounded with skill and accuracy, and in a clear and familiar style.

Balmes had, among his *other gifts*, a rare power of illustration. He loved to see a truth in action. The examples in this work are so happy, so full of point, so admirably described, that a man with little taste for its philosophy could still read the "Art of Thinking Well" with unflagging pleasure. There is, for instance, a passage on the manufacture of books of travel worthy of Dickens. To represent the variety of intellectual tastes and judgments, he depicts an imaginary gathering of some of the greatest statesmen, warriors, poets, and men of science under a common roof with a spirit which shows that the Spanish love for grotesque situations still survives. Perhaps his own power of presenting truths in a concrete form and his impatience of pointless instances led him into one serious mistake. He regards syllogistic reasoning with little favour. He falls foul of the trifling and frivolous syllogisms he finds in manuals of logic. "Pupils," he says, "learn to know whether this or that syllogism is defective, and they do so by examples so simple that when they leave school they never find anything like them." This is very true, but not of logic alone. Silly illustrations, handed down from one writer to another, are found in grammar and rhetoric as well as logic. On the whole we suppose it has been found wiser to use examples of syllogisms obvious in their terms, even though they convey no new ideas, than to select propositions questionable in themselves, however instructive. But, in truth, the objection of Balmes lies deeper. He has no love for dialectical forms at all. He holds that syllogistic reasoning is overrated, because, practically, men are more concerned in "ascertaining the terms of a syllogism separately than in making the necessary comparison between them." This, again, is not only true, but it is fortunate that the practice of "chopping logic" is not generally added to the other afflictions of life. But, so far as it is an objection, it simply shows what is not denied, that the formal rules of logic like those of the other sciences have necessary limits, that the syllogism is, in fact, a test of truth, not an infallible and necessary instrument for its discovery. Syllogistic reasoning is concerned with deductions from first or ascertained principles, and is no substitute for the inquiry and observation of the inductive method, though even there it has its use in the training it gives, and in being the form in which the results of inquiry can be best examined and conveyed. While, therefore, the truth of much in the following passage is undoubted, the inference drawn by Balmes cannot be so freely granted. "The judge knows very well that if the man meeting him on the street were the assassin the police have been looking for so long, he should condemn him to death, if he came before him; but the difficulty is in the fact that when he sees the culprit, he does not think of the assassin; and if he thought of him, and suspected the man before him was the person, he could not condemn him for want of proof. He has the two extremes, but not the middle term: a term he will never discover through the agency

of all the dialectic forms in the world. The man's name, his country, his ordinary residence, his previous conduct, his present manner of life, the place where he was when the assassination was committed, the witnesses who saw him in the neighbourhood where the victim was found; his dress, stature, physiognomy; the marks of blood on his clothes, the hidden dagger, the signs of terror he showed on reaching home a few moments after the foul act must have been committed; some articles in his possession very like others possessed by the deceased, his contradictions, his well-known enmity to the victim—these are the middle terms, or rather an aggregate of circumstances which will indicate whether the prisoner is the real assassin or not. Little attention is paid to the rules of the syllogism. Now we must attend to a word, now to a fact: here such a sign must be examined, there two or three coincidences must be compared. The judge must attend to the physical, moral and social qualities of the individual; he must weigh the evidence; in a word, he must turn his attention in all directions." In the first place the judge in examining the force of each circumstance will be less likely to err by having been trained to detect the weak points of an argument. Again, though each circumstance is discovered by direct inquiry, the result will probably be presented in a virtual syllogism, though the forms may be carefully concealed. For the judge, in the case supposed, will usually compare the aggregate of circumstances or middle term with the assassin, whoever he may be; again with the accused person, and according to the result arrive at his judicial conclusion.

On another point, while adopting his general view, we would venture to question the force of his examples. He holds, we think very justly, that the discovery of truth is often the result of "inspiration," or a sudden act of the mind apart from any process of reasoning. This power, in the opinion of Burke, is the essence of the poetic gift. But we doubt if either the "Eureka" of Archimedes, or the exclamation of St. Thomas at the table of the King of France, when he suddenly lit upon a conclusive argument against the Manichæans, are cases in point. In both of these instances, especially in the first case, taking them as they are handed down, it might be plausibly maintained that the conclusions, though suddenly discovered, were really the result of laborious thought and a regular train of reasoning.

It would not be difficult in the course of the volume to find other statements fairly open to criticism; but they detract, in a very slight degree, from the general character of a work abounding in striking and original views upon subjects of permanent interest. Dr. McDonald has decidedly enhanced the value of a very successful translation by a full and gracefully written memoir of Balmes.

J. E.

Sacred Rhetoric; or the Art of Rhetoric, as applied to the Preaching of the Word of God. By the Author of "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions." BROWNE & NOLAN, Dublin, 1881.

WE are prevented by the very recent publication of this book from doing more than calling attention to its appearance in the present number of the RECORD.

Hereafter we hope to have an opportunity of dwelling at some length on the solid and practical information it contains on almost every department of Sacred Rhetoric. We desire particularly to call attention to the subject of Catechetical Instruction, which is treated with singular skill and suggestiveness. This is a branch of Sacred Rhetoric in which, it must be admitted, we are sadly deficient in Ireland as compared with France, Germany, Italy, and other Continental countries.

There is on this very subject, ample material in the volume before us, not merely for a brief notice, but for a substantial paper in the pages of the RECORD. Such a paper we purpose to prepare for our next number. For the present we must content ourselves by saying that this is no unworthy companion volume to the "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions."

ED. I. E. R.

We have received for Review the following Books:—

Messrs. GILL & SON—

The Art of Thinking Well. By Rev. JAMES BALMES. Translated from the Spanish. By Rev. WILLIAM M'DONALD, D.D. *First Confession Catechism*, with Prayers before and after Confession, Dublin 1881.

Summa Summae S. Thomae. Pars 2nd. By the Rev. T.J. O'MAHONY, D.D., All Hallows' College.

The Essence of the Land Act (Ireland), 1881. By M. M'D. BODKIN, Barrister-at-Law.

Irish Plesantry and Fun. 2nd Part.

Music of Ireland. Collected, Edited, and Harmonized. By the late GEORGE PETRIE, LL.D., M.R.I.A.

Instructions for Particular States of Life. By the Rev. JOHN GOTHER. Edited by the Rev. M. COMERFORD.

Messrs. BROWNE & NOLAN—

Sacred Rhetoric; or the Art of Rhetoric as applied to the Preaching of the Word of God. By the Author of "Programmes of Sermons and Instructions."

